

The History of
THE SOCIETY OF THE
FRIENDLY SONS OF SAINT PATRICK
In the City of New York



1. NEW HAMPSHIRE 2. NEW YORK
3. MASSACHUSETTS 4. CONNECTICUT
5. RHODE ISLAND 6. PENNSYLVANIA
7. NEW JERSEY 8. DELAWARE
9. MARYLAND 10. VIRGINIA
11. NORTH CAROLINA 12. SOUTH CAROLINA
13. GEORGIA



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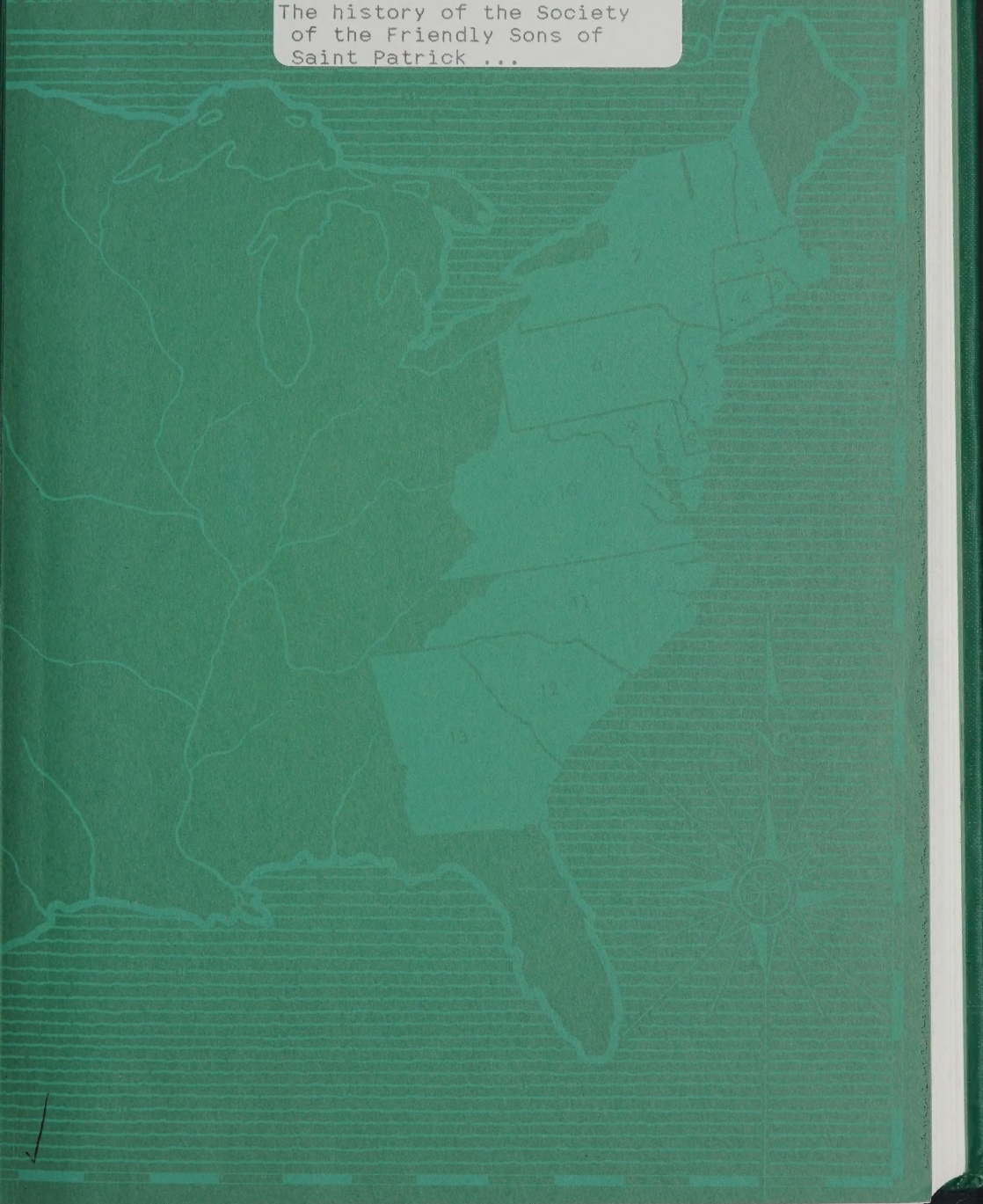
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“A lively desire of knowing and recording our ancestors so generally prevails that it must depend upon some common principle in the minds of men. We seemed to have lived in the persons of our forefathers; our calmer judgment will rather tend to moderate than suppress the pride of an ancient and worthy race.”

GIBBON



The Apostle of the Gael

The History of

**THE SOCIETY OF THE
FRIENDLY SONS OF SAINT PATRICK
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK
1784 TO 1955**

By *RICHARD C. MURPHY, LL.B.*
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On the cover: Facsimile of the badge of the President of the Society made in Ireland for Tiffany from gold mined in Wicklow and fabricated by Edmond Johnson of Dublin between 1825 and 1837.

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P R E F A C E

THE Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York is a charitable and social association of natives and descendants of natives of Ireland, organized for the relief of poor and distressed Irishmen.

A search among historical records of the City and State of New York has unfolded a captivating story of the men who founded the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and has disclosed their active participation in the heroic times of our country. Some of these men were among the pioneers, the patriots and the builders of our constitutional government, establishing and securing "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness" for the people of this nation.

This venerable Society is in every sense an American institution. Many of its founders were officers or soldiers of the patriot army which accomplished the independence of the United States.

For many years prior to the Revolution, it was customary for small groups of Irishmen, resident in New York, to meet in social intercourse on the 17th of March, in honor of Ireland's patron saint — Saint Patrick. Among these were several of our earliest members, who served with the American troops who entered New York upon its evacuation by the British. It was natural that these men should again associate themselves with their countrymen, and at their first reunion at "Cape's Tavern" located at what now is 115 Broadway, on the 17th of March 1784, our honored Society was formally organized. It is the oldest Irish Society in the City of New York.

The earliest reference to an Irish club in New York was in 1716. In that year one John Fontaine, a native of Dublin, of Huguenot descent, came to New York from his home in Williamsburg, Virginia, and in his diary under dates of October 27th and October 30th, 1716, he made entries relating to his visits to the Irish Club. That was a very early date for an Irish Club in a town, most of whose inhabitants were of Dutch origin. (Note: "Memoirs of a Huguenot," in papers of Charles P. Daly in Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.)

The formation in America of benevolent societies, consisting exclusively of persons of the same nationality, began as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. The societies generally promoted a spirit of benevolence and kept up among the members an interest in the parent land without in any way impairing their obligations or lessening their attachment to the land of their adoption. In Boston,

Massachusetts, on March 17th, 1737, men of the Irish nation formed themselves into "a charitable society for the relief of their poor and indigent countrymen."

Irish records of the year 1740 mention an organization in Dublin known as the "Ancient and Most Benevolent Order of the Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick," and twenty years later we find references to a society in New York called "The Most Ancient and Truly Benevolent Order of Saint Patrick."

From the search conducted by Mr. Murphy, he found that Lossing stated in his *History of the City of New York* that the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick is one of the oldest societies in New York and was organized in 1784 and that the Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick was its predecessor. Mr. Murphy believes that Lossing procured this information from Judge Daly's writings but he is now of the opinion that the word reorganized was not well chosen. If he had said that the members of the Irish Club of 1716 became members of the "Ancient and Most Benevolent Order of the Friendly Brothers of Saint Patrick," a society which existed in New York City up to the year 1782, and that this latter society was reorganized in 1784 and some of its members formed the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, he would agree that this is more accurate.

Several attempts have been made to place on record the history of the Friendly Sons. For one reason or another it was never completed. As early as February 27, 1862, the task of completing a "History of the Rise and Progress of the Society" was assigned to one of its members, John Savage, Irish patriot, author and journalist, but no trace of his work can be found. The almost complete absence of records for the first fifty years of the Society's existence no doubt proved an insurmountable obstacle at that time. Seventeen years later, Judge Charles P. Daly, President of the Society, and author of many able historical papers, wrote a short sketch of its history. It is evident he intended to elaborate upon it, and his unused notes, now at the New York Public Library, indicate that he had been proceeding along the same lines that have been adopted in the compilation of this volume. As a friend of Daniel McCormick, our venerable first President, Judge Daly had an intimate knowledge of the Society's affairs and he, therefore, was the connecting link with the formation of the Society.

Bartholomew Moynahan, for many years Recording Secretary of the Society, supplemented the efforts of Judge Daly, and left some valuable notes which have been made use of in preparing the present work. In 1903, John D. Crimmins published his "Early Celebrations of Saint Patrick's Day" and though not intended as a history of the Society, it contains many, much valuable data concerning it.

James J. Hoey, a President of the Society, later appointed a committee for the purpose of writing the history of the Society but its

work was discontinued because of the death of several of its members. In the year 1937, when John F. Collins, then President, delegated to Richard C. Murphy, the Recording Secretary, the work of writing the history, Mr. Murphy in 1938, secured the services of Patrick Barry to assist in making the necessary researches. Unfortunately after two years Patrick Barry died, but fortunately the Recording Secretary secured the splendid cooperation of Michael J. O'Brien, widely known as the author of many books on the early history of the Irish in America and one of the Honorary Members of our Society. Eighteen years after Mr. Murphy started his research on the history of the Society he gathered a vast amount of material relating to the Society and its members during the first fifty years, without which the history of this period could hardly have been reconstructed. In 1955 Mr. John S. Burke, then President, and Mr. Murphy arranged with Professor Lawrence J. Mannion to complete the research and to rewrite the history of the Society from its founding to the end of 1954 — 170 years.

In this account the formation and history of the Society has been set forth as part of the social, economic and political development of both City and State of New York, to which its members made many significant contributions. No effort has been made to write a history of the New York Irish as such, but, owing to the great prominence of the members of the Society in the Irish community of the City, this, too, has been partially accomplished, at least for the early period when New York was small.

The sources which have been employed include the extant original records of the Society; pertinent materials collected over the past one hundred years under the direction of the Officers of the Society; newspapers; public records of the City and State; the memoirs, diaries, correspondence, and papers (both printed and in manuscript) of the members and their contemporaries; City directories; corporation manuals; family, business and church records, and numerous secondary works, especially City and County histories; records of Trinity Parish, the muster rolls, enlistment papers and pension lists of the Continental Army and the Militia, all of which are mentioned and cited in the various notes in this work. The destruction of the Society's Minutes for the period from 1784 to 1835, in a fire that swept the wholesale district of the City in the latter year proved a formidable handicap. However, the "Treasurer's Books" dating from 1805 is still extant. This old record, in itself, is a history. It contains the names of most of the founders and early members of the Society, and the names of those who met in 1805, and is replete with a record of contributions to the support of the widows and orphans of Irish soldiers who served in the Revolution. Since 1835 the Minutes are for the most part extant, but from January 1903 to November 1915 they are totally lacking. Extant dinner books for this period were of help in filling in this gap.

Richard C. Murphy, one of the authors, gratefully acknowledges the assistance given by Dr. Douglas Hyde, President of Eire; by Henry C. Strippel, Gerald D. McDonald and Wilbur Ross Leech of the New York Public Library; John Washbourne of the New York Historical Society; John D. Neel of the James T. White Company; Miss Barbour of the New York Biographical and Genealogical Society; the American Irish Historical Society, for the use of its library. The other author, Lawrence J. Mannion, wishes to thank Mr. John S. Burke, former President of the Society, for the opportunity to undertake this work and would also like to thank the Reverend Vincent C. Hopkins, S.J., and Dr. A. Paul Levack, both of Fordham University, for their valued assistance and encouragement.

Richard C. Murphy
Lawrence J. Mannion



The Rock of Cashel

H A G I O G R A P H Y

MUCH has been written about the apostle of the Gael, for the respect of Saint Patrick has and always will be widespread. The Gael is to be found in every part of the world and wherever he is the name of Saint Patrick is known and revered. There are three sources from which the historian can obtain an accurate account of Saint Patrick's life and mission, namely: "The Confession," "The Memoir of Saint Patrick" by Tirechan, and the "Life of Saint Patrick" by Muirchu.¹ By strictly perusing the texts of these authorities, eliminating and discarding the legends that have been attached to his name by pseudo-hagiographers, we can obtain a true account of the great apostle.

Saint Patrick was born in the year 389 A.D. in the town of Bannaventa near the river Severn in the West of Britain. In the third century an Irish tribe which dwelt in the district of Meath, near the banks of the Boyne, was driven from its lands. The name of this tribe and its expulsion has come down to us from ancient Irish tradition. A part of the clan settled along the banks of the Suir in what is now County Waterford. Another part of the tribe migrated across the Channel and settled along the south bank of the Severn. The name of this tribe was Dessi, and the name Dessy is today common in Ireland.²

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¹ The Confession was written in his own hand. The Memoirs of Tirechan written A.D. 664-668. The Life of Saint Patrick by Muirchu, written in the latter part of the Seventh Century, 694 A.D.

² The baronies of Upper and Lower Deece in County Meath exist to the present and the baronies of Decies in County Waterford attest to the antiquity of the Dessi Clan.

The whole west of Britain was populated by the Gaels, many of them having migrated thither during the Third and Fourth Centuries, and made their homes in this last and most distant outpost of the Roman Empire.³ Living within the confines and under the protection of the Empire, these Gaels in addition to their Gaelic names assumed Roman names. Hence, Saint Patrick's grandfather, one of the Dessi Clan who had come from the banks of the Boyne, took the name Potitus while his father took the name Calpurnius. The intelligent reader will not then be astonished to find that the result of intensive study and persistent research among the old Gaelic manuscripts scattered throughout Europe, discloses that the apostle of the Gaels was himself a true Gael, that he was a member of the Dessi Clan of Meath, that he had relatives and kinsfolk in Ireland when he went there as a Christian missionary, and that he and his family spoke the language of the Gael; in a word, that Ireland was his ancestral home and that he went there not as a stranger but a member of the race to whom he preached the Christian Faith.

The story of his being born in Gaul has no foundation in fact, and equally unsound is the theory of his being born in Scotland. These spurious legends have grown up about him and from constant repetition have obtained a semblance of veracity.⁴ His father, Calpurnius was a decurion, not a centurion, as is commonly asserted. He was a land owner and as a decurion occupied the important position of town councillor. His mother's name was Concessa,⁵ and there is not a scintilla of evidence to show that she was a relative of Saint Martin of Tours. There is no record extant of Calpurnius ever visiting Gaul. He being a land owner and continually engaged in the various duties of his office as a member of the town council, it is more than likely that he never left his home on the banks of the Severn. Doubtless his wife Concessa was a Gaelic maiden of the Dessi Clan or some other tribe of Gaels who had settled nearby. That she bore a Roman name is not extraordinary, for it was the custom of all those born within the confines of the Empire to add a Roman name to their own since they were inordinately proud of being Roman citizens, and because they were citizens of the Empire they were thereby entitled to carry their appeals for justice to the Emperor himself.⁶

Such then were Saint Patrick's antecedents and such were his parents. The latter belonged to the well-to-do class and under their tutelage and direction in a well-ordered home, this youth, whose name was to

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³ Bury—p. 14—Fitzpatrick—Ireland and the Making of Britain.

⁴ Brito natione, in Britannia natus. Life of Saint Patrick—Muirchu p. 494. Macfirbis Genealogies; Saint Patrick's father is listed as Calpinn or Alpin, son of Potit.

⁵ Muirchu, p. 494.

⁶ Life of Saint Patrick—Bury, p. 23.

be carried to the ends of the earth, grew to young manhood. He received the name "Sucat," signifying his physical prowess. "Sucat," which means "warlike," was given to him as was the usual custom of those times, for a name was given each one descriptive of some physical characteristic. To this was added the name Magonus, which was derived from the Gaelic word "mug," meaning a "boy."⁷ This is another proof of his Gaelic origin. At his baptism, his parents being Christian,⁸ he received the name of Patraicc, latinised Patricius, to conform with the usages of the Roman Empire. Thus we have his full name Patricius Magonus Sucat. The proof that he received the name Patrick from his parents as a child, and not from Pope Celestine as is popularly supposed, is borne out by the fact that when he was taken captive his captors called him Qatrige or Qotrige, thereby Gaelicising his name — a name by which he is called in Ireland to this day.

It must not be supposed that Saint Patrick was an only child. One of his sisters, Darerca, is mentioned as the wife of Restitutus. The name Darerca being a purely Gaelic name, she must have been living in Ireland. She had one son⁹ named "Sechnall," (Secundinus) who became a bishop.¹⁰ There is also a Lomman described as his sister's son, and four of his brothers are named as bishops in Ireland, and there is a brother of Saint Patrick mentioned as the father of Nao and Nai.¹¹

Previous to the year 405 A.D. troubles began to crowd upon the Roman Empire. These troubles were brought to a head by the revolt of Maximus. The cumbersome empire had begun to disintegrate and decay had already set in. The first to feel and suffer from this state of affairs was Britain. The protection of the central government was withdrawn, the dreaded Roman Legions departed and the island and its unfortunate inhabitants were left a prey to its waiting and watchful enemies. These descended from all sides upon the defenseless people, the Picts from the north, the Saxons and Franks from the east and warlike Gaels from the west.

It was during this eventful period that Niall was king of Eire (379-405 A.D.). The story of his fierce attacks on the retreating and defeated Roman Legions seem to be founded on fact. It is said that he relentlessly pursued them to the foot of the Alps.¹² Some of his Chieftains attacked the island of Britain and one of them led an expedition up the Severn. He landed near Bannaventa seeking plunder and booty. His followers laid waste the peaceful countryside and loaded their

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⁷ Dr. Rhys — *Life of Saint Patrick*, p. 292.

⁸ Potitus — In the book of Armagh he is listed as "Potiti presbyteri." Muirchu also refers to Potitus as a "presbyter," not necessarily a priest but possibly a deacon.

⁹ Liber Hymnorum, p. 3.

¹⁰ Annals of Ulster.

¹¹ Bury — p. 292.

¹² Ireland and the Making of Britain, p. 164 — Fitzpatrick.

vessels with captives. The young Patrick, who was at his father's home was one of the victims. Man-servants and maid-servants were taken, but his parents escaped.¹³ At the age of sixteen then, Saint Patrick was taken to Ireland as a slave. He spent seven years in captivity and worked under a harsh master named Miliucc, whose lands and home were situated near the Slemish mountains in the present province of Ulster.¹⁴

At the end of seven years, he escaped and made his way to Gaul, and spending some years under the learned Faustus at the monastic institution of Lerins, he eventually proceeded to Auxerre where, under Germanus, he began the study of Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence, Theology and Canon Law in preparation for his future mission. Having completed his studies he received major orders at the hands of Bishop Germanus.¹⁵ It was about this time that he accompanied Germanus to Britain, and visiting his old home on the banks of the Severn he was welcomed as a son by his kinsfolk.¹⁶

In 431 A.D. Palladius had been sent by Pope Celestine to preach Christianity to the Irish, but after a year his mission was cut short by death. Hearing of the death of Palladius, Saint Patrick immediately proceeded to Rome. His life long ambition, namely to preach to his beloved Gaels, was about to be realized and having received his mission from the Pope he set out for Ireland.¹⁷ Arriving at the city of Turin he broke his journey to visit the town of Ivrea (Elemoria), about sixteen miles from Turin. Here he was consecrated Bishop by Bishop Amatho.¹⁸ Amatho was evidently an important person for he is referred to as a king or prince of the Romans. Bishop Amatho must have been well known to Saint Patrick. He may have been originally one of the monks of Lerins or Auxerre and was undoubtedly a Gael, for his original name was Ainmirig. It is also recorded that Saint Patrick was consecrated bishop in the presence of the Emperor Theodosius.¹⁹ At the same time Saint Patrick's two companions and co-workers, Auxilius and Iserinus, were ordained deacons. After this event Saint Patrick at once hastened on his journey, and landing at Wicklow 432 A.D., where the Vartry flows into the sea, he began his work among the Gaels.

It would take many pages to give a detailed history of Saint Patrick, but one incident is worthy of mention. His first act was to send his nephew, Lomman, to visit a community in the district of Meath on the banks of the Boyne. The Chief of this Clan was Fedilmid, who was

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¹³ Saint Patrick's letter against Coroticus.

¹⁴ Tirechan's Life of Saint Patrick.

¹⁵ Life of Saint Patrick — Bury, p. 51.

¹⁶ The Confession.

¹⁷ Book of Armagh.

¹⁸ Tripartite Life, p. 34.

¹⁹ Coram Teodosio Imperatore — Muirchu — Tripartite Life.

married to a Gaelic princess, a native of Britain. These were Saint Patrick's kin and it is possible that the Chieftain's wife was a near relation of his and a Christian.²⁰ Fedilmid, his family and his whole clan accepted the truths of Christianity and were baptized by Lomman. The success of Saint Patrick's mission is too well known and needs no repetition here. Coming to Ireland to preach a new religion, he treated those proud, fierce Chieftains of the Gael with the respect due their position. He met them as their equal. He presented them with costly gifts as was the custom of those days when one prince visited another. He won their confidence. He won their hearts. Not only their hearts did he win, but he had won the heart and love of every Gael that was ever born. He loved his work for he was preaching to his own people and he loved them, for being one of them he understood them. He traveled over the green hills of Ireland, he climbed its purple mountains, he went down into its verdant valleys and crossed its laughing brooks, sparkling rivers and mirror-like lakes to carry the Christian Faith into the homes of the Irish people. He gave it into the keeping of the mothers of the Gael, and history alone can testify how well those mothers have kept the trust that the great apostle placed upon them.

Saint Patrick was kindly, affectionate, lovable and friendly. It seems entirely fitting that the founders of the Society of the Friendly Sons should have selected this friendly saint to be their patron. Saint Patrick died on March 17, 461 A.D., at the age of seventy-two, and is buried in Saul, County Down.²¹


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²⁰ Life of Saint Patrick — Bury, p. 103.

²¹ Saint Patrick's Confessions in the Book of Armagh: "Huc usque volumen quod Patricius manu conscripsit sua: septima decima Martii die translatus est Patricius ad caelos."



The Hail of The Friendly Sons



Shall we who meet and part to night
 Remember not our sires ?
 Shall we forget their age-long fight.
 Their quenchless battle-fires?
 They handed us the freedom-flame
 That spreads from sea to sea.
 They bade it burn in Ireland's name.
 Till land and race are free.
 And we feel the thrill of their mighty hail.
 It comes with the boom of the guns
 A heart and a hand for our fair land,
 The hail of the Friendly Sons.

WORDS BY THE LATE J. I. C. CLARKE
 MUSIC BY THE LATE VICTOR HERBERT
 FORMER PRESIDENTS OF THE SOCIETY



CHAPTER I

THE IRISH

IN THE PROVINCE OF NEW YORK



THE definitive history of the Irish in America during the colonial period is yet to be written. Although it is commonly recognized that between three hundred and four hundred thousand natives of Ireland arrived in the colonies before the Revolution, very little is known of them during the first one hundred years of settlement. Emigrants from Northern and Southern Ireland, Catholic as well as Protestant, seem to have located in all thirteen colonies during the first century; but since they usually came as individuals or in very small groups they were easily assimilated and are very hard to trace. As early as 1680, a tract of land in Maryland was known as "New Ireland" County, later renamed Cecil County. Here in 1683 a grant of 6000 acres, called New Munster, was made to one Edmund O'Dwyer and "other Irishmen."¹ Other tracts called "New Connaught" and "New Leinster" were patented by different groups, indicating that the Irish were of some importance in the settlement of Lord Baltimore's province. By 1684 there was an Irish settlement in New Jersey, and in 1690 small groups could be found in the Carolinas and Pennsylvania.² Many of these immigrants unquestionably came from Catholic sections of Ireland; but, since Catholics were unwelcome in all of the colonies, except perhaps in Maryland and Pennsylvania, the Catholic Irish tended to conform at least outwardly to Protestant customs wherever they settled. As a result, whether for social or economic reasons, or simply because of the absence of priests, their descendants by the time of the Revolution for the most part had lost the old faith. Many had even lost their identity as Irish.

After 1714 the great influx of Protestant immigrants from the northern counties of Ireland was well under way, although the migration from the western and southern counties did not cease. Much more detailed information is available concerning these. The Irish flocked into the country by the hundreds and thousands, helping with immigrants from France, Germany, Scotland, Switzerland, and Africa to make the eighteenth century in British America "preeminently the century of the foreigner."³ By 1760 the foreign born equalled one third of the

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¹ Michael J. O'Brien, "New Munster, New Ireland County, Maryland," *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, N. Y. 1927, Vol. XXVI, pp. 30-44.

² John H. Campbell, *History of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and the Irish Hibernian Society, March 17, 1771—March 17, 1892*, Philadelphia, 1892, p. 29.

³ Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization*, New York, 1939, p. 383.

population of the colonies. Much of this Irish immigration was in large groups, whole congregations frequently coming *en masse* to the new world. The majority came as indentured servants, and many, although by no means all, eventually moved to the frontier where they settled in groups maintaining their identity for many years. Members of the various Irish-American and Scotch-Irish societies and other researchers have accumulated a vast amount of factual material dealing especially with the decades immediately preceding and during the American Revolution. A voluminous literature had developed, much of it, unfortunately highly controversial, ardently in favor of the author's antecedents and too often quite lacking in discrimination, and too often quite uncritical. No attempt has been made, as yet, to weave all this material into a comprehensive, unified study of the Irish in colonial times, such as has recently been done for the later national period.⁴

In the latter part of the nineteenth century there developed in the United States, "for reasons that were primarily American,"⁵ a sharp distinction between Irish and Scotch-Irish, and an attempt was made to identify all Ulster Protestants with the descendants of those Scots who had been "planted" by James I, between 1607 and 1609 in the counties of Donegal, Londonderry, Tyrone, Fermanagh, Armagh, and Cavan. Such a distinction, of course, ignores the fact that these so-called "Scots" were in the eighteenth century no longer an unmixed race, by reason of their intermarriage with the original Irish and with the English who also had been "planted" in northern Ireland after 1607. It also ignores the undeniable fact that more than one hundred years of residence in the Emerald Isle had made many of them "more Irish than the Irish themselves." If facts are to be faced it must be recognized that the peoples of Ireland and Scotland for centuries before 1600 as well as after were constantly moving back and forth between the two countries, and that they are inextricably mixed as to blood and ancestry. At any rate, the term Scotch-Irish was entirely unknown in colonial America, as it seems to have been unknown in northern Ireland. To their American neighbors natives of Ireland, be their ancestors Norman, English, Scot, or Gael, were all labeled "Irish." They were recognized as having common social characteristics, the same filial devotion to the land of their birth and to Saint Patrick, the tutelary saint of Ireland, and the same detestation of England, whose government they blamed for conditions which had driven them to America. As Carl Wittke points out, in the colonial period the distinction between Irish and Scotch-Irish could only be made on religious grounds, and such a distinction was seldom or never made

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⁴ Carl Wittke, *The Irish in America*, Baton Rouge, 1956. His work deals almost exclusively with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. vii.

before the Revolution.⁶ When the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick was founded in Philadelphia in 1771, only three of its original members were Catholics; but one of these, Stephen Moylan, afterwards a general in the Continental Army, was elected its first president.⁷ In this work the distinction between Catholic and Protestant will be ignored, as it was ignored in 1784 by the founders of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York. Undoubtedly the majority of Irishmen who came to the colonies in the eighteenth century were Presbyterians, but many of them, too, were Anglicans, a surprising number were Quakers, and not a few were Catholics. All four creeds will be found among the founders of the Society in New York, as well as representatives from all the sections of Ireland.

From the earliest days of European colonization men of the Irish race have been closely identified, either as officials or settlers, with the Province and City of New York. This was true even to some degree during the Dutch period. The Dutch West India Company welcomed men from a wide variety of nations, probably because the Dutch themselves failed to respond very eagerly to opportunities in the New World. The little Dutch village of New Amsterdam, located on the finest harbor in the North American continent, at a site chosen in 1625 by the engineer, Cryn Fredericksen, early took on something of the cosmopolitan character that the City of New York has retained ever since.⁸ When the English under Richard Nichols first occupied the City in 1664, it was reported that eighteen different languages were spoken in New Amsterdam.⁹ This is the more remarkable since, under Dutch rule, the town never had more than 2400 in population.¹⁰ In the 'seventies we are told that most of the upper class, women as well as men, could converse equally well in Dutch, English or French. As early as 1674, during the second Dutch occupation, an Irishman, Thomas Lewis, is mentioned as "one of the richest inhabitants of New York."¹¹ The town soon became almost as cosmopolitan in creed as in race. Although the official policy of the Dutch was to admit only Calvinists of the Reformed Dutch Church, in practice the rule was not observed.¹² There were Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, and Mennonites worshiping privately in the village. Most of the Irish, however, were undoubtedly Protestants. When Father Isaac Jogues visited New Amsterdam in 1642, after his ransom from the Mohawks

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⁶ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. vi.

⁷ Campbell, *Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, p. 29.

⁸ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, New York, 1955, second edition, p. 3.

⁹ Max Saville, *The Foundation of American Civilization*, New York, 1942, p. 187.

¹⁰ Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

¹¹ In *Records of New Amsterdam*, cited by M. J. O'Brien, *A Hidden Phase of American History*, New York, 1920, p. 295.

¹² A. C. Flick, ed., *History of the State of New York*, 10 vols., New York, 1934-1937, I, 232; II 12-14.

by the Dutch authorities, he could find only two Catholics in the town.¹³ One of these was a young Irishman from Maryland, whose confession he heard. Jews are mentioned in New Amsterdam as early as 1654.¹⁴ The English, after 1664, maintained an even more liberal policy than the Dutch. Governor Thomas Dongan reported that there were in New York some Anglicans, a few Roman Catholics, many Quakers of various sects, "in short, of all sorts and opinions there are some." For the most part, however, the inhabitants were "of none at all." New York does not seem to have been a very religious city in its early days. Travelers found this cosmopolitan town rather baffling, whenever they tried to describe its inhabitants. As the Reverend Andrew Barnaby remarked, New Yorkers were of such different nations, different languages, and different religions that "it is almost impossible to give them any precise or determinate character."¹⁵

Perhaps the most distinguished Irishman who came to America during the colonial period was this same Governor Thomas Dongan, afterwards Earl of Limerick. Born at Castletown, County Kildare, Ireland, in the year 1634, Dongan joined the French Army during the exile of Charles Stuart. He attained the rank of Colonel, as commander of a regiment of the Irish Brigade, in the service of Louis XIV. On the restoration of the Stuarts, Dongan served for a time as lieutenant-governor of Tangier, Africa, then under English control, returning to England in 1680.¹⁶ In 1682 James, Duke of York, made him Governor of his new province on the banks of the Hudson.¹⁷ Thus Dongan became the first but not the last Irishman to rule New York. When he arrived in the City, on August 25, 1683, the burghers of New York received him with some misgivings; but they gave a banquet in his honor, and presented him with an address of welcome. To their amazement, this versatile Gael replied to their address in their own language, assuring them that their liberties would be respected, their trade protected, and that they would continue to have complete freedom of religion.¹⁸ There was great rejoicing in the City when this announcement became known, and the townspeople seemed to have given their unswerving allegiance and loyalty to the new governor. And well they might, since Dongan undoubtedly favored the mercantile and trading classes, whose progress had been severely curtailed

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¹³ E. T. Corwin, ed., *Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York*, 7 vols., Albany, 1901-16, I, 256; Rodman Gilder, *The Battery*, Boston, 1936, p. 8.

¹⁴ Flick, *New York State History*, II, 19.

¹⁵ E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, 15 vols., Albany, 1853-87, III, 415; E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documentary History of the State of New York*, 4 vols., Albany, 1849-51, I, 116.

¹⁶ Andrew Barnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North America in the Years 1759 and 1760*, London, 1798, third edition, p. 87.

¹⁷ Flick, *New York State History*, III, 97; Wayne E. Stevens, "Thomas Dongan," *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 364.

¹⁸ Dongan was a master of both the Dutch and French languages and a diplomat of considerable ability. Thomas P. Phelan, *Catholics and Colonial Days*, New York, 1935, p. 65.

under the restrictions of the Dutch West India Company monopoly. In 1686 he granted to the City of New York a new charter with increased rights of self government and extremely favorable economic privileges, especially with regard to a monopoly of the bolting of flour. This Dongan charter, though disliked by many in the farming districts, undoubtedly contributed in the long run to the future prosperity of both the City and Province. Although later modified slightly under Governors Cornbury and Montgomerie, it remained substantially unchanged until the end of the Revolution.¹⁹

During his term of office, Dongan's administration was on the whole liberal and just, and he proved himself a wise, prudent, and sagacious ruler. He managed the relations between the English, French, and Indians with particular dexterity, and was the earliest English governor to recognize the strategic importance of New York Province. Not lacking in a sense of humor, when he took over as his official residence the two-and-a-half story Dutch dwelling built by Peter Stuyvesant, Dongan named it Whitehall after the royal palace in London, a masterpiece of architecture. This ironic name is perpetuated in Whitehall Street, earlier known as the Strand and Winkel (shop) Street.²⁰ In 1685, Dongan gave permission to the Jews to open a synagogue in the Province, and he himself started the first classical school in the City of New York, located in the lower end of present Greenwich Street.²¹ Its teacher was accused by Dongan's opponents of being a Jesuit in disguise, and he probably was. Jacob Leisler reported that the venture was unsuccessful, and that soon "the collidge vanished."²² Well aware of the plight of his unfortunate countrymen after the Cromwellian regime, Dongan in a letter to the Lord President of the Council, September 8, 1687, strongly recommended that natives of Ireland be sent here to colonize, where they may live and be "very happy."²³ He even suggested that his nephew be employed to bring them over and expressed his certainty that they would be no charge to His Majesty after they were landed here. Many Irishmen apparently did come to New York Province during this period, either directly from Ireland, or making their way from Jamaica, Barbados, and other Caribbean Islands. Irish names begin to crop up frequently in the old records before 1700.²⁴ In the predominantly Dutch town of Albany names like Hogan, Collins, Haggerty, Barrett, Finn, and Dongan appear in church, jury, and surrogate court records during and soon

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¹⁹ Flick, *New York State History*, II, 105.

²⁰ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 23f.

²¹ John T. Driscoll, "Thomas Dongan," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, 15 vols., New York, 1910-13, V, 130.

²² Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 125; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, II, 14, 147; O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, IV, 490.

²³ O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, I, 157.

²⁴ *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, pp. 105-127.

after Dongan's term of office. Sometimes the names are so quaintly misspelled by the Dutch clerks that one might doubt their Irish origin, did not the records themselves clearly state "born in Ireland," "born in King's County, Ireland," "born in Waterford, Ireland." In the records of the Albany Dutch church for 1692 there is entered the marriage of one "William Hogen, van Bor in Yrlandt in de Kings County" to Martina Beeker, apparently a Dutch girl.²⁵ William Hogan and his descendants will appear in many Albany records for the years that follow. He apparently came to that town at least as early as 1690, was an innkeeper, and later "assessor for the First Ward."²⁶

In 1683, with the permission of the Duke of York, Dongan called a representative assembly in the province which met in the fort at New York on October 17th of that year.²⁷ During the next three weeks the assembly passed fifteen acts all of which the governor approved. The first and most important was the famous "Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by His Royal Highness to the inhabitants of New York and its dependencies" which vested the "supreme legislative power . . . in the Governor, Council and People met in General Assembly."²⁸ It also granted to all Christians complete freedom of religion.²⁹ When two years later James II, as king refused to confirm this charter which he had apparently approved as Duke, Governor Dongan seems to have been grieved and protested.³⁰ He also seems to have disagreed with the King's Indian policy. The governor was undoubtedly seriously disturbed by the possibility of New York being incorporated into the newly projected Dominion of New England.³¹

He remained, however, now as royal governor of the royal province of New York, from June 10, 1686 until 1688 when the province was actually added to New England under the governorship of Sir Edmund Andros. Early historians of New York City and State have given Dongan a reputation for ability, integrity, and respect for the rights of Englishmen that recent research has not dispelled. He was generally considered one of the best of our colonial governors.³² Colonel Dongan remained on his Long Island farm after his dismissal, seemingly intending, like his Dutch predecessor, Peter Stuyvesant, to end his days in New York.³³ Some three years later during Leisler's rebel-

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²⁵ Jonathan Pearson, *Genealogies of the First Settlers of the Ancient County of Albany*, Albany, 1892, p. 163.

²⁶ *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, p. 108.

²⁷ Edgar A. Werner, *Civil List and Constitutional History of the Colony and State of New York*, Albany, 1883, p. 49; Flick, *New York State History*, II, 102.

²⁸ Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 49; Flick, *op. cit.*, II, 102.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 48.

³⁰ *Harper's Encyclopedia of United States History*, Benson J. Lossing, ed., 10 vols., New York, 1905, III, 138.

³¹ Flick, *New York State History*, II, 106.

³² H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, 4 vols., New York, 1924-25, II, 131.

³³ O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, III, 655; Flick, *op. cit.* II, 107.

lion his enemies had him indicted as a "papist," so that he was forced to flee to Boston and thence to England.³⁴ He died in London, England, on December 14, 1715.

After Dongan's time the Irish came to New York Province in ever increasing numbers, either as freemen or indentured servants. Like the bulk of immigrants to the new world before the Revolution, Irishmen were usually too poor to pay their way to America, but in return for passage signed a contract with a shipmaster to work for a period of two to seven years. Upon arrival in the colony the shipmaster sold the contract or indenture to the highest bidder. Although in theory protected by law, in practice the indentured servant was at the mercy of a harsh master, and his lot was frequently very hard. One of the earliest Irish immigrants of this class that we hear of in New York was a servant girl belonging to Isaac Allerton, the English tobacco merchant, in 1655. He is recorded to have beaten her for skylarking with his servant man, Jonathan.³⁵ Most of these indentured servants were young, uneducated, and untrained in any trade; but frequently they were persons of ability and character who contributed greatly to new world society. By 1663, thirteen members of the Virginia House of Burgesses were former indentured servants.³⁶

However, since indentured servants were much fewer in New York than in Pennsylvania and other colonies to the South,³⁷ probably most Irishmen who reached New York before the Revolution came as freemen rather than indentured servants. Men of the working class were particularly welcome in New York just about the time that the great influx of Ulster Irishmen began. The precursors of this immigration had come to Boston in 1714. There they had found no welcome. Puritan New England had little liking for Irish Presbyterians. The famous divine Cotton Mather, in a sermon in 1700, had denounced proposals to bring "Irish" into Massachusetts.³⁸ By 1723 Boston town authorities were registering the fear that poor Irish from Ulster "may become a Town Charge."³⁹ Persons arriving from Ireland after 1720 were required to register within five days, and the general feeling against "foreigners" became so intense that in July, 1729 a mob tried to prevent the landing of some Irish. In 1736 the Boston authorities actually forbade the captain of a vessel from Cork to land his shipload of immigrants.⁴⁰ In justice to Boston it should be noted that this antagonism to "foreigners" was not directed solely against the Irish. Germans

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³⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 106; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, II, 41, 43, 104; O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, III, 721.

³⁵ James W. Gerard, *The Impress of Nationalities upon the City of New York*, New York, 1883, p. 28.

³⁶ Nettels, *Roots of American Civilization*, p. 323.

³⁷ Flick, *New York State History*, II, 305.

³⁸ Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. vii.

³⁹ Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 410.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

were even more unwelcome there so that very few of the great German migration of the first half of the eighteenth century went to New England. This attitude of the Puritan colonies may account for the flow of Irish immigrants through New England into the Hudson Valley and central New York during the first half of the century.⁴¹

In New York Province conditions were quite different. An acute labor shortage between 1720 and 1726 had caused the importation and sale of eight hundred negro slaves at prices ranging between £45 and £75, which were very high for the period.⁴² Although the Dutch West India Company, one of the great slave trafficking agencies of its time, had early introduced negro slaves into New Amsterdam their numbers had remained small up to 1700.⁴³ They now proved an unsatisfactory labor supply, so that the great flood of Irish, which now begins, was very welcome in the province. The blacks remained in household as personal servants. Undoubtedly the great majority of Irish newcomers moved on directly into the Hudson Valley or the frontier; but many of them, artisans especially, remained to practice their trade in the city where there was great need of both skilled and unskilled labor. Those who went upstate settled mostly in what are now Orange, Ulster, and Albany counties where testamentary records, church records, and military rolls show the names of many Irish men and women who arrived after 1720. Some of them became prominent citizens of the province and state in years to come.

As early as 1730 there settled in what is now Ulster County one Charles Clinton, a native of Longford, Ireland, who had come to America the previous year with his wife Elizabeth Denniston, his brother-in-law, Patrick McLaughry, two daughters and a son. They arrived in Massachusetts with a party of ninety-four emigrants from Ireland.⁴⁴ Many of the ship's company died on the way, including Clinton's son and one daughter. The party, originally bound for Philadelphia, had been landed practically destitute on Cape Cod by a criminal sea-captain who had robbed them of their money and most of their possessions. They made their way to New York and settled some sixty miles up the Hudson and eight miles west of the river, at a place called New Britain, in a district to which Clinton is credited with giving the name Ulster. Charles was a farmer and surveyor, justice of the peace, and later county judge and lieutenant-colonel of the Ulster County militia.⁴⁵ Judge Thomas Jones, the Tory historian,

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⁴¹ For example, a group of Irish from New Hampshire, led by Reverend Samuel Dunlop, settled Cherry Valley in 1741. Flick, *New York State History*, V, 120.

⁴² Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 409.

⁴³ Nettels, *Roots of American Civilization*, p. 325.

⁴⁴ Clinton's "Diary" from which this account is principally taken is printed in Benjamin Meyer Brink, *Olde Ulster*, 10 vols., Kingston, New York, 1905-14.

⁴⁵ *Harper's Encyclopedia*, II, 217-17; E. W. Spaulding, *His Excellency George Clinton*, New York, 1938, pp. 6-7.

says that he was a surveyor of note, made money at the profession, and also had a good farm. He was, Jones tells us, "like all Irishmen, open, generous, and hospitable, an honest man, and a loyal subject."⁴⁶ He was a friend of Cadwallader Colden, surveyor-general of the province, who recommended him to Governor George Clinton, who seems to have held him in high regard. Many years later the claim was advanced that the two Clintons were very distant cousins. There is no evidence that they were aware of any family connection at the time.⁴⁷

By the second quarter of the eighteenth century newcomers from the north of Ireland were becoming sufficiently numerous to form in some places Presbyterian congregations of their own. Previously, and in most parts of the province for many years to come, they had perforce to join the Dutch churches if they wished any religious affiliation.⁴⁸ By 1720 there were enough Irish in the vicinity of Goshen, in what is now Orange County, to form such a congregation, and in the thirties others were established at Bethlehem in the same county and at Wallkill in Ulster County.⁴⁹ Many Irish pioneer families, famous in the annals of upstate New York, came to the province in this period. About 1740 there arrived in what was later Montgomery County, Jeremiah Blood and his wife, Margaret Harris, of County Galway, Ireland. He founded a family well known in the history of Montgomery and Schenectady Counties. Jeremiah was a friend of Anthony Duane, also of County Galway, father of James Duane of Revolutionary fame, delegate to the First and Second Continental Congress. Anthony had settled in New York City in the spring of 1717, where he prospered in business, being elected Burgher or "freeman" of the city.⁵⁰ Later, in 1741, he acquired a grant of land near Schenectady, later known as the manor of Duanesburg.⁵¹ The Bloods intermarried with distinguished New York families, the Bakers, Whites, Wingates, Crockers, Lanthrops, and Langleys, and their descendants are scattered throughout the East and Middle West.⁵²

To Schenectady in 1762 came Doctor John Constable, of Dublin, Ireland, a surgeon in the British Army during the French and Indian War. He seems to have practiced briefly in New York City,⁵³ but

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⁴⁶ E. F. De Lancey, ed., *Thomas Jones' History of New York During the Revolutionary War*, 2 vols., New York, 1879, II, 235.

⁴⁷ The colonial governor was a son of the sixth Earl of Lincoln. E. W. Spaulding accepts Charles' descent from the Earls of Lincoln, based on the rather improbable claim that Charles' "mysterious grandfather" was himself the grandson of the second earl. E. W. Spaulding, *George Clinton*, pp. 2-4.

⁴⁸ M. J. O'Brien, "Irish and Dutch in Albany Colonial Records," and "Irish in Dutch Records of Ulster County," *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, pp. 105-127.

⁴⁹ Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1915, p. 251.

⁵⁰ M. J. O'Brien, "Irish Burghers . . . and Freeman of New York," *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1927, p. 146.

⁵¹ E. W. Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period, 1783-1789*, New York, 1932, p. 146.

⁵² Anna W. Blood, *Sketch of the Bloods*, Amsterdam, New York, 1914, *passim*.

⁵³ Esther Singleton, *Social New York Under the Georges, 1714-1776*, New York, 1902, p. 207.

settled permanently near Schenectady, bringing with him his infant son, William, born in Dublin. William and his brother James, who was born in Schenectady in 1762, became leading merchants of New York City after the Revolution. Not far away from the Bloods, Duanes, and Constables, but nearer to Albany came in 1755 the family of John Macomb and his wife, Jane Gordon, of Ballymuire, County Antrim, Ireland. Their son, Alexander, born in Ireland, July 27, 1748, became acquainted with William Constable, forming a friendship which lasted to the end of their lives. Although the Macombs moved to Detroit in 1769, where Alexander made a fortune in the fur trade, he returned to New York in 1783.

It is of course impossible to mention all the prominent Irishmen who came to New York before the Revolution. One, however, deserves special notice although he died too young to become a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. This was Richard Montgomery, born in Dublin, Ireland, December 2, 1736, the youngest son of Thomas Montgomery of County Donegal, Ireland.⁵⁴ He served under Amherst at Louisburgh and Cape Breton, sold out of the British services in 1772, and came to New York in January of the next year. Montgomery purchased a small farm of twenty-seven acres in Westchester County, near the dividing line between Yonkers and the Manor of Fordham. In July, 1773 he married Janet, daughter of Robert R. Livingston, Sr., and removed to Rhinebeck in the manor of Livingston, where he lived until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.⁵⁵ Montgomery commanded the American invasion of Canada in November of 1775, and fell in the attack of Quebec, December 31, 1775. His death was considered a great public calamity even in England, and "on the floor of the British Parliament he was eulogized by Burke, Chatham, and Barré."⁵⁶

Undoubtedly the outstanding Irishman and perhaps the most distinguished citizen of northern New York in colonial times was the renowned Sir William Johnson, whose name is entwined with the legends and traditions of the Mohawk Valley. Born in County Meath, Ireland, in the year 1715, Johnson came to New York in 1737 or early in 1738, settling on the south side of the Mohawk River near the mouth of the Schoharie, where his uncle Sir Peter Warren, had a grant of land amounting to 13,000 acres.⁵⁷ Warren, himself a dashing young Irish Officer in the British navy, was rumored without proof to have been a pirate in his youth. Sir Peter had lived in New York City for a time while assigned to duty on the American coast, and had

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⁵⁴ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 728.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Harper's Encyclopedia*, VI, 252.

⁵⁷ Flick, *New York State History*, II, 384; W. E. Stevens, "William Johnson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 124.

married Susan, daughter of Stephen de Lancey and sister of Lieutenant-Governor James de Lancey, who brought him a "pretty fortune."⁵⁸ Later in 1745, Sir Peter, then commodore, commanded the expedition against the French stronghold Louisbourg, joining land forces from Massachusetts under General William Pepperell. The capture of Louisbourg gained him great acclaim. Warren's nephew William Johnson was of the ancient Irish family of MacShane, which, however, under the operation of the penal laws had adopted the name Johnson.⁵⁹ William's father, Christopher, was a gentleman of standing and property in County Meath. His mother, Anne Warren, was the sister of Captain Oliver Warren and of Sir Peter Warren, of Warrenstown in the same county.

William Johnson soon made a fortune in the Indian trade, and for thirty-six years ruled over the Indians of the Mohawk Valley as a sort of "benevolent dictator," acquiring an ascendancy over the Tribes of the Six Nations. Described as a tall man, with black hair, and dark piercing eyes, he carried himself with dignified sedateness, and in general appeared taciturn, although really a jovial character.⁶⁰ His first wife was Catherine Weisenberg, a poor German orphan, who had been sold as an indentured servant to two brothers Alexander and Herman Philipps, farmers in the Mohawk Valley. William offered the Philipps brothers £5 or a "sound thrashing" for her papers.⁶¹ He married her at once. They had two daughters, and a son, John, who was knighted in 1765 while his father was still alive. After Catherine's death, Johnson took as his common-law wife, Molly Brant, sister of the Mohawk Chief, who was known far and wide as the "Indian Lady Johnson."⁶² They had several children, who were provided for in Johnson's will. The eldest, Peter Warren Johnson, an officer in the British army, died in 1777.

Johnson received grants of land totalling 100,000 acres mostly to the north of the Mohawk River, where he induced a large number of his Irish countrymen to settle,⁶³ opening up that region for the development of agriculture. With his friends, employees, and tenants in the vicinity of Johnstown he formed an Irish circle. There for many years they regularly held St. Patrick's Day festivals with athletic contests of all sorts after the manner of celebrating the day in Ireland. In

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⁵⁸ Flick, *History of New York State*, III, 149, J. Knox Laughton, "Peter Warren," *Dictionary of National Biography*, 22 vols., London, 1921-22, XX, 676.

⁵⁹ MacShane means literally "the son of John" — hence Johnson. *Vide* Genealogy of Johnson Family by James Sullivan, in *Papers of Sir William Johnson*, James Sullivan, ed., 10 vols., N. Y., 1921-35, I, xxiv-xliv.

⁶⁰ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 639.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, II, 241; F. Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of N. Y.*, N. Y., 1870, p. 10.

⁶² Thomas Jones, who knew Johnson well, says that he never married Molly Brant; De Lancey, *op. cit.*, II, 374.

⁶³ Flick, *New York State History*, II, 385.

1747, they must have had a very gay celebration indeed, if we are to judge from Johnson's letter to the colonial governor, George Clinton, dated "Fort Johnson, March 18, 1747," wherein he said: "We kept St. Patrick's yesterday and this day and drank your health and all friends in Albany, with so many other healths that I can scarce write."⁶⁴ When the first Masonic Lodge west of the Hudson was organized in 1766, it was named St. Patrick's Lodge.⁶⁵ Johnson was its first Master.

Johnson served his King well in all the French wars. In 1745 he prevented the Six Nations from going over to the French. When the French and Indian War broke out General Braddock gave him "sole management and direction of the Six Nations," on April 15, 1755. Created a major-general, he badly defeated the French on September 8, 1755, and captured their commander, Baron Dieskau. For this victory the King made him a baronet, November 27, 1755 and in February of the next year appointed him colonel of the Six Nations and their confederates and "sole agent and superintendent of the said Indians and their affairs."⁶⁶ We learn from the *Reminiscences* of the celebrated Major Robert Rogers, commander of a battalion of Provincial Rangers, that on March 17, 1757, while Johnson's troops were encamped at Fort William Henry on Lake George they did not neglect to celebrate St. Patrick's Day in a "fitting manner." On the night of March 16, an extra ration of grog was distributed to all the Irish troops. On that same night the French under General Montcalm made a forced march from Ticonderoga, doubtless expecting to take their opponents by surprise. But, so Rogers relates, the French were repulsed with losses and Johnson's men returned to camp to resume the pleasant occupation of "drowning the shamrock," in which they had been interrupted.⁶⁷

William Johnson remained superintendent of Indian affairs for the northern district until his death in 1774. Both his chief deputies were Irishmen, Guy Johnson, his nephew and son-in-law who succeeded him as superintendent, and George Croghan who later played an important part in the settlement of the west.⁶⁸ In 1762 Johnson removed from Fort Johnson to Johnson Hall, a new residence, but a short distance north of a settlement which became Johnstown, the county

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⁶⁴ *Johnson Papers*, I, 82.

⁶⁵ John D. Crimmins, *St. Patrick's Day: Its Early Celebrations in New York and other American Places, 1717-1845*, N. Y., 1902, p. 18.

⁶⁶ *Johnson Papers*, II, 434.

⁶⁷ Robert Rogers, *Reminiscences of the French War*, Concord, New Hampshire, 1831, pp. 178-9. This is the Major Rogers whose incredible exploits were celebrated in the late Kenneth Roberts' best selling novel, *Northwest Passage*. So great was his reputation that in New York, in 1764, when he was imprisoned for debt, a mob tried to deliver him from jail. Bredenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 311.

⁶⁸ Flick, *New York State History*, II, 385; A. T. Volwiler, *George Croghan and the Western Movement, 1741-82*, Cleveland, Ohio, 1926, pp. 242-254.

seat of Tryon County. Sir William kept open house at Johnson Hall, where, besides his family there were seldom less than ten and often thirty guests. There he died "in his elbow chair" after a speech at an Indian Council on an exceedingly hot day in July, 1774.⁶⁹ Judge Thomas Jones, an old friend, was present at his death.

Johnson was a man of little or no race prejudice. He welcomed Germans and Scottish Highlanders as well as Irish to his lands along the Mohawk. He was undoubtedly one of the great men of colonial New York. For years after the Revolution he was neglected by historians, owing to the stigma attached to his name by his family's loyalist service during the war. His son, Sir John, raised a loyalist regiment, the "Royal Greens," of which he was Colonel. He fought at Oriskany. Guy Johnson, his son-in-law, fought with Brant's Mohawks against the patriot forces under General John Sullivan.

After 1763, when the Peace of Paris gave Canada to England, the French menace was ended. Now that the frontier was considered safe, Irish immigration to northern New York, in Albany, Washington, Charlotte, and what is now Essex counties increased rapidly. This new movement to the frontier was very largely a group migration. For example, in 1764 one Robert Harper planted a group of more than 200 Irish families, from County Monahan, on a 40,000 acre tract in what was later known as Washington County. William Gilliland, a native of Armagh, Ireland, established a number of Irish group settlements on the west side of Lake Champlain between 1763 and 1771.⁷⁰ He had a grant of 60,000 acres there, as well as a smaller tract adjoining the river Bouquet.⁷¹ Gilliland was a New York City merchant located in Broad Street, where in 1760 he offered for sale a wide variety of products, "linen and cotton checks, striped cotton hollands, Indian gartering, buckles, gunlocks, coffee, and wines."⁷² In 1765 we find him building a sawmill and gristmill at the Falls of the Bouquet River, some distance above Ticonderoga. Doubtless these were intended for the use of his settlements at Westport, Jamesboro, Charlottesboro, and Elizabethtown as well as with a view to supplying the Quebec market.⁷³ Gilliland's "Journal," printed in Winslow G. Watson's *Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley*, is the chief source for the early history of this section. His career indicates that the Irish merchants of New York City were already interested in land speculation and settlement of the north country, ventures in which the founders of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick were to play leading roles.

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⁶⁹ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 372-3.

⁷⁰ M. J. O'Brien, *A Hidden Phase*, pp. 296-7; Winslow G. Watson, *Pioneer History of the Champlain Valley*, Albany, 1863, pp. 23-45.

⁷¹ *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, p. 150.

⁷² *New York Mercury*, November 17, 1760.

⁷³ Virginia D. Harrington, *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution*, New York, 1935, p. 147.



New York Harbor — about 1794

CHAPTER II

THE IRISH IN NEW YORK CITY BEFORE THE REVOLUTION



IN New York City, as well as Province, men of Irish birth had become quite numerous before the Revolution. This is especially true after the turn of the eighteenth century. It should be realized, however, that emigration from Ireland to America during these years is relatively small when compared to the vast numbers that flowed into New York during the middle decades of the following century. For the fifty or sixty years before the War for Independence, the average annual migration from Ireland could not have exceeded three thousand. Only a minority of these came to New York, since Philadelphia and Charleston were still the chief ports of entry for indentured servants. Of those who did come, most passed through the city into the back country. Yet emigration from Ireland and the German emigration which accompanied it probably account in great part for the growth of New York between 1720 and 1760, and undoubtedly exerted a profound influence upon the life of the City. By 1754 New Yorkers were ascribing the rise in crime on Manhattan Island to the many German, Irish, and English immigrants who were arriving in the middle decades.¹ In 1720 New York's population was only 7000, while in 1760 it had advanced to 18,000, second place among American cities. Boston's decline from first place to third during the same period may possibly be accounted for by its churlish attitude towards immigrants. During these years New York's population increased 157 per cent, while that of Boston increased only 38 per cent. Indeed after 1740 the population of Boston actually began to decline and continued to do so until the Revolution.² New England seaports, generally, did not attract immigration.

Distress at home accounted for Irish immigration at this time as it always has in the history of Emerald Isle.³ Driven to the new world by the usual economic and political troubles many came to New York

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¹ Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, New York, 1955, p. 136.

² Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 303; *Cities in Revolt*, p. 5.

³ William Forbes Adams, *Ireland and Irish Immigration to the New World from 1815 to the Famine*, New Haven, 1932, pp. 2-4.

after the Battle of the Boyne, and their numbers were swelled by refugees from the ill-fated risings of "Fifteen" and "Forty-five." Michael J. O'Brien in *Olde New York* lists more than a thousand Irish men and women from the eighteenth century parish registers of Trinity Church alone. These registers are by no means complete since they were three times destroyed by fire. He takes hundreds of Irish names from the "Marriage Bonds" at the office of the Secretary of State in Albany; from the Surrogate's and Register's records some 1537 names are obtained, and from the New York rolls of the French and Indian War, 1755 to 1763, there are listed the names of 1291 men, all recorded as "born in Ireland."⁴ Allowing for duplications and doubtful cases it can easily be seen that the Irish formed a considerable percentage of the population of a City which on the eve of the Revolution numbered only 21,863.⁵ In the seventeen-sixties New York City was a very small town indeed, according to our standards, although it compared fairly well with the larger English provincial towns of the same period. One could stroll the length of Broadway, which then extended from Bowling Green to Frankfort Street, and know and be known to practically every person, even to the children.⁶

But one must not underestimate the importance of the City in the American scene. Signs of wealth were on the increase after 1730. Fine town houses were being built, and even finer suburban residences on the roads to Greenwich and Bloomingdale. Wealthy New Yorkers had many negro house servants. Caleb Heathcote, Lord of Scarsdale Manor, and others like him often kept as many as forty.⁷ After 1730 coaches came into general use. But New York throughout the colonial period was an overcrowded city. The Dongan Charter of 1686 had vested title to all unappropriated lands on Manhattan Island in the Corporation of New York, which greatly retarded expansion northward until after 1720. The Corporation would lease but seldom sell desirable land. In 1704 Madame Knight reports the town "well compacted." The houses, mostly of brick were stately and tall; but some of them unlike Boston, were "of divers Coulers and laid in Checkers." This she found "very agreeable."⁸ The housing shortage would have been taken for granted by colonial dwellers. British officials, however, unable to find adequate lodgings in the City, began to complain to the Board

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⁴ Michael J. O'Brien, *Olde New York*, New York, 1928, *passim*; *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXCI, 1927, pp. 22, 23.

⁵ Sidney I. Pomerantz, *New York: An American City, 1783-1803*, N. Y., 1938, p. 21; cf. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 216. He estimates the population to be 25,000 in 1775.

⁶ So Walter Barrett tells us of the much larger city of his day — 30,000 population.

⁷ Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 414; James Grant Wilson, *The Memorial History of the City of New York*, 4 vols., New York, 1892-1893, II, 78, 139.

⁸ Sarah Kemble Knight, *The Private Journal of a Journey from Boston to New York in the Year 1704*, Albany, 1865, p. 52.

of Trade, as early as 1701. The Corporation did little or nothing about the shortage. In 1703 there were only 750 houses in the city, and by 1710 very few existed above Fulton Street. After 1720 things began to improve somewhat. By 1760 there were 2600 houses in the town and about 1000 more were added between that year and the Revolution.⁹ The city Corporation took somewhat better care of its own civic housing, although even in that regard New York was backward when compared with Philadelphia. The fine City Hall erected at Broad and Wall Streets in 1700 remained the center of municipal life until the end of the colonial period.

Nor was New York City noted for its culture at this time, even among its fellow provincial towns. Critics generally agreed that the arts and sciences were shamefully neglected there. Attempts to establish a college and a library were unsuccessful until the middle of the eighteenth century. King's College, although founded in 1746, did not actually begin classes until 1754, with its President, Dr. Samuel Johnson, as sole instructor. A class of eight students met in the vestry room of Trinity Church.¹⁰ The cornerstone of a college building was laid, August 23, 1756, on the block bounded by Murray, Church, Barclay Streets, and College Place. It faced the Hudson River and "was the most beautifully situated of any college in the world."¹¹ For years the college suffered from a shortage of professors. The city's physicians in the first half of the century were for the most part quacks, and were so considered by their contemporaries. After 1750 when a provincial medical association was meeting, some skilled practitioners began to gain recognition. These were for the most part trained abroad, at the leading schools of Edinburgh and Leyden.¹² By mid-century New York City had forty doctors.¹³ In the early decades of the century the New York Bar had a much higher standing than the medical profession, both in America and in England. But early New York lawyers, too, were generally trained in England, usually at the Inns of Court in London, but sometimes in Scotland. New York did not have its own law school until after the Revolution.¹⁴ An aspirant to the Bar usually apprenticed himself to an outstanding lawyer, such as William Smith, Sr., James Alexander, or Joseph Murray. The last named, a native of Ireland, had come to New York young, and by the late thirties "was at the head of the profession," besides making a large fortune.¹⁵ The legal profession seems to have been particularly lucrative

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⁹ Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 226.

¹⁰ *Harper's Encyclopedia*, II, 247-8.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, D. R. Dillon, *The New York Triumvirate*, New York, 1949, II, 405.

¹² Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 199; Flick, *New York State History*, II, 391.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Dillon, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁵ De Lancey, ed., *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 136.

in the city. As John Adams pointed out, in New York, "a lawyer will make an independent fortune in ten years."¹⁶ In 1730 the provincial superior court issued an order that no candidate for the bar would be recommended to the governor for a license, unless he had completed seven years of study with some attorney of that court.¹⁷

Men of science, aside from Cadwallader Colden, were almost nonexistent, in the city until the Irish engineer, Christopher Colles, arrived from Philadelphia. In 1774 Colles persuaded the City Corporation to accept his plans for a public waterworks. Colles built a covered reservoir, between Pearl and White Streets, east of Broadway. It held 20,000 hogsheads of water and was equipped with a steam engine which could pump two hundred gallons of water fifty-two feet a minute.¹⁸ Christopher Colles is generally credited with the first steam engine built in America.¹⁹ The project cost the city at least £3,600; but before pipes could be laid the onset of the Revolution interrupted proceedings.²⁰ New York was thus deprived of running water until years after the war. Colles was born in Ireland about 1738, studied engineering there, and came to America after 1765. He delivered a series of excellent lectures on engineering subjects in Philadelphia in 1772 and in New York the following year.²¹ After the Revolution he joined the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and was a member of the Society's Council in 1797 and for many years thereafter.²²

Although the greater part of the New York Irish before the Revolution was probably employed in manual labor, either skilled or unskilled, by the middle of the eighteenth century there is evidence that many of them had prospered very considerably. As early as 1788 we read that the Irish vote was making itself felt in the city.²³ Since in New York the franchise was restricted to "freemen" and to forty pound "freeholders"²⁴ this can only mean that a large number of Irish immigrants had become men of substance. Irishmen were now taking their place among the leading lawyers, physicians, journalists, and more important, among the great merchants of the city. New York's aristocracy was already one of wealth rather than of blood, and the merchant princes dominated the town culturally, politically, and socially. All the great landowning families were now engaged either directly or indirectly in commerce. By 1750 the original Dutch, French

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¹⁶ Flick, *op. cit.*, II, 389.

¹⁷ Dillon, *The New York Triumvirate*, p. 19.

¹⁸ Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 296; Pomerantz, *New York: an American City*, p. 279.

¹⁹ Wilson, *Memorial History*, IV, 343; Harry J. Carman, "Christopher Colles," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 301-2.

²⁰ Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 296; cf. Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 279-80; Wilson, *op. cit.*, IV, 343.

²¹ Carman, *loc. cit.*, p. 301.

²² *Records of the Society*, vide Appendix E, Council, 1785-1835.

²³ W. C. Abbott, *New York in the American Revolution*, New York, 1929, p. 4.

²⁴ Werner, *Civil List*, p. 137.

Huguenot, and English elements had become so fused by intermarriage that it was almost impossible to trace the original racial strains. For example, Oliver de Lancey, son of a French Huguenot emigré and a Dutch Van Cortlandt mother, had married Phila Franks, daughter of Jacob Franks, a wealthy Jewish merchant of Philadelphia, now belonged to the Anglican Church, and was a member of the Governor's party.²⁵ Intermarriage with the older colonial families was a sure sign of financial and social success.

By the middle of the eighteenth century newcomers, many of them Irish, were beginning to intermarry with the old families or with British officialdom. This trend was to be accelerated after the French and Indian War, during which many Irish made fortunes from government contracts or from privateering.²⁶ Irish born Joseph Murray, mentioned above as at the head of the legal profession, married a daughter of Colonel William Cosby, governor of New York Province from 1731 to 1736. Murray's wife and the Earl of Halifax were first cousins.²⁷ When the Irish lawyer died in 1757 at the age of 64, he was a member of His Majesty's Council. Murray by his will devised all his residuary estate to King's College, and its governors took his library as part of the bequest.²⁸ Conspicuous examples of success from even more humble origins can be cited.

Anthony Duane, a native of County Mayo, Ireland, formerly a purser in the British merchant marine, arrived in New York in the spring of 1717. He married three times. His first wife was Eva Benson, granddaughter of Dirck Bensingh, a Swede who had settled at Fort Orange, New York. Eva's sister was married to a John Kelly, already well established in New York City, from whom Anthony bought a house in 1718. Anthony's second wife was Athelia, daughter of the wealthy Abraham Ketletas, of Dutch stock. She was mother of James Duane of Revolutionary fame. Several years after her death Anthony married again, in 1741, this time to Margaret Riker Lynch, widow of New York's great merchant, Thomas Lynch, who was a freeman of the city as early as 1715.²⁹ By the time of the Revolution the "Irish" Duane family was very prominent in the city and province. Anthony's Mohawk Valley estate, Duanesburg, purchased by him in 1741, was one

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²⁵ M. A. Hamm, *Famous Families of New York*, N. Y., 1902, pp. 94-95; De Lancey, ed., *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 156; 464; Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 17.

²⁶ The Irish merchant Waddell Cunningham owned ten privateers. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 62.

²⁷ De Lancey, *op. cit.*, I, 136-7.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ M. J. O'Brien, "Irish . . . Freemen of New York," *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, pp. 146-8.

of the great manors of the province.³⁰

One of the wealthiest merchants of New York before the War for Independence was an Irishman, Hugh Wallace,³¹ who arrived in the city about 1753. He married Miss Sally Low, thus allying himself with the Lows, Gouverneurs, and Cuylers, and accumulated a fortune of £30,388 sterling.³² He was made a member of the Governor's Council in 1769, and became second president of the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1770. In partnership with his brother Alexander, he was a general importer and exporter, advertising a wide variety of merchandise in the newspapers of his day.³³ Hugh was a member of the Angelican-Court-deLancey group of merchants, the most influential in the colony at that time. He owned shares in at least four ships, while his firm, Hugh and Alexander Wallace, was joint owner of three others with another firm of Irish origin, Conygham and Nesbitt, of Philadelphia.³⁴ Wallace seems to have made money in government contracts during the French War, to have lent out his money at interest, and at one time held £20,000 in the bonds and notes of his fellow merchants. Thus within twenty years of his arrival in the city an Irish immigrant had attained the very highest position among the aristocracy of New York. With liquid wealth second to none, allied by marriage to powerful old families, president of the Chamber of Commerce, and a member of the Governor's Council he could hardly progress any higher. Quite naturally he became a loyalist in the American Revolution, and was a member of Sir Guy Carleton's Board of Public Accounts, which attempted to clean up graft in the British Army during the last year of the war.³⁵

One of the most prominent Irish merchants, socially, in the city before the war was James McEvers, of County Meath, Ireland, who emigrated to New York with his brother Charles about 1759. James married Elizabeth Apthorp, sister of the rich merchant Charles Ward Apthorp, who in turn married James' sister Mary. They both had "elegant" mansions near each other in Bloomingdale, a fashionable

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³⁰ E. W. Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period, 1783-1789*, New York, 1932, p. 244. The above account is based on E. P. Alexander, *A Revolutionary Conservative, James Duane of New York*, New York, 1938, pp. 1-12, and O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 1036.

³¹ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, pp. 16-17.

³² *Loyalist Transcripts*, XLII, p. 360 cited by Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 17; the British government allowed him \$20,000 against a claim for \$86,000 losses in the Revolution. A. C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the American Revolution*, New York, 1901, p. 212.

³³ *New York Mercury*, January 4, 1762; *Ibid.*, April 5, 1762.

³⁴ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, pp. 52, 131, 224-5; Bridenbaugh, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

³⁵ Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, New York, 1948, p. 162.

village north of the city, about at present day 90th Street.³⁶ Mrs. McEvers' table was famous for its fresh fruits in the 'sixties. Charles Ward Apthorp was the New York representative of his father's Boston firm of Charles Apthorp & Co., and became one of the wealthiest and most important men of the day in his adopted city. He was a member of the Governor's Council.³⁷ James McEvers was socially prominent in a city noted above all American towns for its "extravagant" hospitality. With William Walton, owner of the finest mansion in town in the 'sixties,³⁸ he organized fortnightly assembly balls for the "elite," after the London model.³⁹ James was one of the founders of the New York Chamber of Commerce in 1768, but never actually took his seat.⁴⁰ Already in ill health, he died in the same year. His property was inherited by his brother, Charles, who since 1759, had been in business for himself with a warehouse near the Meal Market and later in Dock Street.⁴¹ Charles was also a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and in 1784 became a founder of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. When the Stamp Act was passed James McEvers, probably because of his close connection with a member of the Council, had been appointed Stamp Agent for the Province, thought to be a very lucrative position. He was "persuaded" by the Sons of Liberty to send in his resignation to Governor Colden in August, 1765, two months before the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress, and three months before the date for the enforcement of the Act.⁴²

The social position of a New York merchant on the eve of the Revolution was unique. Membership in this select group by an Irishman meant that he had definitely "arrived." During the colonial period and for many years thereafter a merchant was a wholesale importer and exporter who usually dealt in a wide variety of products, trading with a considerable number of ports, foreign, British, and colonial. There was little or no specialization. Although some few merchants conducted a retail as well as a wholesale trade, in general retailers were regarded as a quite separate class. They were called shopkeepers

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³⁶ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 24; Bloomingdale was an area on the west shore of Manhattan between present 90th and 100th Streets. Apthorp's house, built of imported stone, was still standing about 1890. Sir Henry Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, ed., W. B. Wilcox, New York, 1954, p. 47; H. C. Brown, *In the Golden Nineties*, New York, 1928, p. 45.

³⁷ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 34.

³⁸ The magnificence of Walton's mansion, so indicative of the prosperity of the colonies, was said to have been one of the causes of the passage of the Stamp Act. Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 11.

³⁹ Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

⁴⁰ John Austin Stevens, Jr., *Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1768-1784*, New York, 1867, p. 5.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁴² *New York Mercury*, September 2, 1765; W. C. Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 38; Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 325.

or "mongers" as the advertising of the day makes clear. There were no large retailers in the city of that time. Walter Barrett doubts that any retailer before the Revolution employed more than three clerks.⁴³ A general merchant might import wines and liquors, beef and pork, broadcloth and linens, oranges and lemons, gloves and hats, indeed almost anything imaginable, advertising them in the *New York Mercury* for sale to other "merchants, shopkeepers, retailers, and country chapmen."⁴⁴ The business of a merchant was usually quite substantial, and also very precarious. A man of initiative might make a fortune this year, only to lose it the next. Far more merchants died penniless than wealthy, and bankruptcies among them always ran high. Meanwhile the merchant lived well, entertained extravagantly, invested his surplus funds in land, and insisted upon his place among the aristocracy.⁴⁵ A New York merchant needed an investment of from £2,000 to £10,000 to do business successfully.⁴⁶ Most of them owned ships or at least had a share, usually one-eighth, in a number of ships. Some of the prominent New York firms of the 'sixties were representatives of houses in the British Isles. The largest of this type was the Irish house of Greg, Cunningham & Co., which represented a Belfast firm of that name. Greg, Cunningham owned outright seven ships, and held shares in at least six others. Senior partner of this firm in New York was Irish born Waddell Cunningham, with Robert Ross Waddell⁴⁷ and Hamilton Young, both Irishmen, as junior partners.

Waddell Cunningham became involved in what was probably, after the Zenger case, the most famous suit in the history of colonial New York: *Forsey v. Cunningham*. It aroused a violent uproar in New York's judicial and political circles, just at the beginning of the time of troubles that led to the Revolution. Cunningham was accused, in 1763, of stabbing a rival merchant, Thomas Forsey, on the streets of the city with a sword which he carried under his cloak. John Morin Scott appeared for the plaintiff, and William Livingston, William Smith, Jr., and James Duane for the defendant. The first three were the leading Whig lawyers of the period,⁴⁸ while James Duane was rapidly taking his place with them. Convicted of assault and battery Cunningham was fined thirty pounds, and in a civil suit a jury granted Forsey £1500 damages. When Cunningham tried to appeal his case

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⁴³ Walter Barrett (pseudonym of Joseph A. Scoville), *The Old Merchants of New York City*, 5 vols., New York, 1885, I, III.

⁴⁴ *New York Mercury*, February 27, 1764.

⁴⁵ Flick, *New York State History*, III, 145; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 339.

⁴⁶ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 19.

⁴⁷ Robert Ross Waddell was a founder of the Friendly Sons, and the Society's Secretary, 1784 to 1812. *Records of the Society*, vide Appendix D, List of Officers, 1784-1835.

⁴⁸ They were known especially to their enemies as the "New York Triumvirate," and had been educated at Yale, that "nursery of sedition, faction and republicanism." De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 2-5.

to the Governor and Council, and later to the King in Council, Livingston, Smith, and Duane had to abandon his cause. His partners, Robert Ross Waddell and Hamilton Young, who seems to have been a lawyer as well as a merchant, now appeared for him. All the Whig lawyers of the day opposed such an attempt, which involved the legal question whether appeals in fact as well as in law lay from the verdicts of colonial juries to the Governor and Council.⁴⁹ When Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden ordered a stay in execution of the judgment a storm of protests arose. This case aroused excitement surpassed only by that caused by the passage of the Stamp Act. Cunningham eventually returned to Ireland, leaving Robert Ross Waddell in charge of the firm.

Two associations of merchants existed in New York City before 1784. The first of these was the Merchant's Exchange, and the second the Chamber of Commerce. The Merchant's Exchange, which dated back to 1670, was established by order of the governor. By 1753 it was occupying quarters at the lower end of Broad Street, and its costs were met by public and private subscriptions to which the Common Council of the city contributed £100.⁵⁰ A coffee house established in the Exchange building became the most famous resort of merchants in colonial New York. Little or nothing is known about the actual operations of the Exchange. On April 5, 1768, however, a number of merchants founded the Chamber of Commerce which opened up a new era for the business community.⁵¹ This New York Chamber of Commerce was the first of its kind in America and, when incorporated by the Crown in 1770, became the first incorporated Chamber of Commerce in the world.⁵²

Among the founders of the Chamber of Commerce were the prominent Irish merchants Hugh Wallace, James McEvers, Thomas Randall, Robert Murray, and Robert Ross Waddell.⁵³ Charles McEvers was elected at the first meeting. The object of the Chamber was to pro-

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⁴⁹ For an account of this important case see Dillon, *The New York Triumvirate*, pp. 68-81, 90, 91, 96, 100.

⁵⁰ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 235; Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 73; David Thomas Valentine, ed., *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York*, 28 vols., New York, 1842-70, XV, 515.

⁵¹ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, pp. 1-5. Founded as a "Society of Merchants," it soon changed its name to "New York Chamber of Commerce." *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁵² Harrington, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

⁵³ Stevens, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-5. For Wallace, McEvers, Waddell, *vide supra*, for Randall, *vide infra*. Robert Murray is the famous Quaker merchant of colonial New York, whose name is perpetuated in Murray Hill. Usually referred to as a Scot, his parents migrated to Pennsylvania from Armagh, Ireland, and he was known to his friends and acquaintances as "the little Irishman." There is doubt as to whether he was born in Armagh or Swatara, Pennsylvania. He came to New York in 1753, and was joined in 1758 by his brother John, born in Swatara, in 1737. Robert was a member of the Friendly Sons for a short time before his death in 1786. John was a member for many years and an intimate of Daniel McCormick. *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, sketch of Robert Murray by Richard C. Murphy, based upon MSS. in New York Historical Society.



DANIEL MCCORMICK

mote and encourage commerce, support industry, adjust trade and navigation disputes, and seek laws and regulations for the protection of commerce. Most of the prominent merchants of the city became members. Some 135 merchants were admitted between 1768 and 1783. At regular meetings twenty-one constituted a quorum. The average attendance was twenty-six.⁵⁴ In addition to those already mentioned leading members of Irish birth or ancestry at various dates include John Glover, Daniel McCormick, Patrick McDavitt, Thomas William Moore, John Murray, William Neilson, and Oliver Templeton. The Chamber functioned in an outstanding manner in the commercial life of the city down to 1775 when it was forced to suspend operations for a time. Its members were for the most part conservative men of New York's aristocratic class. Of the 104 living members in 1775 the great majority became Loyalists, some few were neutral, while only twenty-six were Whigs.⁵⁵ One of the exceptions was that enthusiastic patriot, Thomas Randall, born in County Limerick, Ireland in the year 1723. He had come to New York about 1748, and soon became one of the most celebrated privateer captains of the French War. In 1757 he had brought into New York Harbor the French ship *L'Amazone* as a prize taken by his brigantine, the *Fox*, and he was the owner or joint owner of many other privateers.⁵⁶ In 1768 he had a warehouse in Pearl Street, and was one of the most active among the founders of the Chamber of Commerce.⁵⁷ He later gave distinguished service to the patriot cause in the Revolution.

Many natives of Ireland are to be numbered among the shipmasters sailing from New York in the 'sixties and 'seventies. Notable among these were Patrick Dennis and Thomas Roach, early members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. The origin of Patrick Dennis is somewhat obscure. Tradition says he was born in Sligo, Ireland, about the year 1735; but the genealogist of the Dennis family of Sussex County, New Jersey states that he was descended from one of three brothers, natives of the City of Cork, who emigrated from there to Gloucester County, New Jersey in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.⁵⁸ They are described in the New Jersey land records of the year 1687 as "natives of Cork, Ireland, now West Jersey."⁵⁹ In the will of Mary Dennis, proved in the Surrogate's Court at Trenton on September 4, 1776, Patrick Dennis is listed as one of the legatees.⁶⁰ He is first heard of in New York in 1769 as one of the Charter members of the famous

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⁵⁴ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, pp. 304, 305.

⁵⁵ Biographical Sketches in Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*.

⁵⁶ Wilson, *Memorial History*, II, 446.

⁵⁷ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 157.

⁵⁸ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, Sketch of Patrick Dennis by R. C. Murphy.

⁵⁹ *Gloucester Land Records*, Vol. I, pp. 650-670, Trenton, New Jersey.

⁶⁰ *New Jersey Wills*, Vol. 24, fol. 6.

old Marine Society of New York, founded in that year for the relief of distressed shipmasters or their widows and orphans. He was one of the many shipmasters that sailed between New York and the West Indies, and prior to the Revolution was owner of a vessel which served as a privateer in the early years of the war. In June 1775, he was appointed lieutenant, and later captain of a New York artillery company, and on October 3, 1775, he was selected a member of the "Committee of Secrecy and Inspection."⁶¹ He gave distinguished service to the patriot cause thereafter.

Thomas Roach, born near Fermoy, County Cork, Ireland, in 1727, had come to New York at the age of sixteen. He was soon master of a vessel in the triangular trade between New York, the West Indies and Europe. Elected to membership in the Marine Society in 1771, he was president of that Society in 1783, the year in which George Washington and Governor George Clinton became honorary members. In 1792 he was elected president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.⁶²

A business that proved exceptionally profitable in New York during the second half of the eighteenth century was that of vendue master or public auctioneer. Madame Knight ascribes their profits to the fact that "they treat with good Liquor Liberally, and the Customers Drink so Liberally and . . . they Bidd up Briskly . . . after the sack hath gone plentifully about."⁶³ Records of the old merchant houses show that it was their custom to dispose of goods imported in large quantity through the medium of public auction.⁶⁴ About 1769 there were six auctioneers in the city, the largest of which were Moore, Lynsen & Co. and Templeton & Stewart, both Irish houses. Templeton and Stewart did a very large business with Greg, Cunningham & Co. Their receipts between September 2 and December 16, 1769 total over £1,195.⁶⁵ Vendue merchants advertised more widely than did other merchants. Moore, Lynsen & Co. appeared almost weekly in the *New York Mercury*. It was Moore and Lynsen that young Daniel McCormick, founder of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, joined when he came to New York in 1766. He soon became a junior partner, and when Thomas William Moore, the senior partner, retired, McCormick operated the business alone under his own name. He was made a "freeman" of the city in 1769.⁶⁶

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⁶¹ Peter Force, ed., *American Archives*, 9 vols., 4th and 5th Series, Washington, 1837-53, 4th Series, I, 940.

⁶² *Records of the Society*, vide Appendix D, List of Officers, 1784-1835.

⁶³ *Journal of Madame Knight*, p. 55, quoted by Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 192, note 41.

⁶⁴ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, pp. 92, 93.

⁶⁵ *Templeton & Stewart Receipt Book*, pp. 53-86, Columbia Library.

⁶⁶ M. J. O'Brien, "Irish . . . Freemen of New York," *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 146.

Already gaining quite a reputation as an architect in the city was young John McComb, a friend of Daniel McCormick whom he will join in 1784 as a member of the Friendly Sons. John was born in Princeton, New Jersey, the son of James McComb who had come there from Ireland in 1732. After his marriage to Mary Davis in 1761 John McComb removed to New York where he designed in 1767 the Brick Presbyterian Church, of which McCormick was a trustee. He also was the architect of the North Dutch Church, 1769, and the New York Hospital, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1773. McComb served his country well in the Revolution. His son, John Jr., an even more famous architect than his father, designed the present New York City Hall.⁶⁷

Certainly one of the best known Irishmen in New York City prior to the Revolution was Hugh Gaine, printer and publisher of the *New York Mercury*, which "became by far the best newspaper in the colonies."⁶⁸ Born in Belfast, Ireland in 1726 or 1727 he came to New York in 1745 "without basket or burden," but well trained in the printing trade as an apprentice to James MacGee of Belfast. Securing employment from James Parker, a printer established in New York by Benjamin Franklin in 1742, his wages are said to have been equivalent to a dollar and a quarter a week.⁶⁹ How he managed is not known, but it is recorded that he "saved money, and with the assistance of a friend imported a press and types,"⁷⁰ setting himself up as printer, publisher, and bookseller in the year 1752. On August 8, he began to publish the *New York Mercury*, which he continued to issue with a slight change in the name down to the end of the American Revolution.⁷¹ At first his office was located on Hunter's Key but eventually Gaine settled himself permanently on property purchased in 1759, a location made famous by Philip Freneau, poet of the Revolution, in his lampoon *Petition* written after the war.

A most resourceful man, Gaine made his own paper, offering good prices for the best linen rags. Appointed public printer to the Colony in 1768,⁷² for many years he did all the government printing for the Province and City of New York. His *New York Mercury* was successful from the beginning. The rival newspapers, Parker's *New York Gazette* had to be enlarged to equal the *Mercury*.⁷³ *The New York Evening*

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⁶⁷ Account based on Talbot Faulkner Hamlin "John McComb," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 599.

⁶⁸ Wilson, *Memorial History*, IV, 136. Hugh Gaine was the first treasurer of the Friendly Sons, serving from 1784 to 1797.

⁶⁹ O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 385.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ After 1763 Gaine's paper was called the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Flick *Loyalism in New York*, p. 279.

⁷² Werner, *Civil List*, p. 223.

⁷³ Paul Leicester Ford, ed., *The Journals of Hugh Gaine*, 2 vols., New York, 1902, I, 5.



HUGH GAÏNE

Post and Zenger's *Weekly Journal* had already discontinued. Gaine not only imported English books but reprinted some of them. One of his earliest publications was a reprint of Oliver Goldsmith's history of "Little Goody Two Shoes."⁷⁴

Hugh Gaine was not merely a printer, publisher, and bookseller, but a merchant importer of soaps, drugs, chemicals and many other things. Between 1762 and 1774 we find his advertisements tempting the "beauties and coquettes, maids and matrons of New York" with every article that could be found on London toilet-tables.⁷⁵ One of his most popular offerings seems to have been a "Princely Beautifying Lotion" which for years he advertised with all the extravagance of present day hucksters of patent medicines going as far as to claim that unlike its rivals his remedy was so harmless that it could be "taken inwardly."⁷⁶ Later he added to his lists many other exotic lotions and soaps to entice women of the city. Ever solicitous for young housewives who lacked "home-training" he published elaborate Cook Books, one containing 300 and another 600 recipes, as well as menus for every week in the year, and instructions for marketing, carving, setting the table, and the like.

Gaine was a friend of that other famous New York Irishman of the pre-Revolutionary period, Sir William Johnson, and often acted as his agent, importing various articles from abroad that were needed by the lord of the Mohawk Valley.⁷⁷ As a newspaper publisher Gaine seems to have sought to take an impartial position in the bitter controversies of his day, which gained for him only the unenviable reputation of a "fence-sitter." Unlike most New York Irishmen of his day Gaine was a member of the Church of England and was later for a time a vestryman of Trinity Church. When the "New York Triumvirate," William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith, young lawyers of republican ideas and Presbyterian sympathies, began an attack upon the Anglican sect which they believed exercised an undue influence in the affairs of the province, Gaine seems at first to have favored the Anglican side. He was bitterly attacked for this in the pages of James Parker's *Independent Reflector*.⁷⁸ But when Parker was forced, by economic pressure, to cease publishing attacks upon what was indeed the King's party in the Colony, Hugh Gaine opened his paper to the Presbyterian point of view in a column under the signature "Watch

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⁷⁴ John D. Crimmins, *Irish-American Historical Miscellany*, New York, 1905, p. 93.

⁷⁵ Singleton, *Social New York Under the Georges*, p. 204.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

⁷⁷ Gaine's correspondence with Johnson is published in Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, II, 217-226.

⁷⁸ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 14-15. Judge Jones tells an interesting story of a bogus "Irish Petition" against the Anglican party, which Gaine refused to print.

Tower." As the storm of war approached in 1775, the "Watch Tower" contained a series of patriotic papers so that, by the time war broke out with the mother country, Hugh Gainé himself stood well with Presbyterians and Whigs. As the English army approached New York Gainé removed a part of his presses and types to Newark, New Jersey, where he published at least two issues of his newspaper beginning September 21, 1776.⁷⁹ He soon, however, returned to New York where he resumed publication of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*.⁸⁰ It had been said that he became an uncompromising Tory.⁸¹ But Gainé's contemporaries and early historians of New York City knew that a man of his amiable and conciliatory temperament could hardly take an "uncompromising" stand on any political issue. The British never really trusted him, and it was Rivington's *New York Royal Gazette* that became the official Tory sheet during the British occupation of New York.⁸² During the whole course of the Revolutionary War Gainé's *Mercury* afforded very accurate indications of the state of the contest.⁸³ His zigzag course was a fruitful theme for the wags of the day, and when peace was declared Philip Freneau published a poetical petition from Hugh Gainé to the Senate of New York State. Written with a good deal of humor it sets forth Gainé's life and conduct as his contemporaries saw them. According to Freneau, Gainé

*"Dwelt in the street call'd Hanover Square
(You'll know where it is, if you ever was there)
Next door to the dwelling of doctor Brownjohn,
(Who now to the drug shop of Pluto has gone)
But what do I say — who'er came to town
And knew not HUGH GAINÉ at the Bible and Crown."*⁸⁴

The decade from 1766 to 1776 saw a general decline of royal authority in the city and province of New York and the gradual development of the revolutionary committee system. This at first enforced the non-importation agreements and later served both to prevent anarchy when civil government broke down and to guide the revolutionary movement to its logical conclusion. Men of Irish birth or descent took a

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⁷⁹ Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gainé*, I, 255.

⁸⁰ "I am informed Hugh Gainé the printer has gone to New York." General Greene to Washington, November 5, 1776. Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 523.

⁸¹ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous. Undated address of Judge Charles P. Daly, President of the Friendly Sons for many years.

⁸² Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, p. 279.

⁸³ Wilson, *Memorial History*, IV, 137.

⁸⁴ Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gainé*, I, 64.

prominent part in the various committees of "inspection,"⁸⁵ "observation," and "correspondence," as well as a share in the activities of the "Sons of Liberty," which quite often led to acts of violence. Prominent among the "Sons of Liberty," which began as an informal committee to oppose the enforcement of the Stamp Act, was a young Irishman with the intriguing name of Hercules Mulligan. Mulligan had come to New York with his family from Coleraine, County Antrim, Ireland, in the year 1746, at the age of six. His father, Hugh, a peruke-maker, is listed among the freemen of the city in 1747.⁸⁶ Hercules became a fashionable tailor who catered to the upper class Tory elements in the city. His brother, Hugh, was a partner in Kartwright & Company, who were agents for Nicholas Cruger, the West Indies' representative of the famous New York family, which in the 'sixties had members in almost every important trading center on the globe. When young Alexander Hamilton arrived in New York in 1772 at the age of sixteen,⁸⁷ he was placed in the care of Kartwright & Co. by Nicholas Cruger, his former employer.⁸⁸ In this way he met Hercules Mulligan who took him under his wing. The two became close friends and, for a time, Alexander lived in Mulligan's home. We would know very little of Hamilton's early life in America were it not for Mulligan's story.⁸⁹ It was Mulligan who accompanied young Hamilton to Princeton in the latter's unsuccessful attempt to enter that college.⁹⁰ On November 22, 1774 Mulligan was elected a member of the Committee of Sixty,⁹¹ designed as a committee of inspection to enforce the Continental Association recently established by the First Continental Congress. In the following year, May 1, 1776, he was elected to the Committee of One Hundred, which took over the administration of the city to restore order.⁹² Mulligan became one of the most active members of this committee.⁹³ In 1770 Mulligan, as a member of the Sons of Liberty, had taken part in the "Battle of Golden Hill," where New Yorkers like to think the first blood of the Revolution was shed.⁹⁴ This armed

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⁸⁵ As early as 1768 William Neilson, John Murray, Thomas William Moore, and Charles McEvers were members of a Committee of Inspection to enforce the non-importation agreement. De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 438.

⁸⁶ Crimmins, *Irish-American Historical Miscellany*, p. 60; *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, p. 27.

⁸⁷ Recent research indicates that Hamilton was born two years earlier than hitherto believed. This would make him nearly eighteen when he arrived in New York. Broadus Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton: Youth to Maturity, 1755-1768*, New York, 1957, pp. 1-14.

⁸⁸ Nathan Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, New York, 1946, p. 27.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 438; vide "Mulligan's Narrative," *Hamilton*, MSS, Library of Congress.

⁹⁰ Schachner, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, p. 98.

⁹¹ Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, I, 330; *New York Mercury*, November 28, 1774.

⁹² Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 459; *New York Mercury*, May 15, 1775; O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 600.

⁹³ Carl Becker, *The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760-1776*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1907, p. 199, n. 30.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

clash between citizens and soldiers, in which there were no serious casualties, took place on January 18, weeks before the more famous "Boston Massacre." Liberty Boys led by Isaac Sears fought British soldiers who had twice torn down their liberty poles.⁹⁵ New York, too, had its own "Tea Party," when on April 22, 1774 a mob, proceeding to Murray's Wharf, dumped overboard eighteen chests of tea from Captain Chambers' ship *London*.⁹⁶ On the same day the *Nancy*, under Captain Lockyear, was compelled to return to England with her cargo of tea, 698 chests, belonging to the East India Company.⁹⁷ Both Alexander Hamilton and Hercules Mulligan took part in a battle of August, 1775 to prevent an attempt from British ships in the harbor to seize the twenty-one pieces of cannon at the Battery.⁹⁸ The militia tried to remove the nine-pounders, whereupon the men from the *Asia*, in two barges offshore, opened fire. Later the *Asia* fired several shots, and finally a broadside. Several men ashore were wounded, and some small houses damaged. Mulligan and Hamilton helped with one of the great guns.⁹⁹ The guns remained in American hands. Most probably it was the influence of Hercules Mulligan, and his friends Isaac "King" Sears, and Alexander McDougall that first led young Hamilton to identify himself with the patriot cause.

As events leading to the final break with the mother country began to speed up, men of Irish birth and ancestry took a leading part in the proceedings. When the news of the passage by Parliament of the Boston Port Bill reached the city on May 12, 1774, the people of New York were shocked.¹⁰⁰ "Respectable" merchants and mechanics joined with the more radical Sons of Liberty to form the famous "Committee of Fifty-One," which seems definitely to have been organized for administrative purposes rather than mere "observation" or "inspection." Irish leaders who were members of this committee include a number of those previously mentioned: Charles McEvers, Captain Thomas Randall, James Duane, John Moore, Alexander Wallace, and Hamilton Young.¹⁰¹ Although composed mostly of conservatives and moderates, into which categories would fall all the Irish members but Thomas Randall, it was this committee that first suggested a congress of all the colonies to meet in New York, to consider an answer to the Intolerable

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⁹⁵ Flick, *New York State History*, III, 204-205.

⁹⁶ Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, I, 250-1, note.

⁹⁷ Flick, *op. cit.*, II, 224-5; Becker, *New York Parties*, pp. 95-111; Force, *op. cit.*, I, 250.

⁹⁸ *New York Mercury*, August 28, 1775; O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 631; Force, *op. cit.*, III, 550.

⁹⁹ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 42.

¹⁰⁰ Becker, *New York Parties*, p. 112, cites New York letter, May 14, 1774, in *Boston Gazette*, May 23, 1774; cf. Flick, *New York State History*, III, 226, which gives date as May 2, 1774.

¹⁰¹ O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 433; Becker, *op. cit.*, p. 114; Martha H. Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, 2 vols., New York, 1877-1880, I, 760, 770.

Acts.¹⁰² The result of this suggestion was the First Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia, and not in New York, in September of 1774. The radicals and conservatives on the "Committee of Fifty-One" split over the selection of the New York delegation and its instructions. On motions by Charles McEvers and John Thurman the committee repudiated resolutions adopted by the "Meeting in the Fields," presided over by Alexander McDougall.¹⁰³ Eleven radical members including Thomas Randall resigned, July 8, 1774. The committee finally selected, July 27, 1774, the following delegates: Philip Livingston, Isaac Low, John Alsop, John Jay, and James Duane. These men were all moderates and, as Judge Jones tells us, all Episcopalians.¹⁰⁴

By late November of 1774 the moderate "Committee of Fifty-One" found itself unable to cope with the new situation resulting from the acts of the Continental Congress. It resigned to be replaced by a "Committee of Sixty," elected by freeholders and freemen at City Hall.¹⁰⁵ Radicals now predominated. James Duane, Thomas Randall, Charles Shaw, John B. Moore, Lindley Murray, and Hercules Mulligan were members of this new committee.¹⁰⁶ The "Committee of Sixty" enforced the Continental Association and called the Provincial Convention of April 20-22, 1775 to select delegates to the Second Continental Congress, since the colonial legislature by a vote of 17 to 9, on February 23, refused to appoint them.¹⁰⁷ The committee also proposed the first New York Provincial Congress, which met in the city, May 22, 1775.¹⁰⁸ When news of the battle of Lexington reached New York, on April 23, 1775, a week of mob rule followed, which caused the "Committee of Sixty" to give way to a new "Committee of One Hundred," elected May 1, 1775.¹⁰⁹ James Duane, Thomas Randall, Hercules Mulligan, John B. Moore, Lindley Murray, Hamilton Young, and Oliver Templeton were among the Irish members of this body which organized a government for the city, usurping the functions of the mayor and council, and continued to govern in the name of the people until the occupation of the city by General Washington's Army.¹¹⁰

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102 Flick, *op. cit.*, III, 227; De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 443. Judge Jones cites letter of a sub-committee sent to Boston, May 23, 1774.

103 De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 400-51.

104 *Ibid.*, I, 35; Dillon, *New York Triumvirate*, p. 128.

105 O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 512, 513; Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, I, 915-916; De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 479.

106 Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, I, Appendix; De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 479. Lindley Murray, the "grammarian" was a son of Robert Murray. Lindley went to England during the war.

107 Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 44.

108 Flick, *New York State History*, III, 235, 244.

109 *Ibid.*, III, 245; Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, II, 25.

110 *Ibid.*; De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 88-9.

CHAPTER III

EARLY IRISH SOCIETIES IN AMERICA



WHEN the great influx of men of Irish blood into the American colonies before 1776 is taken into consideration it would be surprising if we failed to find during the eighteenth century some traces of clubs or societies in which it was customary for Irishmen to meet together for social intercourse. The earliest reference to such a club in New York City was in 1716. In that year, John Fontaine, a native of Dublin of Huguenot descent, came to New York from his home in Williamsburg, Virginia. In his diary under dates of October 27 and October 30, 1716, he made entries relating to his visits to the "Irish Club."¹ Certainly this is indicative of a considerable number of Irishmen in the town at that early date. Fontaine was a traveler of distinction. He dined with Governor Robert Hunter, who at that time, for safety sake, lived within the fort in what is described as a "noble house . . . , with fine gardens round." After dinner Fontaine walked with the governor about the fort which he described as a "small square situated upon a height above the town, and commanding it. . . . It is but a weak place badly contrived."² The city's population at this time was not more than six thousand. It had recently been threatened by an attempted insurrection of negro and Indian slaves, who numbered no less than fifteen hundred of the total population.³

The formation in America of benevolent societies, consisting exclusively of persons of the same nationality, began as early as the middle of the seventeenth century in Boston where the Scot's Charitable Society was founded in 1657. The movement was further stimulated after 1700 by the development of "friendly" societies in the English cities. Aside from their social features, the chief object of the members of such societies was to supply their immigrant countrymen with reliable information as to where it was desirable to settle, to assist them in procuring employment, or to relieve them by pecuniary aid in case of

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¹ John Fontaine, "Journal of John Fontaine," Ann Maury, *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*, New York, 1853, pp. 296, 297.

² Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 39.

³ Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 201; Gilder, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

sickness or want. It was natural for the emigrant at that early period to seek out his own countrymen for information or advice or to apply to them for assistance. These societies generally prompted a spirit of benevolence and kept up among their members an interest in the parent land, without in any way impairing their obligations or lessening their attachment to the land of their adoption. The oldest of these societies that combined both the social and the charitable elements were, in the City of New York, the St. Andrew's Society, founded in 1756, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of 1784, the German Society, of 1784, the St. George's Society, of 1786 and the St. David's Society, of 1835.⁴

Throughout the eighteenth century, such societies sprang up among the Irish in various places, notably at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, Baltimore, and Albany. Even where none was regularly organized, we find Irishmen meeting once a year and celebrating St. Patrick's Day.⁵ The earliest permanent organization that we know of was established in Boston. On March 17, 1737, "Several gentlemen, merchants and others of the Irish Nation, residing in Boston in New England, from an affectionate and compassionate concern for their countrymen in these parts, who may be reduced by Sickness, Shipwreck (*sic*), Old Age and other Infirmities," formed themselves "into a Charitable Society for the relief of their poor and indigent countrymen." They "hoped that all Gentlemen, Merchants and others of the Irish nation or extraction, residing in or trading to these Parts, who are lovers of Charity and their Countrymen will readily come into and give their assistance to so laudable an undertaking."⁶ Membership in this Charitable Irish Society was at first limited to Protestants; but this rule soon became a dead letter. It is believed that Roman Catholics were admitted as early as 1742, and Catholics are known to have been members of the Society in 1770.⁷

Irish records of the year 1740 mention an organization in Dublin known as "The Ancient and Most Benevolent Order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick," which spread to America before 1760, and to which, by a tradition generally accepted in the middle of the nineteenth century, the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick traces its origin. The early history of the Friendly Brothers order is somewhat

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⁴ In the twentieth century the St. George's Society of New York discovered a connection with an earlier society, the "Sons of St. George," which dates back to 1770. There is no evidence, however, of charitable work before 1786. The "Sons of St. George" apparently held annual dinners on St. George's Day down to 1782, with the exception of the years 1775 and 1776, during the Patriot occupation of the city. St. George's Society of New York, *A History of St. George's Society of New York, from 1770 to 1913*, New York, 1913, pp. 21-27.

⁵ Vide Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, pp. 1-44.

⁶ "Preamble" to "Rules and Orders," *Published Records of the Charitable Irish Society*, Boston, 1896.

⁷ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

THE FUNDAMENTAL
L A W S,
S T A T U T E S,
AND *Fred. Thompson*
CONSTITUTIONS
OF THE
Ancient and most benevolent
O R D E R
OF THE
FRIENDLY BROTHERS
OF 1832
St. *PATRICK*.

Maximè autem perturbantur officia in amicitia: quibus et non tribuere, quod rectè possis, et tribuere, quod non sit æquum, contra officium est. Sed hujus generis totius brevis, et non difficile præceptum est. Quæ enim videntur utilia, honores, divitiæ, voluptates, et cæteræ generis ejusdem, hæc amicitia nunquam anteponenda sunt. At nequè contra rempublicam, nequè contra jussurandum ac fidem, amici sui causa vir bonus faciet.

CICERO.

D U B L I N :

Printed by SAM. FR. PRICE, Bookfeller, in *Dame-street*.

M D C C L X I I I .

Facsimile of Cover of "Friendly Brothers" By-Laws

obscure. The first recorded meeting of its General Grand Knot was held "at Athunry" on May 17, 1750; but references made at this meeting and other evidence shows that a Knot had been meeting regularly in Dublin several years earlier.⁸ Statute VII of the first printed *Fundamental Laws* of the Order authorized the constitution of units or Knots "in every county, city, and great town in the Kingdom of Ireland."⁹ Later so-called Marching Knots were constituted in various regiments of the British Army, many of which were later stationed in the Colonies. So the order became established in America. As early as February 17, 1757 one Colonel Francis Grant was appointed by General Grand Knot to act as Grand President of North America.¹⁰ By far the most active of the Marching Knots was that of the 16th Regiment of Foot, patented on February 17, 1766. This regiment sailed for America in 1767, being stationed in New York. By June 14, 1769 Captain Richard Vincent, President of the Knot, reports that forty-nine Brothers had been added to the original ten. Membership was not limited to the 16th Foot alone, officers of other regiments, naval officers, and even civilians being admitted. Among the latter were Sir Henry Moore, the Governor of New York, and Nicholas McLaughlin, Deputy Chief Advocate.¹¹ Perhaps it was this Knot that was joined by Daniel McCormick, founder of the Society of the Friendly Sons.¹² A copy of the *Revised Fundamental Laws*, as printed in New York, 1768, by Hugh Gaine, is in the possession of the Order in Dublin. Hugh Gaine, was a founder of the Friendly Sons and may well have been a member of the older organization. These *Revised Laws* were first printed in Dublin in 1763 by Sam. Fr. Price, Bookseller, in Dame Street. The New York issue bears the imprint, "Dublin, Printed: New York, Reprinted, by H. Gaine, Bookseller, and Stationer, in Hanover Square. MDCCLXVIII."¹³ Captain Vincent was later appointed Grand President of North America, and authorized to constitute Knots in the various towns of the colonies where the

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⁸ T. Percy C. Kirkpatrick, *A Note on the Marching Knots of the Ancient and Benevolent Order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1938, p. 3.

⁹ *The Fundamental Laws, Statutes, and Constitutions of the Ancient and Most Benevolent Order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1750, p. 6. Very few copies of this issue of the Rules of the Order, with the date 1750, have survived. The Order has only one. There is a copy in the Rare Book Collection of the Library of Congress. A photostat reproduction is in the *Records of the Society of the Friendly Sons*.

¹⁰ Kirkpatrick, *Marching Knots*, p. 17.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Judge Charles P. Daly, who remembered McCormick, said that he was a member of the Friendly Brothers. *Records of the Society*, address by the Hon. Charles P. Daly in *Year Book*, 1889, p. 11.

¹³ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 20. No copy of either issue of the *Revised Laws* can be found in the Library of Congress, *Records of the Society* miscellaneous. Letter from the office of the Librarian, dated January 24, 1939, to Mr. R. C. Murphy, signed Louise C. Canon, Secretary of the Library.

"inhabitants" desired them.¹⁴ The Declaration of Independence and the withdrawal of the English troops from New York in 1783 put an end to the Friendly Brothers' activity in America. The Principal Knot of the Friendly Brothers of the 16th Regiment of Foot held a St. Patrick's Celebration Dinner at Ramboulet's Tavern, in New York, on Monday, March 18, 1782.¹⁵ A later dinner was announced for Saturday, August 17, 1782, at the same place.¹⁶ That is the last that we hear of the Order in New York. An attempt to spread the Order's influence to Canada in 1770 failed.¹⁷

All efforts to discover any formal connection between the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and the Friendly Brothers have met with no success. At best it can be said that some members of the new society were also members of the old. Certainly it would appear that the name of the younger group was influenced by that of its predecessor. The word "friendly" was vital in the "mysteries" of the Brothers' Order. Their Grand Presidents in the early days were called by the title "Sir John Friendly." The president's real name never appears in the minutes. However, the records of the Friendly Brothers in Dublin, fairly complete since the middle of the eighteenth century, do not show any direct connection with the Friendly Sons of New York.¹⁸ Perhaps the activity of the Friendly Brothers in New York prior to and during the Revolution is responsible for the error, perpetuated by many distinguished historians of New York State who assume without any citation of authority that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick was in existence in New York City during and before the Revolution.¹⁹ The Society itself has never made any such claim, as its published *Year Books* clearly show.

No records of the various Knots of the "Ancient and Most Benevolent Order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick," in America now exist. Accounts of their activities are scattered and meagre. At first, no doubt, its membership was largely comprised of Irish officers in English regiments stationed in New York and elsewhere. Though loyal to English interests, their national characteristics asserted themselves, at least once a year, when they assembled round the festive board to celebrate the feast day of Ireland's Patron Saint. According to newspaper accounts of their banquets, the toasts offered seem to us now

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¹⁴ Kirkpatrick, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹⁵ Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, March 16, 1782. The announcement is signed "By order of the President, Fitz. M. Friendly O'Connor, Acting Secretary."

¹⁶ *Royal Gazette*, August 14, 1782.

¹⁷ Kirkpatrick, *Marching Knots*, p. 23.

¹⁸ *Records of the Society*: Letter of T. P. C. Fitzpatrick, Select Grand Secretary, dated Dublin, December 11, 1938.

¹⁹ cf. Oscar T. Barck, Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 64; Harrington, *N. Y. Merchant*, p. 36; cf. Pomerantz, *New York: An American City, 1783-1803*, who says that the Friendly Sons was "reorganized" in 1784.

to be a peculiar mixture of inconsistencies. While on some occasions they drank to such sentiments as "The Memory of St. Patrick," and "Prosperity to Ireland," and condemned to "perdition" the "Enemies of Ireland," they also toasted the English King and Parliament as well as politicians of the time who ruled the people of Ireland with an iron hand. The increasing presence of civilians may account for the fact that they also denounced "all Acts of Parliament contrary to American Interests," and that they toasted "the Sons of Liberty in America," the very organization which was the strongest factor in promoting the growth of the revolutionary spirit. In the seventeen-sixties, however, even men who were to prove the most loyal of Tories, could respond with fervor to such sentiments. The newspapers often referred to the Friendly Brothers as "The Gentlemen of Ireland," and reports of their annual banquets usually said that they were held "in commemoration of St. Patrick, Tutelar Saint of Ireland," and were "attended by the Principal Ladies and Gentlemen of the City." They apparently, however, held dinners and social gatherings on other occasions than the 17th of March.

After 1765 the Sons of Liberty in New York each year celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act and Gaine's *Mercury* has an account of "an elegant entertainment" held at a tavern on "The Common," now City Hall Park, on the evening of March 17, 1771, which was attended by "a great number of the Principal Inhabitants of the City, Friends to Liberty and Trade."²⁰ One of the toasts drunk on that occasion was, "Prosperity to Ireland and the worthy Sons and Daughters of St. Patrick." On the same evening, New York Irishmen were holding their annual celebration of St. Patrick's Day and the report in the *Mercury* of the dinner of the Sons of Liberty said: "Messages of Civil Compliment were exchanged by those Gentlemen and the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick who dined at the Queen's Head Tavern," now called Fraunces' Tavern.²¹ This notice indicates that as early as 1771 British influences had begun to wane among the Friendly Brothers. They had become a heterogeneous body, and there is some evidence that the Society was splitting into two factions one of which strongly favored the "rebels." With the occupation of New York by the English forces under General Howe the Society undoubtedly became completely loyal. The old Marching Knot of the 16th Regiment of Foot seems to have been the nucleus of the Brothers in the City during the Revolution.²²

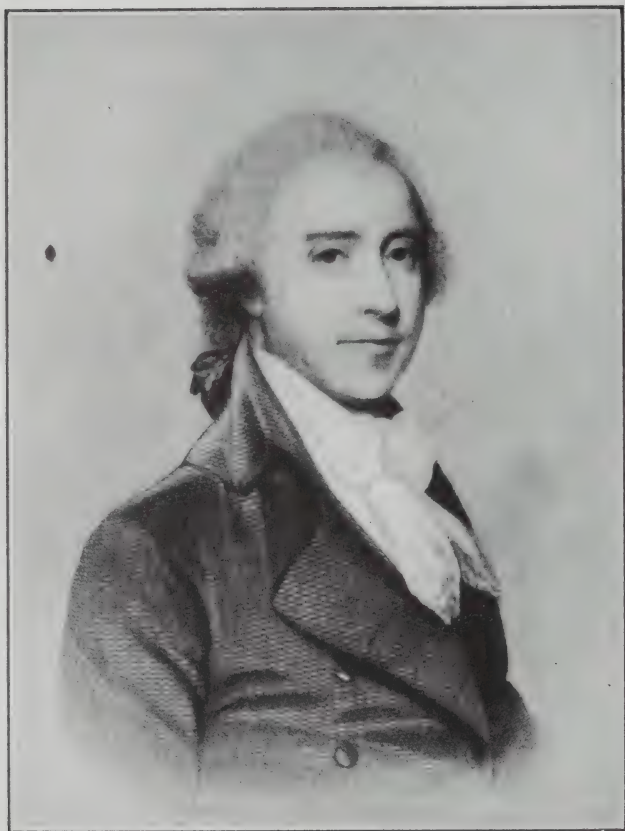
In Charleston, South Carolina, the "St. Patrick's Society or Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick," of which Edward Rutledge, signer of the

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²⁰ *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, March 25, 1771.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Royal Gazette*, March, 1782.



WILLIAM CONSTABLE

Declaration of Independence, was treasurer and secretary, dates its existence from the year 1771.²³ On the 17th of March, 1771, there was established in Philadelphia the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, "composed for the most part of men of fortune, who were associated on terms of familiarity, friendship and equality with the first men of the Province, and many of whom occupied the highest and most responsible stations in the Army, the Navy, the Cabinet, and in Congress."²⁴ In its membership lists are noted the names of seven Generals, many regimental commanders of the Revolutionary Army, and others prominent in the business and social life of Philadelphia. Membership in this Society was regarded as a mark of distinction and some of the most illustrious Americans of the time were its guests at its St. Patrick's Day functions, among them General Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, signers of the Declaration of Independence, officers of the National Government, governors of states and other distinguished men. The first president of the Society was Stephen Moylan, born in Ireland in 1734. His brother was the Roman Catholic Bishop of Cork. Moylan served as Washington's aide-de-camp at the siege of Boston, was Quartermaster-general of the army, and later commanded a regiment of light cavalry at Germantown, with Wayne in Pennsylvania, and with Green in the South.

The Society admitted honorary members not of Irish birth or descent. Among these in 1771 were John Dickenson, "Penmen of the Revolution," and Robert Morris, "Financier of the Revolution."²⁵ Honorary members attended all meetings and were frequently more faithful than the regular members. All of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia were patriots during the Revolution with a single exception, Thomas Batt, who was expelled from the Society as a Tory, March 18, 1776.²⁶ When the Bank of Pennsylvania was organized on June 17, 1780 to supply the army of the United States with provisions for two months, members of the Society contributed £112,000 of the £315,000 subscribed.²⁷ On December 18, 1781, since the list of honorary members was full, General George Washington was "unanimously adopted" as a member of the Society.²⁸ Washington's reply on that occasion is reproduced on the following page:

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²³ *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, March 23, 1773.

²⁴ Samuel Hood. *A Brief Account of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, Philadelphia, 1844, p. 21.

²⁵ Campbell, *Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, p. 93.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.



GEORGE WASHINGTON

Sir:

I accept with singular pleasure the Ensign of so worthy a Fraternity as that of the Sons of St. Patrick in this City, a Society distinguished for the firm adherence of its Members to the glorious cause in which we are embarked.

Give me leave to assure you, Sir, that I shall never cast my eyes on the Badge with which I am honoured, but with a grateful remembrance of the polite and affectionate manner in which it was presented.

I am with respect and esteem, Sir

Your most obedient servant,

G. Washington

TO:

George Campbell, Esq.,
President of the Society of
the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick
in the City of Philadelphia.

General Washington attended three meetings of the Society. The first was a banquet given in his honor, January 1, 1782, at which 35 members and 21 guests were present. The second was the anniversary dinner of March 17, 1782, when he was present as a regular member. Several years later while in Philadelphia, attending the Constitutional Convention, he was present at a regular quarterly meeting, June 18, 1787.²⁹ Washington signed the Rules of the Society, his signature appearing with those of John Cochran, Director of Hospitals for the Continental Army, and William Constable, formerly an aide to General Lafayette, who were both admitted in 1781.³⁰ Doctor Cochran and William Constable moved to New York in 1783, where they helped found the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of that City. The Philadelphia society died out after 1790, when many of the younger members joined the Hibernian Society organized in that year. The exact date of its passing is unknown, since the minutes for this period are lost. There are a few notices of anniversary meetings until March, 1802. The Society was probably kept alive by General Stephan Moylan, its last as well as first president.³¹ He died in 1811.

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²⁹ Campbell, *Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, p. 46.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, a facsimile of the signatures appears opposite p. 66.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 59. Other Irish Societies are of later dates. In Baltimore, the Hibernian Society was organized in 1790; in Philadelphia, in the same year, the *Hibernian Society for the Relief of Emigrants from Ireland* was established, Thomas McKeon, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, was president of this society.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDERS IN THE REVOLUTION AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SOCIETY



PERHAPS no city of the newly created United States of America suffered more severely from the ravages of war than did New York during the Revolution. It was not until November 25, 1783, nearly a year after preliminary peace articles had been signed with England and months after actual hostilities had ceased, that the British troops under Sir Guy Carleton finally evacuated the city. For seven long years New York had been a garrison town, overcrowded with soldiers of many nationalities, with loyalist refugees from almost every colony, with slaves escaped from their patriot masters, with prisoners of war and army camp followers. During all this time its inhabitants had suffered under a military dictatorship marked with such corruption and inefficiency that even the Loyalists who had flocked into the city in the autumn of 1776 protested bitterly. When they took the city in September, 1776, the Howe brothers had immediately suspended civil government. It was never restored despite the pleadings of the Tories for the return of "the King's peace," as they called it.¹ Although the Crown eventually, on May 4, 1779, replaced William Tryon, the last real colonial governor, with General James Robertson, the latter failed to secure the restoration of civil authority even in the limited fraction of the state which was within British lines.² In all probability he had no desire to do so.³ Judge Thomas Jones, Tory historian of New York in the Revolution, describes him as a Scot "principally engaged in making money out of the war."⁴ What power Robertson

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¹ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 152; De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 117.

² E. Wilder Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period, 1783-1789*, New York, 1932, p. 115.

³ As late as January 17, 1782 Sir Henry Clinton was considering the restoration of civil government in New York, chiefly as a device for the protection of Loyalists. General Robertson does not seem to have supported the idea. The decision was negative. *Vide* "extracts of Minutes of Councils of War, January 17, and January 23, 1782" in Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, pp. 592-594.

⁴ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 13-14.

exercised was owing almost entirely to his military rank, not to his civil office. Throughout the war Loyalists residing in the city were deprived of representative government, of the right of trial by jury, of *habeas corpus*, and were persecuted by what they termed the "arbitrary, illegal, unconstitutional Court of Police." In a city constantly threatened with attack by Washington's army or by the French fleet, with housing at a premium, usually short of food and fuel, harassed by fatal epidemics and two disastrous fires, the lot of the civilian inhabitants was bound to be an unhappy one. It is estimated that during the last years of the war 40,000 Loyalists passed through New York into exile. Of these no less than 10,000 were native New Yorkers.⁵

It was, therefore, in a dilapidated, down-at-the-heels city, reduced to a fraction of its former buildings and inhabitants, filthy with the debris of war, that certain men of the "Irish Nation," less than two short months after Evacuation Day, founded the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick for the relief of their distressed compatriots. Some of these men had served the patriot cause conspicuously in the late war; others, who had remained within the city, were classed as Tories. Many were old residents of New York, while some were newcomers who had arrived during the conflict or immediately thereafter. All had a sense of filial devotion to the land of their birth and of responsibility to fellow-Irishmen who were returning to the city, often homeless and penniless. All of them were to take an outstanding part in the revival of their adopted city and in its restoration to economic, social and cultural prosperity in the years immediately following the war.

At the outbreak of the Revolution the population of the City of New York had been 21,863,⁶ and in commerce it had ranked perhaps third after Philadelphia and Boston;⁷ but by the time the British took possession in 1776, its population had shrunk to not more than 3000, and its commerce was nonexistent.⁸ The exodus of Tories had begun in 1775. Among the first to leave, as Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden complained to General Gage, were John Watts, Colonel Richard Morris, Isaac Wilkins, and Colonel John Maunsell, all prominent citizens, who hastily wound up their affairs and caught a ship for

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⁵ Oscar T. Borek, Jr., *New York City During the War for Independence*, New York, 1931, p. 215. These figures do not include combatants; I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, 6 vols., New York, 1915-28, I. 329, 330, 367 gives the figures as 12,000 or more.

⁶ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 21; cf. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 216, who estimates the population to be 25,000 in 1775.

⁷ As late as 1770 New York ranked fourth in tonnage arriving and clearing but was gaining fast on third place Charleston. Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port*, New York, 1939, p. 5.

⁸ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 98; Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 215; cf. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in the Wilderness*, p. 216, who gives 5000 in 1776.

England, sailing May 4, 1775.⁹ Colonel Maunsell was an Irishman, born in County Tipperary, in 1724. He had served under Wolfe at Louisburg and Quebec, where he had been wounded in action on the Plains of Abraham. He arrived in New York not later than 1763, as he married Elizabeth Stillwell here in that year. Maunsell had received land grants in New York and Vermont and was a close friend of Hugh Gaine. He served as major-general in the British Army, abroad, during the Revolution. After the war Maunsell returned to New York and became a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1789.¹⁰ Many other Loyalists were to follow the example of these prominent citizens during the remaining months of 1775 so that, by the first of the year, as an eye-witness tells us, many of the residential streets of the city were entirely deserted. During the next three months the exodus became general. Most of the Loyalists fled to New Jersey or Long Island.¹¹

In the weeks before the arrival of the British army from Halifax, the few Tories who dared remain in the city or its environments were quite harshly treated by their Whig fellow-citizens, despite the disapproval of the New York Provincial Congress.¹² Things were probably not quite as bad as they seemed to terror stricken Loyalists since civil law was in full force under General Washington after he arrived in New York in March, 1776. The Tory Judge Thomas Jones sat for eleven days in the April term of his court, during which he convicted and punished "rebel" soldiers for petty larcenies, theft, and the like.¹³ He was praised for his impartiality by American officers. Conditions grew worse as the British fleet approached the city. Whig mobs attacked and physically abused those whom they suspected of giving information to the British General Howe. In June some Tories were ridden on rails by the mob.¹⁴ John Harris Cruger, one of His Majesty's Council who later served his king well in Cornwallis' southern campaigns, and Jacob Walton, a representative to the Assembly from the city, lay concealed for three weeks in the sultry heat of summer on a hay mow in an old Quaker farmer's barn. Augustus Van Cortlandt was forced to hide in the cow-house of an old Dutch Loyalist, named Lefferts.¹⁵ Hundreds were arrested and shipped off to Connecticut.¹⁶

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⁹ Gage Papers (Clements Library), Colden to Gage, May 6, 1775, cited by Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁰ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, MS notes of Bartholomew Moynahan, former Secretary; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 391. William A. Duer, *New York as it was during the Latter Part of the Last Century*, New York, 1849, p. 28.

¹¹ *New York Packet*, February 15, 1776.

¹² *New York Journal*, June 8, 1775.

¹³ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 135.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 101-2; Wilson, *Memorial History*, II, 495; Lamb, *New York City*, II, 77-78.

¹⁵ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 108-9.

¹⁶ Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, I, 888, 889, 1004, 1397, 1526-30, etc.

Judge Jones, himself, and the wealthy Irish merchants Hugh and Alexander Wallace were arrested in August, 1776 on the orders of General Washington and transported to Connecticut.¹⁷ Not all were harshly treated or even imprisoned there. Many leading Tories such as Jones, the Wallaces, Augustus Van Horne, Archibald Hamilton, and Adam Seabury were paroled in Norwich, Connecticut by Governor Jonathan Trumbull.¹⁸ In December, 1776 many Tory prisoners, including Jones and the Wallaces were released by the Connecticut authorities and allowed to return home under parole not to take up arms or convey intelligence to the enemy.¹⁹ After the Battle of Long Island, when General Washington's army had to retreat from the city, it was the Whig leaders' turn to take flight so that the British occupied what had become almost a ghost town.

Not everyone of course was compelled to leave the city. An exception was the Irish merchant Robert Murray of Murray's Wharf and Murray Hill, who, being a Quaker, was considered "neutral" and so could safely remain. Murray had been a member of the "Committee of One Hundred," and doubtless sympathized with the American cause. There is little doubt that his wife was a patriot, if there is any truth at all in the famous story that Mrs. Murray deliberately immobilized the British commander, General Sir William Howe, on the fatal afternoon of September 15, 1776. When the British landed at Kip's Bay, scattering the American troops before them, a quick march across Manhattan Island would have cut off the remaining brigades of Washington's army, which had lingered in the city for some unknown reason. Mrs. Murray is said to have entertained General Howe and his staff at tea in her mansion on Murray Hill, then called Inclenberg, during the critical hours of the afternoon thus enabling the last of the American forces to escape from the city.²⁰ The escaping brigades, guided by Aaron Burr, a native New Yorker, marched up the Greenwich Road past Murray's Inclenberg home until they reached the Apthorp house on the road to Bloomingdale where Washington was impatiently awaiting them.²¹ The Apthorp house, owned by

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¹⁷ De Lancey, *op. cit.*, II, 271.

¹⁸ Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 989.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 111s-13; De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 271.

²⁰ Modern historians consider this story of Mrs. Murray's tea or rather "madeira," as Charles H. Haswell would have it, to be quite unfounded. However, it has become part of the folk-lore of the Revolution and will probably never die. It was recently commemorated in a drama on Broadway. Charles Haswell, *Reminiscences of New York by an Octogenarian, 1816 to 1860*, New York, 1888, p. 2; the story is refuted in Christopher Ward, *The War of the Revolution*, ed. John R. Alden, 2 vols., New York, 1952, II, 937-939; Clinton, *The American Revolution*, p. 47; John C. Miller, *Triumph of Freedom, 1775-1783*, Boston, 1948, p. 135.

²¹ Mary L. Booth, *History of the City of New York*, New York, 1867, p. 504. Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 198; De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 120. Judge Jones says: "they passed the right flank of the Royal Army in full view, within less than a mile."

Charles Ward Apthorp, brother-in-law of Charles McEvers, a founder of the Friendly Sons, thus gained the reputation of having been the headquarters of both Washington and Howe on the same day, as fifteen minutes after Washington quitted it, the mansion was filled with British troops. The British occupied New York the same evening, September 15, 1776, without firing a shot. Tories soon flocked back into the city, not only the original inhabitants who had fled but Loyalists from all parts of the country, to make New York a veritable Tory haven for the next seven years. New York's population, what with Loyalist refugees and British soldiers, swelled for a time to 33,000.²²

Of those who had been too closely identified with the Whig cause and were thus forced to flee the city, not to return until 1783, were many prominent Irish merchants and professional men who will become founders of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick after the war. Notable among these was Captain Thomas Randall, one of the best known merchants and shipowners of the period immediately preceding the Revolution.²³ He was founder in 1769 of the Marine Society of the City of New York, of which Leonard Lispenard was the first president with Captain Randall chairman of the standing committee.²⁴ The Society, organized for the relief of distressed shipmasters or their widows and orphans, was chartered by Governor Cadwallader Colden, April 12, 1770. Randall had been active with the Sons of Liberty and was a close friend of those fiery patriots, Alexander McDougall, Isaac Sears, and Hercules Mulligan. He had been a member of the famous "Committee of Fifty-One" and had taken the side of the radicals in the division in that body caused by the meeting in "the Fields," called by Alexander McDougall, July 6, 1774.²⁵ In 1775 he was a member of the "Committee of Observation," and later of the "Committee of One Hundred."²⁶ He was also one of the nine-man "Committee to Detect Conspiracies," with John Jay, Gouverneur Morris, Philip Livingston and others, which sat from June 15 to June 30, trying many Loyalists for injuries to the American cause.²⁷ After the Declaration of Independence the committee, reduced to six members with Randall still included, was kept very busy until its dissolution, August 7, 1776. This Committee exposed the so-called "Hickey Plot" which apparently aimed at the assassination of General Washington

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²² Barck, *New York City during the War*, pp. 74-79.

²³ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 157.

²⁴ MS. "Journal of the Proceedings of the Marine Society," Marine Society of New York, cited by De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 422, note X.

²⁵ *Vide supra*.

²⁶ O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 601.

²⁷ "Records of the Committee," Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, VI, 1152-1183; "Proceedings of the Committee" cited by Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 68-70.

and the delivery of New York City into the hands of the British.²⁸ When Howe's army occupied the city in September, Randall went to Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, where he took charge of the privateers commissioned by Congress. In this position his experience as a privateersman in the French and Indian War proved invaluable.

Another old Irish shipmaster, very active in the patriot service, was Captain Patrick Dennis, who became a founder of the St. Patrick Society in 1784. We find him in New York as early as 1769, where with Thomas Randall he became a charter member of the Marine Society.²⁹ Prior to the outbreak of the war he was owner of a ship which he quickly turned into a privateer to harass the British merchant marine. Walter Barrett lists him with Thomas Randall "as one of the first members of the Masonic Society in the City of New York." They received their certificates together on January 8, 1770.³⁰ In June, 1775 Patrick Dennis was appointed Lieutenant and later Captain of a New York artillery company, and on October 3, 1775, he was elected a member of the revolutionary "Committee of Secrecy and Inspection."³¹ After the Battle of Long Island, August 28, 1776, he was placed in charge of the important work of laying a series of obstructions in the East River to prevent the passage of British ships into Long Island Sound.³² On November 6, 1776, the New York Committee of Safety ordered £500 to be paid to Captain Dennis for expenses incurred in carrying out this project.³³ In the following month he was stationed at Poughkeepsie, New York, directing the building of boats for the use of the Continental Army.³⁴

Many of the New York merchants who fled the city during British occupation seem to have settled at Elizabeth Town, New Jersey, where they assisted the Commissary Department in procuring food and material for the Patriot army, a task for which they were obviously well fitted. Prominent among these were John Glover and Stewart Brown, both of whom became members of the Friendly Sons after the war. John McComb, son of an Irish immigrant, and probably the leading architect in the city in the decade before the Revolution, took his family to Princeton where he was made quartermaster in the Continental Army in 1777.³⁵ James Duane, delegate to the Continental

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²⁸ Flick, *New York State History*, III, 341; for a description of the plot *vide* Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington*, 7 vols., New York, 1948-57, IV, 115-21.

²⁹ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous. Notes of R. C. Murphy, based upon "Proceedings of the Marine Society." MS. in Marine Society of New York.

³⁰ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, IV, 61.

³¹ Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, II, 940.

³² *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 128.

³³ *Journals of the Provincial Congress, Provincial Convention, Committee of Safety, and Council of Safety of New York, 1775-1777*, 2 vols., Albany, 1842, I, 705.

³⁴ *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 128.

³⁵ Talbot Faulkner Hamlin, "John McComb," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 599.

Congress, whose services to the patriot cause need no elaboration, of course had to leave the city. Dr. John Cochran, who had moved to New Jersey before the war, served the American forces conspicuously as surgeon-general of the army from 1776 to 1781, when he was appointed director-general of hospitals by Congress.³⁶ Dr. John Charlton, well known Irish physician, apparently found the atmosphere of New York City personally unhealthful, for he left it upon the arrival of the British to spend the next six or seven years on his Long Island estate. All of those mentioned above will become founders or early members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.³⁷ Among the native New Yorkers who served their country well during the Revolution was Irish born William Constable, secretary to General Lafayette, whom he accompanied on his Virginia expedition. Constable, although not a resident of the city before the war, located in New York immediately following its evacuation to become one of the chief founders of the Society.³⁸ Dr. James Gibson, born in South Carolina of a family that had migrated from County Tyrone, Ireland, in 1740, joined the American Army as a Captain in Putnam's Division and, under the direction of Dr. John Cochran, organized a nursing staff to take care of the sick and wounded.³⁹ He became a member of the Society after the war.

However, it must be admitted that the great majority of New York's Irish merchants remained in the city during the British occupation. Whatever their private sympathies may have been they must have cooperated at least in appearance with the English authorities if they wished to do business under a military dictatorship. Though few of them were open Loyalists of the more blatant type whose interests led them to "defiant declarations against the revolution" or to definite action in support of the established government. It should be realized that from first to last New York City was overwhelmingly Tory. In the first months of 1776 reports indicate that all the leading citizens were at heart Loyalists, and it was claimed that 2000 of such could be named.⁴⁰ A large part of the 6000 seamen in the city were said to be Loyalists.⁴¹ Of course it is true that the great majority of these were not native New Yorkers. But Alexander Hamilton was of the opinion that not one-half of the people of the state were Whigs in 1775 and that one-third were still Loyalists at heart as late as 1782.⁴²

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³⁶ Freeman, *George Washington*, IV, 389.

³⁷ *Records of the Society*. Vide infra for more detailed information.

³⁸ Vide infra.

³⁹ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous. Sketch of Dr. James Gibson, based on Medical Journals, New York Historical Society.

⁴⁰ Force, *American Archives*, 4th Series, IV, 587; VI, 1338.

⁴¹ O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 772.

⁴² Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, p. 182, note 2.

Gouverneur Morris, who should have known his state, considered that it was doubtful whether more than one-half the people of New York were "ever in really hearty and active sympathy with the patriots."⁴³ Service on the various revolutionary committees or for that matter on the First Continental Congress in no way guaranteed final loyalty to the American cause. Isaac Low, perhaps the leading merchant in the city, President of the Chamber of Commerce, chairman of both the "Committee of Fifty-One" and of "One Hundred," and delegate to the First Continental Congress, was never trusted by the Whigs, rejected independence, became a staunch Tory and suffered confiscation of his property to the amount of \$75,000.⁴⁴ John Alsop, vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce and delegate to the Second Continental Congress, resigned his office on July 16, 1776 because he, too, could not accept independence although he had sanctioned forceful resistance in defense of rights.⁴⁵ He spent the war years in Connecticut exile. Of the twenty-four members of the "Committee of Inspection," appointed in 1769, only four became Whigs; while of the "Committee of Fifty-One," only eighteen were patriots during the Revolution.⁴⁶

Not even enlistment in the militia was indicative of loyalty to the American cause.⁴⁷ The extent to which the Revolution in New York State was a civil war had perhaps never been fully developed by historians. Generals Philip Schuyler and George Clinton went constantly in fear of Loyalist revolts in the Hudson Valley,⁴⁸ and actual uprisings in the north were not infrequent.⁴⁹ When Colonel St. Leger invaded the Mohawk Valley in 1777, planning to join Burgoyne and Howe on the Hudson, his army was largely a loyalist force. Irish Sir John Johnson's "Royal Greens," Butler's loyalist "Rangers," and Captain Joseph Brant's Indians far outnumbered his few hundred regular troops.⁵⁰ Four or five Loyalist regiments were said to have been raised in New York before 1777⁵¹ and the famous Major Robert Rogers with 700 Loyalist rangers was raising havoc in Westchester County by December of 1776.⁵² By March, 1779, Loyalist regiments in New York City alone totalled 3147 men, of whom 494 were Volunteers of Ireland.⁵³ The Revolution in New York was indeed a fratricidal war. Roger's Rangers, later commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Simcoe,

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⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 213.

⁴⁵ Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, I, 368, 1428-31.

⁴⁶ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 349.

⁴⁷ Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 108-9.

⁴⁸ Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, II, 1026.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 5th Series, III, 561, 563, 565, 579, 588.

⁵⁰ Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 109, 111.

⁵¹ O'Callaghan, *Colonial Documents*, VIII, 722.

⁵² Force, *American Archives*, 5th Series, III, 473, 1172.

⁵³ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 224.

constantly made raids into neighboring states.⁵⁴ New York Loyalists fought in every battle on New York soil and, for that matter, in most of the battles of the war. Many of them, especially the so-called "associators" organized in December, 1780 by the "Board of Associated Loyalists" under William Franklin, royal governor of New Jersey, were little better than vengeful marauders.⁵⁵ Their cruelties caused Sir Henry Clinton, British Commander at New York, great embarrassment.⁵⁶ On the whole, however, the Loyalists gave excellent service. Alexander C. Flick accepts a figure of 15,000 New York Loyalists in the British army and navy and 8500 Loyalist militia. The total of 23,500 loyalist troops was more than those furnished to the Crown by any other state and compares favorably with the New York troops in the American army, 41,633, of which only 17,781 were regulars.⁵⁷ It is Flick's conclusion that out of a New York colonial population of 190,000 no less than 90,000, as a conservative estimate, were Loyalists.⁵⁸ Of this number 35,000 emigrated during or after the war, and 55,000 remained in New York to become valuable citizens of the new state.

It is little wonder then that the names of many well known Irish merchants are found in a list of New York City Loyalists.⁵⁹ Oddly enough the names of Robert Ross Waddell and Oliver Templeton are not included in this list, although they continued to do business in the city throughout the war and were generally considered Tories. Many Irish names also appear in the list of signers of a Petition, begging restoration of civil government to the city, addressed to General William Howe on October 16, 1776. Included are William Bailey, John Davan, a leather dresser and breeches maker at the sign of the "Crown & Breeches" in Queen Street, Andrew Gray, Thomas Lynch, a dealer in liquors and negroes in Duke Street, William McBride, an unlicensed liquor dealer in Cooper's Street near Lupton Wharf, Thomas McCarty, John McCormick, Charles McEvers, John Moore, Lindley Murray, John Murray, Jr., Robert Murray, Cornelius Ryan, James Shaw, John Shaw, a jeweler at the sign of the "Crown" in Nassau Street near John, William Waddell, and Hamilton Young.⁶⁰ Of these William Bailey, John Davan, Andrew Gray, Charles McEvers, Robert Murray, Cornelius Ryan, John Shaw, and William Waddell became members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick after the war.⁶¹

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⁵⁴ Clinton, *American Rebellion*, pp. 147-148, 167N, 497, 520, etc.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 192N9, 237-8.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 359-361.

⁵⁷ Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 112-113.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁵⁹ Compiled in 1917 by William Kelby, from newspaper accounts, memorials to the Crown and other records. New York Historical Society, *The John Divine Jones Fund Series*, Vol. III, New York, 1917, pp. 115-130.

⁶⁰ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 437f, note XVI. The list was originally published in *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, Nov. 4, 1776.

⁶¹ *Records of the Society, vide infra*. Appendix G, Members, 1784-1835.

One of the staunchest of all Loyalists was the rich Irish merchant Hugh Wallace, who had entertained in his house on Broadway, Governor William Tryon, the last colonial governor of New York, on the evening of the very same day on which General George Washington passed through the city on his way to take command of the American army at Boston.⁶² Thomas William Moore, former senior partner of Moore, Lynsen and McCormick never hesitated in his loyalty to the Crown, entering the British service in 1776 as Captain in de Lancey's Loyal Brigade. He served to the end of the war in 1783, when he emigrated to Nova Scotia.⁶³ The Thomas William Moore who became a member of the St. Patrick Society in 1784 was his son, a protégé of Daniel McCormick.⁶⁴

In 1788, the British Commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Clinton, expressed disappointment that no very large portion of the Loyalists who had taken refuge within his lines "seemed much inclined to add to their other miseries those of a military life."⁶⁵ Since he found it necessary to augment his forces, he tells us, "I had recourse to those services from whence the rebels themselves drew most of their best soldiers — I mean the Irish."⁶⁶ Before he left Philadelphia, Clinton started the organization of a regiment whose rank and file and officers should all be from Ireland.⁶⁷ This is the origin of the famous Volunteers of Ireland placed under the command of a popular and able Irish nobleman, Lord Francis Rawdon, subsequently General, Baron Rawdon, Earl of Moira, and first Marquis of Hastings.⁶⁸ The regiment came to New York in June, 1778, after the Battle of Monmouth. In an advertisement in the New York *Royal Gazette*, in 1779, Lord Rawdon offered each recruit thirty shillings and a complete outfit. Apparently he was successful for in March, 1779 the regiment numbered 494 men, more than twice the size of de Lancey's Loyal Brigade.⁶⁹ The regiment was employed on active service for the rest of the war and, as Clinton himself tells us "had frequent opportunities of signalizing themselves" especially in the southern campaigns.⁷⁰ The British Commander took every occasion to work upon "the national attachment of the Irish." On March 17, 1779 the Volunteers of Ireland were paraded and the anniversary of St. Patrick, tutelary saint of Ireland, was celebrated with "accustomed hilarity" by five hundred men at a "noble banquet"

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⁶² Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, pp. 155-6.

⁶³ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, pp. 150-1.

⁶⁴ *Records of the Society*, *vide infra*. Appendix G, Members 1784-1835; notes of R. C. Murphy, based on "Memoirs of Moore Family," New York Historical Society.

⁶⁵ Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, p. 110.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁶⁸ Harper's *Encyclopedia*, VII, 380.

⁶⁹ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 224.

⁷⁰ Clinton, *The American Rebellion*, pp. 111, 167, 514.

given by their commander in the Bowery.⁷¹ On next St. Patrick's Day, 1780, the *Royal Gazette* tells of "a munificent entertainment given by Lord Rawdon to the 'Volunteers of Ireland,' at Jamaica, L. I."⁷² By August the "Volunteers" were serving with Cornwallis at Camden, South Carolina, where their members had contracted to a mere 253 rank and file.⁷³ Although undoubtedly the majority of the Irish-Americans fought loyally on the patriot side in the Revolution, as Sir Henry Clinton himself testified.

Most of the New York Irish, however, took no very active part in the Royal cause and judging from the fact that few of them suffered to any extent under the rather severe laws passed against Tories after the Revolution, it can be concluded that they failed to incur the enmity of their Whig neighbors. Hugh Wallace seems to have been the only Irishman attainted of treason by act of the state legislature, October 22, 1779.⁷⁴ Some of the Irish like William Neilson were considered neutral; while Quakers like Robert and John Murray were not expected to take sides in a military conflict. On August 29, 1775, the Provincial Congress commissioned Daniel McCormick and Patrick Walsh Second Lieutenants of Militia and, on March 17, 1776, McCormick was made First Lieutenant in a company commanded by Captain Wymant Keteltas.⁷⁵ Hercules Mulligan tried to leave the city when the British arrived but was seized by some Tories and thrown into prison. Released, he resumed his merchant tailoring business at 23 Queen Street, now Pearl Street, where he catered to the fashionable British officers. Little did they know that through the mediation of Alexander Hamilton he had been appointed an undercover agent for General Washington.⁷⁶ Throughout the war he continued to furnish information to the patriot Commander-in-Chief and, on at least one occasion was responsible for saving the person of Washington from seizure by the enemy.⁷⁷ Mulligan's brother, Hugh, conducted the business of Kartwright and Company during the war and, as a supplier to the British Army, was able to pass on much valuable information. When Benedict Arnold arrived in New York after his flight from West Point, Mulligan was arrested on the charge of espionage. He seems to have been imprisoned for a considerable time but evidence to convict him was lacking.⁷⁸

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⁷¹ *Royal Gazette*, March 17, 1779.

⁷² O'Brien, *A Hidden Phase*, p. 192.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 150-1.

⁷⁵ *Charles P. Daly Papers*, Box 4, New York Public Library.

⁷⁶ Schachmer, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 28.

⁷⁷ John C. Hamilton, *History of the Republic of the United States as Traced in the writings of Alexander Hamilton*, 7 vols., Philadelphia 1864, I 527.

⁷⁸ *Irish-American Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, p. 101; for a biography of Hercules Mulligan vide Michael J. O'Brien, *Hercules Mulligan, Confidential Correspondent of General Washington*, New York, 1937.

Few of the New York Irish could claim, like the Mulligan brothers, to have been undercover agents of General Washington during the conflict. A number of them, finding it difficult to make ends meet in the inflated economy of a garrison city, hastened to get themselves on the royal payroll, like many other citizens of former wealth and social position. Charles Ward Apthorp, wealthy merchant and member of the Governor's Council, was appointed second assistant manager of the hated military "Court of Police," which was established by General William Howe's Proclamation of May 1, 1777.⁷⁹ The position paid £200 annually and was evidently intended as a sinecure, as he never attended a meeting of the court. Irish Charles McEvers, Apthorp's brother-in-law, was made treasurer of a similar Court of Police for Long Island, established by Governor Robertson in July 1780.⁸⁰ The court sat at Jamaica and had jurisdiction over the whole of Long Island. McEvers, apparently in bad financial straits during the war, had been promised in writing by Governor Robertson the office of "Superintendent" of Judge of the Court. Instead George Duncan Ludlow, former justice of the provincial Supreme Court, got the job.⁸¹ To placate McEvers, he was given a tract of woodland, the property of a "rebel" living outside the British lines, from which he got all his fuel. His salary of £200 sterling per annum was supplemented by rations of all kinds for himself, his family and his horses.⁸² Irish William Waddell, alderman of the North Ward, and William Walton of a well known Quaker merchant family, were made judges of a supplementary Court of Police for New York City, established by Robertson in January 1781.⁸³ This court tried cases under ten pounds and handled the apprehension and commitment of felons and the like. The judges were paid an annual salary of £200. Lambert Moore, former Collector of Customs, was made first Deputy Superintendent of the Office of Exports and Imports established by General Howe in July, 1777, at a salary of £200.⁸⁴ John Moore of Long Island, formerly deputy Collector of Customs, was the first clerk, with James Moran as second clerk, both at a salary of £200. Michael Kearney was Searcher for this office at a stipend of £182-10-0 per annum, with William Seaton, not an Irishman, as his first assistant at the same salary. Of the Irishmen mentioned Charles McEvers, William Waddell, and Lambert Moore were members of the St. Patrick Society after the war. John Moore was probably never a member, but two of his daughters, Anne

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⁷⁹ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 162.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁸² De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 76.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

and Patience married John McVickar and John Charlton Dongan, prominent members of the Society before 1800.⁸⁵

Most of the New York Irish probably shared with American Loyalists everywhere an utter detestation of British military authorities. During the war and after, the English civil authorities generally treated the Tories with consideration; but the case of the military was far different. The Army in general sneered at the Loyalists as "damned traitors and scoundrels," and the Loyalists complained bitterly of the cruelty, robbery, insults, and general ill treatment which they suffered from the British troops.⁸⁶ Hessian officers, doubtless snubbed by colonial aristocrats who shared the patriot aversion to foreign invaders, reflected the opinions of British officers when they called the Tory refugees "runaway vagabonds" who were "at heart . . . all rebels."⁸⁷ The Tory Judge William Smith, later Chief Justice of Canada, wrote in his "Diary" for May 18, 1780 that all British generals should be recalled because they were all "plants of Corruption."⁸⁸ The Loyalist historian Thomas Jones reports that Loyalists were plundered of crops, cattle, horses, and even household goods without recompense. He and other Loyalists were deprived of their "fat cattle" with never a cent of the promised payment. The money indeed was charged to the Crown but was appropriated by British generals.⁸⁹ Loyalist Dr. Tredwell's home was taken and never recovered. British high officers were superior to a military Court of Police.⁹⁰ Certainly men of culture like Hugh Gainé and Daniel McCormick could not approve of the actions of Howe's soldiers when the British entered New York in September, 1776. They broke into the City Hall and plundered it of the King's College library as well as a number of valuable pictures that had been removed there for safety. All the books belonging to the New York Society Library as well as volumes belonging to the City Corporation were stolen. Some 60,000 volumes were hawked about the town by "the soldiers, their trulls and doxies."⁹¹ Judge Jones gives us detailed accounts of the frauds and corruption to which the Loyalists were subjected.⁹² When General Robertson returned to New York in April, 1780, with a commission as Governor, he promised restoration of civil law; but it never came. As military commandant of the city, he was probably worse than his subordinates, if that could be possible. Four British quartermasters in succession returned to England rich

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⁸⁵ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, Notes of R. C. Murphy.

⁸⁶ Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 184-5.

⁸⁷ Bayrd Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, New York, 1956, p. 63, who cites R. W. Pettingill's *Letters From America, 1776-1779*, pp. 165-6.

⁸⁸ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 158.

⁸⁹ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 114-117.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 136.

⁹² *Ibid.*, I, 330-352.

men. So great was the corruption that it could not help but benefit the American cause. Judge Jones estimates that British officials stole "twenty millions sterling of the money raised by Great Britain for the support of the American War."⁹³

In addition to being plundered by their own side, Loyalists were subjected to constant depredations by the enemy. Many Loyalists' homes on Long Island and some even on Manhattan were raided by the patriot "commandos." In December, 1779 Judge Jones was kidnapped from his Long Island home and carried off to Connecticut. Later he was exchanged.⁹⁴ Daring "rebel" raiders plundered and burned General Oliver de Lancey's home at Bloomingdale, Miss Charlotte de Lancey and Miss Elizabeth Floyed, both about 16 years of age, fled in their nightgowns to the house of Charles Ward Apthorp who lived nearby.

However, economic conditions in New York began to improve after the first year of British occupation. The population of the city and its environs swelled at times to 35,000 including the British Army. Rents skyrocketed, prices of food, fuel, and other commodities soared, wages were high. Many lived in utter squalor in tents erected on the burnt out areas, supported by rations from the Army. On the other hand many lived in luxury and the social life, especially among the British officers, was gay indeed. Business conditions during the war, as well as the careers of many Irish merchants who were to become founders of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1784, are well reflected in the "Colonial Records" of the Chamber of Commerce for this period. Meetings of the Chamber had been very poorly attended in 1773, 1774, and 1775, as commerce gave way to politics. From May 2, 1775 to June, 1779 the Chamber did not meet at all, "the State of Public Affairs having been such as not to require a meeting . . ."⁹⁵ During these years business in the city was almost at a standstill. Commerce with the new American states was of course shut off, as indeed was private trade with the rest of the British Empire. Only illicit trade existed. The Chamber simply had no business to handle.

But after the Royal Commissioners' proclamation of September 26, 1778, which permitted trade with Great Britain, Ireland, Florida, Rhode Island, and the British West Indies, business began to pick up somewhat. Prizes could now be sent to New York and Newport, Rhode Island, and the cargoes thereof could be exported to "Great Britain and any of His Majesty's Dominions."⁹⁶ During the first two weeks of October, 1778, merchants sent out fifty-two ships with cargoes worth

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⁹³ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 171.

⁹⁴ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 216.

⁹⁵ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 202.

⁹⁶ *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, October 5, 1778.

£446,000.⁹⁷ A special meeting of the Chamber met in the Coffee House, June 21, 1770.⁹⁸ Only twenty-three members were present, among them Robert Murray and Robert Ross Waddell. They signed a letter to General Daniel Jones, then Commandant of the city, asking "a renewal of our meetings, in order that the many mercantile differences which so frequently happen may be adjusted." The letter was referred to Sir Henry Clinton, who approved. Regular meetings were thereupon resumed.

The officers elected in the May 2, 1775 meeting were continued until the next regular election meeting in May of 1780. But since John Alsop, one of the Vice-Presidents, had retired to his Middletown, Connecticut home, after the Declaration of Independence and the other, William McAdam, had died, two new vice-presidents were elected at the meeting of December 7, 1779.⁹⁹ Charles McEvers, who had been elected treasurer in 1775, seems to have disappeared altogether so far as the Chamber was concerned. He never attended a meeting in his capacity as treasurer. Robert Ross Waddell was elected treasurer to succeed him at the meeting of May 2, 1780, but never was able to obtain the books or a settlement of accounts in McEvers' possession. We know from another source that McEvers was living in or near Jamaica, Long Island at the time, and his presence there could hardly have been unknown to at least some of the members who were his personal friends.¹⁰⁰ However, so far as the records of the Chamber show, nothing was heard of him until April, 1783. Then in an undated letter to Isaac Low, President, he signified his intention to send the books "to your present treasurer on my return to my country quarters." He was still unable to settle his accounts owing to his "small dependence" which he blames on "many in this city, who can and ought to give me my own."¹⁰¹ McEvers' financial condition was probably similar to that of many formerly prosperous New York merchants during the occupation.

In the minutes of a meeting on Tuesday, August 3, 1779 there are the names of six Irish merchants who will bulk very large in the history of the Friendly Sons after 1784. Patrick McDavitt, Daniel McCormick, John Murray, and Oliver Templeton were elected to membership at that meeting, at which Robert Murray and Robert Ross Waddell were present.¹⁰² Until the end of the war, all six will be most active in the affairs of the Chamber, serving on all committees, and attending practically all meetings. John Murray, brother of Robert

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⁹⁷ Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 54.

⁹⁸ Minutes of the Meeting, June 21, 1779, Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 203.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 218; Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁰ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 12, 76.

¹⁰¹ McEvers' letter to Isaac Low. Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 293.

¹⁰² Minutes, August 3, 1779, *Ibid.*, p. 211.

Murray, was in partnership with Jacob Watson. The firm of Watson and Murray were general importers of European and India goods, as well as of West Indian produce, with a warehouse near Burlings Slip.¹⁰³ McDavitt, McCormick, and Templeton were all vendue merchants or auctioneers, the one business which really prospered during the war. McDavitt, formerly of Fairlie and McDavitt, had in 1771 been an importer of English and India goods with his store near the Fly Market. He was now carrying on an extensive auction business under his own name in Queen Street.¹⁰⁴ Templeton, of Templeton and Stewart, before the war had done an enormous business with Greg, Cunningham and Co., of which Robert Ross Waddell was a partner.¹⁰⁵ His advertising appears in New York newspapers as early as 1764. He married just before the war. A newspaper account states, "Last week Mr. Oliver Templeton was married by Rev. Dr. Cooper, President of Kings College, to Miss Betty Brownjohn, daughter of Mr. William Brownjohn, an eminent druggist of this city."¹⁰⁶

Daniel McCormick, formerly of Moore, Lynsen and Co., carried on the business alone at 39 Wall Street during the war. Stevens says he made a large fortune in the sale of prizes.¹⁰⁷ He advertised extensively during this period. Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, May 27, 1780, announced: "ON Wednesday, May 24, arrived the Carteret Pacquet [*sic*], Captain Newman, in about forty days from Falmouth."¹⁰⁸ A week later McCormick is advertising:

Publick Auction — This Day, will be sold at the Coffee House, the Ship Carteret, packet, Burthen about 230 tons, copper bottomed. As she now lies stranded near Jones's Inlet, on the South side of Long Island, with all her materials on board, and those brought on shore, consisting of anchors, cables, sails, standing and running rigging, guns, provisions, etc., etc., Inventory to be seen with Daniel McCormick.¹⁰⁹

McCormick had come to New York in 1766. By the end of the war he was an eligible bachelor, forty years of age, a man of considerable substance with a fine reputation for charity and personal probity. He never married.¹¹⁰ McCormick was a trustee of the new brick Presby-

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¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 394-5.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁵ *Templeton & Stewart Receipt Book*, Columbia University Library, p. 53-86; Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁶ *New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, June 13, 1774.

¹⁰⁷ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 148.

¹⁰⁸ *Royal Gazette*, May 27, 1780.

¹⁰⁹ *New York Gazette*, June 5, 1780.

¹¹⁰ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous. Sketch of McCormick by R. C. Murphy.

terian Church which his friend John McComb had designed. It must have hurt him to see the building, like most of the churches in the city, taken over by the British and going to wrack and ruin under harsh army treatment.

The Irish firm of Greg, Cunningham and Co. suspended business at the outbreak of the war; but Robert Ross Waddell remained in New York throughout the conflict. So did his partner Hamilton Young, at least for part of the time. By 1778 we find Waddell at No. 61 King Street engaged in the grocery trade.¹¹¹ In those days groceries meant "not provisions but those luxuries of diet imported from the West Indies and South Europe, such as lemons, raisins, citron, and spices."¹¹² Among other Irishmen who remained in the city during the British occupation to become leaders in business, social, and civic affairs after the war, was William Edgar, born in County Down, Ireland in 1739.¹¹³ The Edgars were undoubtedly of English descent but had settled in Ireland as early as 1688. Arriving in New York in 1760, William Edgar had become a fur trader on a rather large scale with warehouses in Detroit and Montreal.¹¹⁴ Immediately after the war the Edgar home, a magnificent mansion on Greenwich Street near the Battery, was to be one of the show places of the city.¹¹⁵ Dominick Lynch, an Irish Roman Catholic, previously in business in Bruges, Belgium, had founded in New York just before the war the important house of Lynch and Stoughton, with Don Thomas Stoughton, later Spanish Consul General, as his partner.¹¹⁶ Stoughton's father had been Spanish Consul General in Boston. Valentine Blake, who was to become one of the great liquor importers of New York in the early national period, was at this time a member of Lynch's firm. Lynch had a house at No. 2 Duke Street during the war and Blake, a bachelor, who had been associated with him in Europe, lived there with his friend.¹¹⁷ George, Carlisle, and Hugh Pollock, famous merchants in New York and New Orleans after the Revolution, were probably in the city at least part of the time during the occupation, although their uncle Oliver Pollock was one of the most important, and now almost forgotten, financiers of the patriot cause.¹¹⁸ Oliver Pollock, a native of Ireland, who had settled in Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1760, made a fortune in trade in Havana, Cuba, and later in New Orleans. He was commercial agent for the Continental Congress in New Orleans in 1777 and sent supplies

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¹¹¹ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, pp. 434-5.

¹¹² Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 61.

¹¹³ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous. Notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹¹⁴ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, I, 161.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous. Notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹¹⁷ Barck, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 234 f.

¹¹⁸ Campbell, *Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, p. 130.



GEORGE POLLOCK

to George Rogers Clark for his expedition to conquer the Northwest. As commercial agent in Havana, he had advanced \$300,000 in specie to Congress. He was never fully repaid, despite the efforts of Robert Morris in his behalf. The government still owed him \$100,000 in 1792.¹¹⁹ Oliver was a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in Philadelphia. All of the others mentioned above became members of the New York Society in 1784.

Many other Irishmen seem to have come to New York while it was occupied by the British. Notable among these was young Thomas Eddy, a Pennsylvania Quaker of Irish ancestry, who will become one of the outstanding citizens of the city and state in the first decades of the nineteenth century, renowned for his benevolent charity and civic services. Later in life Eddy recalled that he came to New York in 1779 from Philadelphia, after that city had been evacuated by the British.¹²⁰ This fact would indicate that the Eddys were of Loyalist persuasion, although Thomas Eddy himself severely condemned any interference in political affairs by Quakers. With only ninety-six dollars in his pocket, very imperfectly educated and quite ignorant of any kind of business, he nevertheless, made his way rapidly. "I took board with William Backhouse, in the house now occupied by Daniel McCormick in Wall Street, at the rate of eight dollars per week, besides having to pay one dollar weekly for washing." Several "respectable merchants" boarded at the same house, from whom he acquired a "knowledge of commerce, and the course of mercantile dealing." He made his living, at first, by attending auction sales, buying when he could at a profit to meet fixed offers from retail dealers in the products being sold, without himself "advancing a shilling." "I was obliged to live by my wits," he related, and this necessity was of great use to him afterwards. Some months after his arrival in New York, Eddy's brother Charles arrived from Ireland, and "brought with him on account from merchants there, provisions, linens, etc. shipped from Dublin, Cork and other ports." Charles returned to Europe in 1780, previous to which the Eddy's formed a partnership with Benjamin Sykes, under the firm name Eddy, Sykes and Co. While Charles was in New York the brothers seem to have lived at No. 163 Water Street.¹²¹ Later Thomas kept house for a time in John Street, where he became the intimate friend of Richard and Lawrence Hartshorne. He married Hannah Hartshorne in New York, March 20, 1782. After the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, he tells us, through his brother George in Phila-

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¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ The following account is taken from Thomas Eddy's recollections of his early life printed in S. L. Knapp, *The Life of Thomas Eddy*, New York, 1834, p. 47 ff; Henry Wysham Lanier, *A Century of Banking in New York, 1822-1922*, New York, 1922, pp. 39, 40, quotes parts of this memoir.

¹²¹ Barck, *New York During the Revolution*, p. 234 f.

delphia and Eddy, Sykes and Co. in New York, an "arrangement was made with the consent of General Washington, to supply the British and foreign troops with money who were taken with Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown."¹²² These troops were held prisoners in Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Eddy, Sykes and Co. were allowed six percent commission by Sir Henry Clinton. The transaction involved a very large sum and "proved a valuable contract."¹²³ Eddy left New York in November, 1783 before the Americans entered the city and went to Philadelphia where he set up in business with his brother George.

As the war dragged on the condition of the Loyalists in New York City grew even more desperate, although in truth they never seemed to have despaired of the final success of the King's arms. Thousands of refugees were forced to live in huts and tents on the outskirts of the town or in open spaces left by the two great fires that took place during the occupation. When General Washington had been forced to evacuate New York in September, 1776 he had been strongly advised to burn the city. Even John Jay, himself a New Yorker, and General Nathaniel Greene, a Quaker, had urged that the town be burned; two-thirds of the property belonged to Tories anyway. Washington himself was firmly of the opinion that the city should be destroyed not from any spirit of revenge on the Tories but in order to deprive the British of comfortable winter quarters.¹²⁴ But Congress would not permit the destruction of a city which it hoped to recover. However the disastrous fire which broke out on September 20, 1776 was almost as effective. Some five hundred buildings in the southern part of the town, including Trinity Church, were utterly destroyed.¹²⁵ Each side naturally put the blame upon the other but the origin was never ascertained. Another fire, on August 3, 1778, wiped out sixty-four houses near Cruger's wharf.¹²⁶ The buildings destroyed were never replaced during the occupation. By 1777 rents had risen 400 per cent. Food prices rose an average of 300 per cent and before the end of the war many items increased 800 per cent.¹²⁷ Blocked by land and often by sea, the city was frequently on the verge of starvation, especially when shipments of provisions from England arrived in such condition as to be unfit for human consumption. Fuel was always scarce, and often wood could not be had even for cooking. Judge Thomas Jones spent the winter of 1780 in the city. He paid four

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¹²² Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 49.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ Freeman, *George Washington*, IV, 183-4.

¹²⁵ Oscar T. Barck, in Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 47; cf. Alex J. Wall, *Ibid.*, p. 261. who gives 1000 houses; Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 201. gives 400 to 500; Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, pp. 99-102, 493 dwellings.

¹²⁶ Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 177-8; *New York Mercury*, Aug. 3, 1778.

¹²⁷ Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 49; Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 263.

pounds a cord for oak and five pounds, ten shillings for hickory nut.¹²⁸ To make matters worse, for a cord he got three cartman's loads only, instead of the four as established by the law of the city corporation. Jones tells us that the general officers wasted the wood provided for poor soldiers whose wives and families were perishing for want of the fuel to which they were entitled.

The city was swarming with beggars and thieves, although the jails were always full. At least 2000 negroes, men, women and children, had been invited into the lines by a proclamation of Sir Henry Clinton promising them protection and maintenance.¹²⁹ They were supplied with rations of all kinds, equally with the King's troops. The harbor was crowded with transports and ships of war, and with hulks filled with American prisoners whose miserable treatment proved a lasting disgrace to British arms. Churches, except for Anglican St. Paul's and St. George's, and other public buildings had been converted to use as hospitals, prisons, and barracks. The houses of refugee patriots were occupied by British officers or Loyalist fugitives. Pastor Ewald G. Shaukirk of the Moravian Church, was shocked at the desecration of the ruins of Trinity Church where a promenade for military officers was constructed in 1779.¹³⁰ He was even more disturbed when a house opposite the church was preempted for the "officers' women," while "many honest people, both of the inhabitants and Refugees cannot get a house or lodging to live in or get their living."¹³¹ Skilled and unskilled labor were both rather scarce and wages were fairly high. A Hessian officer was amazed at the phenomenal wages earned by woodchoppers, coachmen, and chimney sweeps. The brilliance of social life, which in the first years of the occupation had been stimulated by the presence of so many British army and navy officers, gradually all but disappeared under the increasing hardships and pressures of the long war.¹³² The cricket, horseracing, bullbaiting, concerts, dancing assemblies, and theatrical productions of the early years soon became a thing of the past. At best only the military and the elite among the civilians had any part in them. One lasting social effect was the change in the fashionable dinner hour to four o'clock after the London manner.

News of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown reached New York on October 24, 1781. The Loyalists received it with "general consternation and lamentation," although even then, as Hugh Gaine tells us, some would not believe it. The city was filled with gloom and Sir Henry Clinton was accused of sacrificing Cornwallis to his own

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¹²⁸ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 341.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 76.

¹³⁰ Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 44.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, quoted from Shaukirk's Diary.

¹³² Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 62; Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 264.

envy.¹³³ When Clinton turned over his command to Sir Guy Carleton in May, 1782, the Loyalists rejoiced, and their spirits rose again. Were there not still 34,000 members of the British army in America?¹³⁴ Was not Sir Guy a man of courage and ability, noted for his "humane conduct and common sense," by far the best British general to command in America? Little did they realize that Carleton had come too late, that his was to be the thankless task of evacuating British troops from Charleston, Savannah, and New York. The garrisons of Charleston and Savannah were withdrawn before the end of 1782, but the evacuation of New York took nearly a year longer. It involved not merely the transfer of an armed post from one power to another; "it was the last act in the breakup of a whole society, deep rooted in the past."¹³⁵

All through the winter of 1782 there had been rumors of a peace in the air and "some believe it," wrote Hugh Gaine in his *Journal*.¹³⁶ For the Tories of the city the months that followed the surrender of Cornwallis had been filled with agonizing suspense. Even to the most stubborn of them it must have been apparent that the Americans had won their war. Yet the Loyalists would not give up hope. Desperately they applied to General Carleton and Admiral Digby and protested against the granting of independence to the colonies.¹³⁷ They even sent a petition to the King, entrusting it to William Franklin, former royal governor of New Jersey, with instruction to place it in the King's own hands.¹³⁸ In February, 1783, the King formally announced that hostilities were ended.¹³⁹ They actually did cease about March 20, 1783.¹⁴⁰ When the news reached New York on April 15, the titular royal governor, James Robertson, departed. He left the arduous task of evacuating civilians to the military authorities.¹⁴¹ The royal proclamation was read by the mayor to a "multitude" of the people at New York's City Hall, in Broad Street. It was received with groans and hisses, accompanied by bitter reproaches and curses upon the King who had deserted them in their calamities.¹⁴² The need to find transportation and destinations for thousands of Tories who felt that their only hope was emigration complicated the problem of evacuation for the English commanders. They also had to arrange for the release and exchange of prisoners. About 1500 British prisoners arrived in the

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¹³³ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 245.

¹³⁴ Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 262.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 263.

¹³⁶ Ford, *Journal of Hugh Gaine*, II, 148.

¹³⁷ Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 253.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Pomerantz, *New York: an American City*, p. 253.

¹⁴⁰ *New York Packet*, March 27, 1783.

¹⁴¹ Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁴² Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 256.

city from Frederick, Md. and Winchester, Va. in April, and American prisoners from the jails and hulks were released in the same month.¹⁴³ Many remained for a time in the city.

Some 600 Royalists had sailed for Nova Scotia in the autumn of 1782, but the bulk of the refugees had still to be taken care of. The great exodus of civilians began in April, 1783 when about 7000 sailed. Lands had been appropriated for them in Nova Scotia and upper Canada. It is estimated that a total of 29,244 Tories sailed from New York in 1783 before the city was finally and officially evacuated.¹⁴⁴ Early in September about 8000 left with between 12,000 and 14,000 still to go. Some 12,000 tons of shipping, gathered from up and down the coast, arrived in New York during September for the final departure. Many of the ships that carried the Loyalists to their final destination bore the American flag. Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby had met with General Washington and Governor George Clinton in Tappan, New York, on May 6, 1783 to arrange details for departure.¹⁴⁵ When the Americans showed that they considered that the English were unnecessarily delaying evacuation, Carleton explained that whereas he had arranged transportation for his troops, provincial as well as regular, and for large numbers of Tories, he now found it necessary to take with him practically everyone who had opposed the Revolution. This need was the result of the ill treatment of Tories who had attempted to return to their former homes within the American lines. They were driven out by organized mobs known as "Levellers," who were restrained very little by the state governments.¹⁴⁶ Almost alone among British generals, Carleton treated the Loyalists with the greatest consideration. He even insisted, over the protests of American members of the joint commission supervising the evacuation, on taking with him some 3000 negroes, whose former owners were patriots.¹⁴⁷ As he explained his position, he had found them in New York when he arrived, freed by British proclamations. He could not in conscience abandon them. The problem of recompensing their owners, as he saw it, belonged to his government and not to him.¹⁴⁸ Sir Guy was the only British general who earned the lasting respect of Tory and Patriot alike. His quite honorable decision resulted in diplomatic complica-

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143 Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 268.

144 Barck, *New York During the War*, p. 215.

145 Pomerantz, *New York: an American City*, p. 16; W. C. Abbott tells us that the British officers were entertained at the "modest cost of £500, Abbott, *New York in the Revolution*, p. 277.

146 Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, pp. 259-261.

147 *Ibid.*, p. 262; Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 265.

148 Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 262. Carleton kept an accurate register of former slaves, carried away. Daniel McCormick's friend Col. William S. Smith was one of the American commissioners supervising the evacuation.

tions between the United States and Great Britain for many years to come.

Soon after the announcement of peace, perhaps even before it, former inhabitants of New York who had served the patriot cause, began to return to their city. John Glover arrived as early as March, 1783. He was elected a member of the New York Chamber of Commerce on March 4, and was present at the meeting of April 1.¹⁴⁹ Thomas Randall, Patrick Ennis, and Dr. John Charlton were among the early arrivals. By April 19, no less than 2000 patriot exiles had come in, hoping no doubt to recover their homes.¹⁵⁰ In this they were at first disappointed, since they learned that their property would not be returned to them until the army was ready to give it up. They were now faced with the unpleasant problem of finding temporary lodgings. This influx of patriots, added to that of out of town Loyalists seeking transportation to Canada or elsewhere, caused a great deal of confusion and not a little resentment that might well have erupted into violence had not the streets been efficiently and tactfully policed by British troops.¹⁵¹ Trade began to revive even before the actual evacuation took place. Vendue merchants, like McCormick, Templeton, and McDavitt, were exceptionally busy auctioning off property which the Loyalists were unable to take with them. On every wharf British army commissaries were selling their surplus stock. It was bargain day for anyone who had ready money. Many returning revolutionists profited, although not always those who deserved it most. Commerce with other American towns, under the United States flag, was reopened even before the British left, much to the disgust of some of the Tories. Sir Guy Carleton tells us that on a single day, May 9, 1783, four ships sailed for Philadelphia, one for Rhode Island, two for Virginia, and two for Maryland.¹⁵²

By the middle of November patriotic American civilians began to prepare for the triumphal entry of Governor George Clinton and the American commander-in-chief. On November 18, at Cape's Tavern on Broadway a meeting of the inhabitants of the city was held from which all were excluded who had remained in New York during the "late conflict."¹⁵³ A committee was appointed "to form a badge of distinction, to be worn on the day of evacuation," and also to plan the manner in which the returning American forces were to be welcomed. Captain Thomas Randall and Captain Patrick Ennis were members of this committee, which adopted a Union Cockade "of black

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¹⁴⁹ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, pp. 294, 300.

¹⁵⁰ William Smith, *Diary*, April 19, 1783, cited by Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, p. 257.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

¹⁵³ Flick, IV, 272; Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels*, pp. 266-7.

and white Ribband, worn on the left Breast; and a Laurel in the Hat." The two Irishmen headed a subcommittee to conduct a procession to meet the returning patriot chieftains.¹⁵⁴ Sir Guy Carleton now gave notice to Washington that he was prepared for the final evacuation of New York on November 25. Governor George Clinton and General Washington had already moved down to Harlem to await events. The British had drawn in their troops from Kingsbridge, McGowan's Pass, Eastern Long Island, and Paulus Hook. They were holding the Barrier, a line of fortifications across Manhattan Island. On the morning of the twenty-fifth at Carleton's request the American troops, now under the command of General Henry Knox,¹⁵⁵ moved down the Bowery Road to the Barrier, where they remained seated on the grass. About one o'clock the British withdrew, whereupon the American force followed them into the city marching down to Fort George — the Battery — which was occupied as the British rear-guard retired. Here there was an amusing delay. When the moment came to raise the American flag over the fort it was discovered that the British had greased the flagpole and fouled the halyards so that their colors could not be hauled down. A sailor boy, John Van Arsdale, nailing cleats to the pole, climbed up, tore down the flag, and cleared the halyards. The Stars and Stripes was now hoisted to the accompaniment of cheers from the crowd and a thirteen gun salute.¹⁵⁶

Once the flag was raised General Knox with a mounted band of civilians headed by Captain Ennis galloped back to the Bowery Lane — the present junction of Third Avenue and the Bowery — to escort General Washington and Governor Clinton into the city. Their formal public entry was witnessed by an enthusiastic crowd of thousands. Their excellencies, with their suites, on horseback were followed by Lieutenant-Governor Livingston, members of the Council, officers of the Army, prominent citizens on foot, the whole escorted by a body of Westchester Light Horse under Captain Delavan. "The Procession proceeded down Queen Street, and through the Broad Way, to Cape's Tavern."¹⁵⁷ After the last of the company had passed in review before the Commander-in-Chief, Washington, with several of his officers, rode up Queen Street and stopped at Number 23, now 216 Pearl Street,

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¹⁵⁴ Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 272.

¹⁵⁵ General Knox was an Irishman of Scottish descent. Both his father and grandfather were born in Ireland. He was a member of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston, and of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Philadelphia. Campbell, *Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, p. 45.

¹⁵⁶ There are several accounts of this incident varying in details, cf. Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 277. For many years to come some descendants of Van Arsdale took in Evacuation Day exercises at the Battery. His son John died in 1883, on the eve of a centennial celebration in which he was to have taken part. Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 103.

¹⁵⁷ *New York Gazette*, Nov. 26, 1783. John Pintard tells us that "every horse in the city was put in requisition. I had hired a car mans large horse unused to crowds and firing — It was very restive." Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 276.

where he breakfasted at the home of his faithful Irish friend and "confidential correspondent," Hercules Mulligan.¹⁵⁸ That evening Governor Clinton gave a public dinner at Fraunces' Tavern at which Washington and other General Officers were present.¹⁵⁹ On November 26, a formal address by the "Citizens of New York, who have returned from Exile in Behalf of themselves and their Suffering Brethren," was presented to General Washington. It was signed by thirteen citizens. Captain Thomas Randall's name headed the list; the signature of Patrick Ennis was seventh.¹⁶⁰ On November 28, the "exiled patriots" gave a dinner at Cape's Tavern to the Governor and Council. General Washington, his officers and some three hundred guests were present.

A few days later, having bade farewell to his officers in the long upper room of Fraunces' Tavern at Pearl and Broad Streets, Washington left the city to return to Virginia and Mount Vernon. The fifty-one year old general walked between a double file of men of the Light Infantry, Lafayette's old command.¹⁶¹ There he took a barge to Paulus Hook on the New Jersey shore. New Yorkers now settled down to devote all their energies to rebuilding their wrecked city, which had suffered so severely during seven years of British occupation. Buildings were out of repair, churches were wrecked, most of the wharves were falling to pieces, streets and roads had been torn up, and the whole town was filled with filth and rubbish.¹⁶² Exiles and newcomers poured into the city, but many of them, formerly wealthy, were now in dire poverty. There were questions of grim necessity to be faced. In the cheerless winter of 1783-4 many discharged soldiers walked the streets, ill fed, and ill clad. For months to come, they wore the remnants of their old uniforms.¹⁶³ Business was in confusion and unemployment, with all its attendant miseries, was rife in the city. Continental money was plentiful; but it was practically useless as many shops refused to accept anything but "hard money." The hospitals were still overcrowded with wounded and diseased soldiers, while numerous others who had perished in the conflict had left their widows and orphans in dire distress. Many of the returning soldiers were Irish, and they naturally appealed to their more fortunate countrymen. It was under such circumstances that the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York was founded "for the relief of

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¹⁵⁸ Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 40; Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 28; O'Brien, *Hercules Mulligan*, p. 115; George Washington Parke Custis, *Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington*, Washington, D. C.

¹⁵⁹ *New York Gazette*, Nov. 26, 1783.

¹⁶⁰ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III.

¹⁶¹ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 104.

¹⁶² Pomerantz, *New York; An American City*, pp. 19-21.

¹⁶³ Duer, *New York as It Was*, p. 28.

indigent natives of Ireland, and their descendants." The Society was the product of the inspiration of patriotic Irishmen, men of character and means, who were prepared to meet the desperate situation by collecting funds, sheltering the homeless, and distributing food and clothing among the sufferers.

Preliminary meetings seem to have been held at the home of Daniel McCormick, then at 39 Wall Street, in the winter of 1783. They were attended by William Constable, formerly aide-de-camp to General Lafayette, by Dr. John Cochran, Surgeon General of the Continental Army, and probably by Robert Ross Waddell, Hugh Gaine and others whose names are now unknown. After the surrender of Cornwallis, Constable had engaged in business in Philadelphia but had come to New York with the American Army in November.¹⁶⁴ Deeply impressed with the commercial possibilities of the city's magnificent harbor, with keen foresight that New York would soon be the most important port on the Atlantic seaboard, he decided to remove his mercantile house from Philadelphia and to establish the great trading firm of Constable, Rucker and Co. The firm was originally organized with a capital of £20,000, Pennsylvania currency, in which Robert Morris, an honorary member of the Friendly Sons of Philadelphia, had a share.¹⁶⁵ William Constable was already launching himself as one of the four great venture capitalists of the postwar period and was deeply involved in business transactions with, among others, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, and Jeremiah Wadsworth, of Hartford, Conn.¹⁶⁶ Dr. John Cochran, who had practiced briefly in New York before removing to New Jersey, now decided to throw in his lot with the city which was soon to become the capital of the United States. Daniel McCormick had prospered greatly in his vendue business during the war and had the charitable inclinations, the will, and the liquid capital to come to the rescue of his distressed countrymen.

McCormick had undoubtedly attended the dinners of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick during the war, if he was not actually a member, and both Constable and Cochran were members of the Friendly Sons of Philadelphia.¹⁶⁷ They decided to organize themselves into "a charitable, social, and fraternal association,"¹⁶⁸ whose object would be "to assist unfortunate and distressed natives of Ireland in the City of

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¹⁶⁴ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, address of Judge Charles P. Daly at 105th Anniversary Dinner; Constable Letter Book *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library; Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier*, Philadelphia, 1954, pp. 138, 182.

¹⁶⁵ Constable Letter Book, 1782-90, *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library; Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris*, p. 190.

¹⁶⁶ Howard Swiggett, *The Forgotten Leaders of the Revolution*, Garden City, New York, 1955, p. 42.

¹⁶⁷ *Vide supra*.

¹⁶⁸ *Vide supra*, Chap. III; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, pp. 127-8, 322-3, 325.

New York," and to meet annually in fraternal companionship to commemorate the festival of the great Apostle, who had brought the Christian Faith to Ireland. It is not surprising that one of the declared objects of the founders was to keep alive the memory of St. Patrick, in accordance with the immemorial custom of their native Ireland. The word "friendly" in the title has always been rather intriguing to nonmembers, especially in the twentieth century; but to the founders it was most natural, a part of the age in which they lived, one in which "friendly" societies of various types had sprung up all over the British Isles and had spread to America. The word "friendly" signified not merely the fostering of mutual friendship among and for the benefit of its members, but, the nobler object of putting into practice that form of friendliness which not only affects the heart but finds expression in the open purse. This spirit of friendliness toward the poor, which motivated Daniel McCormick and William Constable, was to inspire the members of the Society for the next one hundred and sixty years.

The first public meeting of the Society was announced for the 17th of March, 1784, and at this meeting Daniel McCormick was elected president.¹⁶⁹ William Constable had a large part in the founding of the organization, and tradition has it that it was he who proposed its name. Constable was an intimate friend of Stephen Moylan, the first president of the Philadelphia Friendly Sons, and was an enthusiastic member of that Society. He had been present at the meeting on December 18, 1781, at which General Washington had been unanimously adopted a member and his signature on the "Rules" is close to that of Washington.¹⁷⁰ Since the New York Society was patterned after the Philadelphia body, Constable probably selected the name. Hugh Gaine was elected treasurer of the Society and Robert Ross Waddell its first secretary.

Whether the original "Rules of the Society" were drawn up at this meeting is uncertain. They were printed by Hugh Gaine at the Sign of the Bible, in Hanover Square, in the year 1786, but were undoubtedly adopted earlier.¹⁷¹ Gaine's publication is entitled: *Rules to be observed by the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, in the State of New York*. This was unquestionably the official title of the organization until its incorporation, February 13, 1827, when its name was

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¹⁶⁹ In future years McCormick became noted for his boundless charity and benevolence. His long years of service as president, his old-world social graces, and his venerable age so captivated the imaginations of the members in the first quarter of the next century that they came to regard him almost as the sole originator of the Society, *Records of the Society*, "Preamble" to *By-laws*, 1831; *Commercial Advertiser*, March 19, 1832; *Evening Post*, March 20, 1832.

¹⁷⁰ Campbell, *Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, p. 66.

¹⁷¹ The Society has a photostat copy of the *Original Rules* which are to be found among the *Papers of Hugh Gaine*, New York Public Library.

changed to read "in the City of New York." But during its early years the Society was commonly known to the citizens of the city and to its own members as the St. Patrick Society.¹⁷²

It is probable that at their initial meeting the members assembled at the home of Daniel McCormick in Wall Street, and that, after the election of officers, they repaired to the place where the dinner was to be held, nearby Cape's Tavern, on Thames Street and Broadway,



Cape's Tavern

then called the Broad Way or Great George's Street. It is now 116 Broadway. They evidently expected a goodly company, since they patronized the principal house of entertainment then in New York, which was described as the "noted house formerly called Hull's Tavern, beautifully situated in the City for the reception of travellers."¹⁷³

There is nothing on record to indicate what transpired on this occasion beyond the following report which appeared in the *Packet* of March 18, 1784:

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¹⁷² The Treasurer's Accounts in the old cash book from 1805 to 1828 are headed simply, "St. Patrick Society." The first appearance of the present legal title in the manuscript records is in a notation by the auditing committee, dated March 2, 1827, the year of incorporation. *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, account of John B. Montgomery, Treasurer, 1826-1827. From 1828 on, the legal title is regularly used.

¹⁷³ *New York Packet and Daily Advertiser*, Oct. 22, 1783; Stokes, *Iconography*, I 1121, calls it "the leading public house of the period."

"Yesterday, being the anniversary of Saint Patrick, his Patriotic Sons met at Cape's Tavern, where they gave an elegant entertainment to his Excellency the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chancellor and a number of other respectable gentlemen of this State. The day and evening were spent in festivity and mirth and a number of suitable toasts were drank upon this joyful occasion. The greatest unanimity and conviviality pervaded this numerous and jovial company, and perhaps this great Saint was never honored with a concourse of more generous and truly patriotic sons than this assembly afforded."¹⁷⁴

The Governor of the State was George Clinton, a son of Charles Clinton of Longford, Ireland, the Lieutenant-Governor was Pierre Van Cortlandt, and the Chancellor was the distinguished lawyer Robert R. Livingston, a member of the committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence. Although the presence of James Duane, first Mayor of the city after the Revolution, was not mentioned by the *Packet*, it is highly probable that he was one of the company since he became a member of the Society in 1784, and was noted for his loyalty to his Irish friends.¹⁷⁵ It would be of considerable interest to know the names of the "numerous and jovial company" who assembled around the festive board on the 17th of March, 1784, the toasts which they drank and the addresses delivered. Unfortunately no record exists. This first public dinner of the Society seems to have been an important function and had the dual purpose of entertaining the principal State officials and of celebrating St. Patrick's Day. It served as a happy introduction of the new society to the people of New York. Occurring only four months after New York had witnessed the departure of the British Army, it is probable that the Friendly Sons and their guests turned it into a "victory dinner." Governor Clinton himself had been a major factor in the victory by his heroic defense of the passes of the Highlands and the forts of the Hudson. This distinguished member of the Society later was twice elected Vice-President of the United States. His nephew, De Witt Clinton, also to

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¹⁷⁴ *New York Packet and Daily Advertiser*, March 18, 1784. This newspaper, established by Samuel Loudon in January, 1776, had been published in Fishkill, N. Y. during the war. Loudon resumed publication in the City late in 1783. Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 446.

¹⁷⁵ Duane's strongly Irish characteristics are recognized by his biographer and by his contemporaries. As a member of the Continental Congress, in July, 1775, he had drawn up a statement of the American case which was sent to the inhabitants of Ireland. Alexander, *James Duane*, pp. 113-156. "Nearly every March 17 found him celebrating with the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," *Ibid.*, p. 187.

be Governor of the State of New York became a member of the Society in 1790.

From that time to the present, the Society has never failed to honor the Apostle of the Gael on his Feast Day, March 17, with the exception of the years of the famine in Ireland when the cost of the dinners was donated to relieve the suffering in the mother country. But the anniversary dinner was by no means the only meeting of the Society. The "Original Rules of the Society," as printed by Hugh Gaine in 1786, provided for four meetings, on the seventeenth of March, June, September and December.¹⁷⁶ Public notice was to be given a week before the date of each meeting. The June meeting, from which "strangers" were excluded, was for business.¹⁷⁷ Apparently dinner was served at all the meetings. At the annual meeting the President, with the advice of the Council, was privileged to invite "any number of strangers he may think proper, in the name of the Society, at the expense of the members then met," but guests introduced by him at any other meeting were to be at his own expense.¹⁷⁸

Whether or not any of the founders of the Friendly Sons had been members of the earlier order of the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick the new organization discarded one of the principal features of the old society. Nothing was retained of the "secret, masonic mysteries" so characteristic of the Friendly Brothers. Besides adopting the title of the Philadelphia society the founders of the New York society also borrowed its emblem. According to the *Original Rules of the Society* each member was required to furnish himself with a "gold medal of the value of three guineas agreeable to the following description: On the right, Hibernia; on the left, America; in the center, Liberty joining the hands of Hibernia and America, to be represented by a harp for Hibernia; an Indian with a quiver on his back and his bow slung for America; underneath, 'Unite.' On the reverse, St. Patrick trampling on a snake, a cross in his hand, dressed in his pontifical robes, the Motto, 'Hier'."¹⁷⁹ Any member neglecting to appear with his medal at the annual meeting was subject to a fine of eight shillings; such neglect at other meetings brought a fine of five shillings.¹⁸⁰

Membership in the Society was originally limited to "descendants of Irish parents by either side in the first degree, and the descendants of every member *ad infinitum*."¹⁸¹ The right of application did not as-

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¹⁷⁶ *Original Rules of the Society*, Sec. 2.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Sec. 2.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Sec. 8.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Sec. 2. In later years the badge of the New York Society was simplified, becoming a facsimile of the reverse of that originally adopted by the Friendly Sons in Philadelphia in 1771. *Records of the Society Year Book*, 1899, p. 7.

¹⁸⁰ *Original Rules of the Society*, Sect. 4.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Sect. 5.

sure membership, however, since five blackballs would exclude any candidate and election to membership could take place only at a meeting of twenty or more members.¹⁸² Unlike its Philadelphia prototype, the New York society made no provision for honorary members not of Irish blood. Many years later the by-laws were modified to admit honorary members and provision was also made for life membership. Tradition has it that at one of the early meetings of the Society it was determined that no religious or political discussion should ever take place among the members, and that no question would be permitted to be raised at its meetings which would cause discord, disunity or differences of opinion.¹⁸³ The custom seems to have been observed faithfully from the inception of the Society to the present day. There never was or is there now any religious test for admission to this venerable Society, and from the beginning Protestants of various sects mingled harmoniously with Catholics and Quakers. This feature of the Society has made a profound impression upon historians.¹⁸⁴

In its early days membership in the Society was apparently limited to one hundred although there is no written evidence to that effect in the *By-Laws*. Under the revised *By-Laws* of 1832 nine members constituted a quorum for ordinary business; the election of new members required thirteen present instead of twenty as provided in the original Rules.¹⁸⁵ During its first fifty years the limited size of the Society resulted in the formation of a remarkably close-knit association in which members mingled on terms of most intimate friendship. The Friendly Sons engaged in business together often forming partnerships among themselves, they belonged to the same churches, they were actively interested in the same civic enterprises, they often had summer homes in the same localities, and what is even more remarkable their families intermarried with astonishing frequency.

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¹⁸² *Ibid.*, Sect. 6.

¹⁸³ Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863*, New York, p. 232N. The destruction of the *Minutes* of the Society in the New York fire of 1835 makes it impossible to determine just when this resolution was adopted, and there is nothing to this effect in the original or the revised *By-Laws* of 1832.

¹⁸⁴ Benson J. Lossing, in his account of the Friendly Sons wrote that its St. Patrick's Day Dinners "have always afforded the most pleasant, witty, and agreeable social gatherings of the kind in the City. Perfect harmony prevails at these dinners, as well as at the meetings of the society. This is due to the fact that the association is composed of different religious views. At the meetings of every kind, the subjects of religion and politics are never discussed, only the charitable and social objects of the Society. To this feature is due the long and healthful life of the association." Benson J. Lossing, *History of the City of New York*, N. Y., 1884, pp. 189-190.

¹⁸⁵ *Records of the Society*, Revised By-Laws, 1832, Article XIII, Sect. 4; Art. II, Sect. I.

CHAPTER V

THE FOUNDERS UNDER THE CONFEDERATION



IT is difficult for dwellers in the great metropolitan New York of today to realize the unusual position held in this city during the decades following the Revolution by a handful of men of Irish birth or ancestry, most of whom were members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. The population of the town in November, 1783, when it was evacuated by the British, could not have been more than 12,000, and although it recovered rapidly, reaching 23,614 in 1787, New York was little more than an overgrown village when the first United States census was taken in 1790.¹ This census gave the state 340,120 inhabitants of whom only 33,131 lived in New York County.² At the end of the war the northern limits of the town extended only to the "Fields," now City Hall Park, with a small group of rather bedraggled public buildings beyond that point.³ In a community of such size, men of energy, ability, and character had ample opportunity to come to the front. Such qualities were by no means lacking in the members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, who added to their individual talents a remarkable sense of unity and willingness to cooperate with one another in all business, civic, and social projects, a fact which can be largely ascribed to their national origin. This "clannishness of the early Irish in New York gave them an influence in the affairs of the city and state far beyond that which their numbers would seem to justify. It was no mere accident that the first governor of the state and the first mayor of the city after the Revolution were the sons of Irish immigrants. Men of Irish blood had already taken deep root in their adopted country. They had given to colonial New York distinguished families and they were intermarried with the older stock. No wonder that they were now ready to take a leading role in making New York a truly American city where they themselves were soon to become what Walter Barrett termed "the cream of the cream" of the

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¹ Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 261; A. C. Flick, ed., *The American Revolution in New York*, Albany, 1926, p. 238; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 22.

² Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 5.

³ Duer, *New York As It Was*, p. 17.

society of their day. It is perhaps significant that the first and only public monument erected in New York during the next half-century of its existence should commemorate the Irish born hero of the invasion of Canada, General Richard Montgomery. This monument was erected by Congress under the portico of St. Paul's Chapel on Broadway, in the year 1787.⁴ In 1818, when the remains of the hero of Quebec were borne with great pomp to their final resting place under this monument, it was one of the very few occasions in its history that the Friendly Sons took part in a public demonstration.

Until regular government could be resumed under the Montgomerie Charter of 1731, which had been confirmed with only minor changes by the first State Constitution in 1777, the city was ruled by the Council of Southern New York which had been appointed by the state legislature in 1779.⁵ Governor George Clinton, son of the Irish immigrant Charles Clinton of Ulster County, New York, and James Duane, "scion of an Irish family," were both members of this body. From its headquarters in the City Hall in Wall Street opposite the head of Broad, the Council immediately issued a preliminary ordinance, November 21, 1783, for the maintenance of order in the town.⁶ The city watch was reinstituted, prices of food were fixed, and the sale of necessities regulated.⁷ The pitiful condition of the poor, noted in the previous chapter, made it necessary to vote £1200 for the use of three commissioners who were instructed to prepare an almshouse, and to arrange for feeding, clothing, and housing the unfortunate.⁸ An election was announced for December 15, at the City Hall, when alderman and assistant alderman for the seven wards were to be chosen. A second election, beginning December 29, was to provide for representatives to the state legislature.⁹ Twenty pound freeholders, forty shilling rent payers, and all freemen of the city could now vote in the charter elections; but freemen created since October 14, 1775 were excluded from voting for members of the assembly.¹⁰ In theory only those Loyalists who had taken an oath of allegiance to the state were permitted to vote. The total number of Loyalists in the city is estimated at from one-third to two-thirds of its population in 1784.¹¹ Many, technically disqualified, were undoubtedly permitted to vote in

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⁴ *Vide supra*; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 292.

⁵ *Laws of the State of New York, 1777-1801*, 5 vols., Albany, 1886-1887, 2nd Session, October 23, 1779, ch. 28.

⁶ *New York Packet*, November 24, 1783.

⁷ *Independent New York Gazette*, December 6, 1783.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *New York Gazetteer*, December 10, 1783.

¹⁰ Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, pp. 90-91. Only £100 freeholders could vote for governor or senators. There were 138 freemen in Albany and New York in 1790.

¹¹ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 78; Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 120; Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 166-79.

the charter election of 1783, which may account for the more stringent restrictions in the law passed by the legislature in the following year.¹²

Thomas Randall, an early member of the Friendly Sons and its councillor in 1787, was one of three inspectors of the charter election on December 15th, at which aldermen and assistant aldermen were chosen.¹³ Both he and Patrick Dennis were among those elected. The new aldermen and assistants, who with the Mayor and Recorder would compose the Common Council of the city corporation, took the oath of office on December 16, 1783. Ten days later, after choosing Thomas Randall as their presiding officer, the city fathers began their work.¹⁴ The election of members of the assembly took place in the city between December 29th and January 5th. A great deal of bitterness was shown against Tories and moderate Whigs on this occasion because conservatives tried to send merchants to the assembly as had been their custom before the war. Apparently no member of the Friendly Sons was elected to this session, but Thomas Randall was one of the assembly in its 8th session which met in New York City, 1784-1785.¹⁵ The seventh session of the legislature convened at the Exchange, on Broad Street, to remain sitting from January 21st to May 12th, 1784.¹⁶ One of the first acts of the Governor and Council of Appointment was to designate as Mayor of the city James Duane who had been strongly recommended to Governor Clinton by the Common Council on January 23, 1784.¹⁷ Irish William Neilson, Thomas Randall, and William Gilbert signed this letter.

James Duane, who had rendered outstanding service to the patriot cause as a member of the Continental Congress during the Revolution, returned to New York with Washington and Clinton on Evacuation Day. He had but recently been elected state senator from the Southern District of New York. James was the son of Anthony Duane, an Irish immigrant, who had been made a freeman of the city as early as 1717.¹⁸ The son-in-law of Robert Livingston, third lord of Livingston Manor, who had been his father's friend, Duane had been a brilliant lawyer before the war and by 1767 was attorney general of the province.¹⁹ It was certainly no coincidence that he had been

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¹² *New York State Laws*, 7th Session, May 13, 1784, ch. 66. Dr. Flick believes that two-thirds of the inhabitants of New York lost the ballot under this act. Flick, *op. cit.*, pp. 166-79.

¹³ Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁴ *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784-1831*, 21 vols., New York, 1917, Vol. I, XIV; Vol. XIX, Appendix C., p. 734.

¹⁵ Werner, *Civil List*, p. 316.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ The Corporation of the City of New York to Governor George Clinton, *Duane Papers*, box 5, New York Historical Society.

¹⁸ *Burgheers of New Amsterdam and Freeman of New York, 1675-1866*, New York Historical Society Collections, 1885, New York, 1886, p. 97.

¹⁹ Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 244.

launched on his legal career as attorney for Thomas Dongan, a prosperous landed proprietor of Staten Island, an Irishman and a collateral descendant of the first Irish governor of New York.²⁰ Nor was it a coincidence that he had obtained this case through the influence of another Irishman, the Reverend Richard Charlton, Anthony's friend, who was father-in-law to Dongan.²¹ James had a town house in the city and a country seat that included what is now Gramercy Park. The nucleus of this estate he purchased from Gerardus Stuyvesant, grandson of Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch Governor of New Netherlands.²² Duane was also deeply interested in land speculation especially in Vermont.²³ He and Governor George Clinton were bitter opponents of the "secession" of Vermont from New York, where Duane had claims to some 60,000 acres.²⁴

Governor Clinton and Duane had worked very well together during the war, although quite different in temperament and political views. Clinton was definitely a radical Whig whereas Duane was just as definitely a conservative who had accepted independence with reluctance. The two sons of Irishmen had become firm friends and the friendship was to endure despite the political vicissitudes of the next few years.²⁵ The governor was no doubt well pleased to appoint his friend to the most important office at his disposal. Duane was exceptionally well fitted for the office of Mayor which he was to hold "with dignity, industry, and skill" until his retirement in 1789, despite the widening breach between him and the Clintonians. A very conservative man, he joined the Hamilton-Schuyler-Livingston faction in state politics. Duane later became a strong advocate for the Constitution to whose ratification Clinton was just as strongly opposed. The personal friendship between them was never broken, although Clinton is said to have been deeply hurt by Duane's opposition to his stand on the Constitution.²⁶ The two families continued to visit back and forth while they lived in New York.²⁷ How much their association in the St. Patrick's Society may have influenced this continued friendship can only be surmised. When subsequently Duane's Livingston relatives joined the Clintonian party, he did not go along with them, as he had refused to join them in opposition to his de Lancey friends before the Revolution. He remained a staunch Federalist until his death.

Duane was appointed Mayor of the city on February 5th, taking

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²⁰ Alexander, *James Duane*, p. 19.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² John B. Pine, *The Story of Gramercy Park, 1831-1921*, New York, 1921, pp. 1-3; Stokes, *Iconography*, VI, 98-100; V, 1706.

²³ Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 191; Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

²⁴ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 144; Alexander, *James Duane*, pp. 70, 201.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 201.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 202.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

the oath of office two days later. Owing to the great distress and suffering prevalent in the City at the time he dispensed with the customary public entertainment. Instead "with characteristic generosity" he donated twenty guineas for the welfare of the poor.²⁸ The political break with the Clintonians followed almost immediately after Duane's assumption of office. Under him the Mayor's Court, which had held no sessions during the war, was reopened on February 10, 1784.²⁹ At once the court became involved in a famous case, *Rutgers vs. Waddington*, which not only furnished a precedent for the power of judicial review under the new constitution to come but immediately raised the question as to whether local laws in conflict with treaties or the accepted principles of international law were not null and void even under the loose form of union then existing. The issue is so controversial even today that it deserves consideration here.

Former Loyalists or anyone who had remained within the British lines during the occupation found the years immediately following 1783 very trying if not dangerous. A wave of hysteria against them brought threats of violence, although they seem to have met with little rough treatment in the City itself. Governor Clinton, himself exceedingly bitter towards Tories, took prompt action to curtail all acts of violence.³⁰ Tories had probably voted in the charter election of 1783, but on May 12, 1784 the state legislature passed, over the veto of the Council of Revision, a law disenfranchising not only those who had served or held office under the enemy, but also those who had remained voluntarily within the British lines, or had left the state during the War.³¹ Under the Trespass Act of March 17, 1783 suits for damages were permitted against any one who had used real or personal property not belonging to them during the occupation, even if a British military order had authorized the use.³² This law, an apparent violation of Article Six of the Treaty of Peace with England, gave rise to a number of law suits against the Tories. It also gave an opportunity for young Alexander Hamilton to come forward as defender of the former Loyalists. At this time only twenty-seven years old, Hamilton's roots in his adopted country were not very deep and he could well be more objective than most of his fellow Whigs. He had not seen his home burned or his property sequestered by the

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²⁸ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 30-31; *New York Packet*, Feb. 9, 1784; *Independent Gazette*, Feb. 12, 1784.

²⁹ Charles P. Daly, "History of the Court of Common Pleas for the City of New York, 1623-1846," in E. D. Smith, ed., *Report of Cases in the Court of Common Pleas for the City and County of New York*, Vol. I, New York, 1855, p. LXXII. The Mayor's Court handled only civil cases but the Mayor or Recorder also presided over the Court of General Sessions which dealt with criminal charges.

³⁰ *New York Packet*, Oct. 20, 1785.

³¹ *New York State Laws*, 7 sess., ch. 66, Act of May 12, 1784.

³² *Ibid.*, 6 sess., ch. 32, March 17, 1783.

British. Besides the former Loyalists were generally merchants, lawyers, men of property with whom the conservative Hamilton naturally sympathized rather than with the mass of propertyless people whom he tended to think of as the "mob."³³ The Trespass Act gave Hamilton his first great opportunity as a lawyer and James Duane his most difficult and important legal decision. A Tory brewer named Waddington, a British subject, was sued by a widow, Mrs. Rutgers, for damages due her on her brew house and home which he had used during the British occupation. Hamilton, Brockholst, Livingston, and Morgan Lewis defended the wealthy and unpopular Waddington. Hamilton in his plea argued: 1. that an abandoned property had been seized by the British general for the use of his army in accordance with "the laws, customs and usages of nations in time of war:" 2. that after the passage of the Trespass Act a treaty of peace had mutually renounced between the nations and their respective subjects and citizens all claims for damages arising out of the war.³⁴ Since Mrs. Rutgers was an American citizen and Waddington a British subject the case should be dismissed. Duane was faced with the choice of either ignoring the validity of a United States treaty and the generally accepted principles of international law recognized by common law courts or the equally disagreeable alternative of declaring an act of the state legislature null and void in the face of hostile public opinion. His decision, a compromise, was handed down on August 27, 1784. On Hamilton's major point of the validity of a treaty, he held that a treaty of Congress was the supreme law of the land "that no state in this union can alter or abridge."³⁵ He also seems to have held that the Trespass Act was in part a violation of accepted principles of international law, but concluded that this was not the intent of the legislature.³⁶ In the case before him, however, Duane found against the defendant, Waddington, on the technicality that the unquestioned rights of the British general had not been properly exercised through military permission "by his immediate authority" for part of the time at issue when Waddington acted under a license from the commissary-general and not under an order from the British commander-in-chief.³⁷ The case, therefore, was remanded to a jury for an assessment of damages and on September 2, 1784 a verdict of £791 13s. 4d. was rendered

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³³ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 173-4.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

³⁶ Alexander, *James Duane*, p. 162; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 85.

³⁷ Schachner, *op. cit.*, p. 178; Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

in favor of Widow Rutgers.³⁸

Duane's decision aroused a storm of protest. For a time it seemed that he would lose his office as Mayor. Mass meetings denounced both him and Hamilton.³⁹ It was evident that the Whigs saw through Duane's attempt to placate the friends of Widow Rutgers and at the same time lay down a principle that would both strengthen the union under the Articles of Confederation and safeguard the Tories from the assaults of their opponents. The state legislature adopted a resolution of censure against the Mayor and his court,⁴⁰ and attempts were made to have the Council of Appointment remove him. Had Governor Clinton made any move against him such would have been the result. But Clinton did not move against his friend. A war of pamphlets, broadsides, and newspaper articles followed. Prominent Whigs like Jay, Dickenson, and Washington backed Duane's decision and urged justice for the former Loyalists.⁴¹ The case "marked the highpoint in post-Revolutionary Tory-baiting," and thereafter, with respected leaders throughout the nation seeking to discourage wartime animosities, the wave of bitterness against the Tories gradually receded.⁴² The Trespass Act was repealed in part in 1787, and wholly in 1788, when the Federalists took over the state senate.⁴³

Members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick who had remained in the city during the war do not seem to have suffered any great handicaps from the aroused Whigs. Their intimate connection with Governor George Clinton, who has been severely criticized for his harshness towards Tories, would seem to indicate that contemporaries could not have considered them Loyalists at heart. Although James Rivington was forced to discontinue his newspaper by threats of violence and on one occasion was actually beaten up in the streets,⁴⁴ Hugh Gaine, treasurer of the Friendly Sons from 1784 to 1796, seems not to have been molested at all. He had suspended publication of the *Mercury* voluntarily, but continued to prosper as bookseller, publisher, and printer at his old location in Hanover Square.⁴⁵ He soon regained the high regard of his fellow citizens, especially those of Federalist persuasion. Despite Philip Fren's humorous lampoon, there

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³⁸ *New York Packet*, Sept. 6, 1784. Oddly enough many historians have failed to note the final disposition of the case. E. Wilser Spaulding states categorically that "the widow Rutgers lost her case." In reality she won it. Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 129; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 85-86; C. P. Daly, "History of Court of Common Pleas," *loc. cit.*, pp. lxxiv ff; Alexander, *James Duane*, pp. 162-3.

³⁹ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 178; Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

⁴⁰ *New York Assembly Proceedings*, 8 sess., Nov. 2, 1784, p. 34.

⁴¹ Alexander, *James Duane*, p. 163.

⁴² Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 87.

⁴³ *New York State Laws*, 10 sess., April 4, 1787, ch. 71; *Ibid.*, 11 sess., Feb. 22, 1788, ch. 41.

⁴⁴ Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

is no evidence that Gaine ever had to petition the legislature for pardon.⁴⁶ In 1788, after the Federalists got control of the State Senate he received a contract to print a paper money issue, another in the next year for printing the acts of the legislature, and in 1793 the Common Council awarded him a contract to print an edition of the city ordinances. Gaine was commissioned public printer to the state, January 31, 1796.⁴⁷ Samuel Loudon, patriot printer, whose *New York Packet* was now one of the leading newspapers of the city, in a letter to Governor Clinton bitterly protested the granting of state contracts to a former Tory, but without avail.⁴⁸ There is no direct evidence that Loudon himself ever became a member of the Friendly Sons, although historians usually call him an Irishman.⁴⁹

In the two decades after the war Gaine was very active in the civic and business life of New York. He married twice. His first wife, Sarah Robbins gave him a son, John R. Gaine, and two daughters Elizabeth and Anne. After Sarah's death, he married again, on Sept. 5, 1769, a widow, Mrs. Cornelia Wallace, by whom he had two daughters, Cornelia and Sarah.⁵⁰ His only son, John R., was entered in Kings College in 1774, but owing to the war was never graduated. John seems for a time to have been associated with his father in the book selling business in Hanover Square, but died on May 1, 1787. He was buried in the family vault in Trinity Church-yard.⁵¹ Elizabeth, Gaine's eldest daughter, married Dr. John Kemp, professor of Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy at Columbia College.⁵² Gaine dabbled in real estate after the war, owning some twenty-four pieces of property in the city as well as some land in Canajoharie which he bought in 1806.⁵³

Perhaps the harshest form of reprisals against the Tories after the war was over is to be found in the confiscation of estates which continued until 1788. New York in 1779 had passed an act for the confiscation of the estates of those attainted or convicted of treason, but in the Southern District of New York the law could not be enforced until after the British evacuation.⁵⁴ It is estimated that two-

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⁴⁶ Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, I, 63; *Vide Supra*.

⁴⁷ Werner, *Civil List*, p. 223.

⁴⁸ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 91, n. 27; Ford, *op. cit.*, I, 64-65.

⁴⁹ Dr. John W. Francis, who knew him well, says that this was a mistake, that Loudon was born in Scotland, was an elder of the Scottish kirk, and a member of the St. Andrew's Society. If eligible for the Friendly Sons, Loudon's unpleasant relations with Hugh Gaine might well have kept him out of the Society. John W. Francis, *Old New York or Reminiscences of the Past Sixty Years*, New York, 1866, p. 334; cf. Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 286.

⁵⁰ Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, I, 34.

⁵¹ *New York Packet*, May 14, 1787.

⁵² Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, I, 68.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁵⁴ *New York State Laws*, 3 sess., ch. 25.

thirds of the property in New York County and the surrounding country belonged to the Loyalists and the sale of this property now brought large revenues to the state.⁵⁵ No member of the Friendly Sons seems to have suffered confiscation of his real estate, but a number of them was able to profit from the sale of Tory holdings which took place in New York City between 1784 and 1789. Members of the Society who purchased attainted land include James Smith, William Boyd, John Murray, James Saidler, and Dominick Lynch.⁵⁶ Lynch bought no less than three tracts in the *Outward* from the James de Lancey and the William Bayard estates on August 16, 17, 1787. One tract, consisting of thirty-two lots is described as bounded "S. by de Lancey St., W. by Sixth St., N. by Rivington St., E. by Essex St."⁵⁷ He also acquired a long strip of water front property on the East River in the region of Corlaer's Hook, then called Crown Point.⁵⁸ He paid a total of £3,260 for the land. At this time the pound, New York currency, was worth about four-sevenths of the English pound. Payment was apparently made in public securities.⁵⁹ Dominick Lynch was, in the 'eighties, at the beginning of a long and honorable career in the business and civic life of his adopted city. He had come to New York in 1785, and was already a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, of which he was to be Councillor in 1793 and for many years thereafter. His firm was Lynch and Stoughton, at 41 and 42 Little Dock Street — Water Street from Whitehall to Old Slip.⁶⁰ At this time, or a little later, Lynch lived at 16 Broadway which apparently was his town house for many years.⁶¹ By 1797 he had an estate in Westchester County where he built a stone chateau in the Flemish manner to house his thirteen children.⁶² Lynch was famous as an importer of wines and liquors in the period after the Revolution and prospered greatly.⁶³

Soon after the evacuation of the city by the British the merchants of New York organized themselves for the restoration of the export and import trade. Their first objective was to revive the Chamber of Commerce whose charter was thought to have lapsed because of its activity during the occupation. A petition was drawn up urging the state legislature to confirm the old charter. None of the Friendly Sons who had been so active in the affairs of the Chamber during the

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⁵⁵ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 80.

⁵⁶ Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 236 to 249.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 248. The *Outward* was the most northern of the city's seven wards. The wards were rearranged and numbered in 1791.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 255.

⁶⁰ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 251.

⁶¹ In 1818 he protested against "the practice of shaking and dusting carpets" in the neighborhood of the Battery. Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 132.

⁶² Crimmins, *Irish Historical Miscellany*, p. 103.

⁶³ More of Lynch's activities will be recounted later.

war signed this petition. The only name of a member of the Society which appears on the petition is that of Thomas Randall who had been energetic in the patriot cause.⁶⁴ Oddly enough, the act of the legislature confirming the charter, which passed April 13, 1784, made John Alsop president of the new Chamber.⁶⁵ Alsop, a founder of the colonial chamber and its vice-president in 1775,⁶⁶ is usually considered a Tory. Perhaps the fact that he had left the city during the British occupation influenced his choice. In any event old members who had remained in the city were soon readmitted; John Glover and William Neilson in June, 1784; Patrick McDavitt, Oliver Templeton, Robert Ross Waddell, Daniel McCormick, and John Murray at various dates in 1787.⁶⁷ All of these except William Neilson were members of the Friendly Sons in 1784 or soon thereafter. Neilson was unquestionably an Irishman, was closely associated with the founders of the Society, and may well have been a member. The incomplete records make proof impossible. Neilson and Hugh Gaine, treasurer of the New York organization, were guests of the Friendly Sons of Philadelphia at their anniversary dinner, March 17, 1788.⁶⁸ Many ex-Tories, not of Irish blood, who had been prominent in the pre-Revolutionary affairs of the city were also readmitted and became leaders in the reconstruction of New York commerce. Included among these were Robert Lenox, Joshua Waddington, Theophylact Bache, and William Seton, all of whom were guests of the St. Patrick Society at its great anniversary dinner in 1789⁶⁹ when the Society celebrated the ratification of the Constitution.

During the decade of the 'eighties, and for many years thereafter, the currency of New York was expressed in pounds, shillings, and pence. The money of account of the United States, the dollar, the dime, cent, and mill, was not legally adopted in the state until January 27, 1797, when it was provided that a dollar should be equivalent to "four-tenths of a pound."⁷⁰ The pound, New York currency, was worth approximately four-sevenths that of the pound sterling.⁷¹ Money was scarce, there were no American coins in circulation, and guineas, doubloons, pistoles, Joannes pieces, moidures and sequins were in common use. The dollar was therefore only "a fictitious symbol by which all others were measured." Continental notes in circulation

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⁶⁴ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 149; Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 306.

⁶⁵ *New York State Laws*, 7 sess., ch. 30, April 13, 1784.

⁶⁶ Stevens, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 306; Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 282.

⁶⁸ Campbell, *Friendly Sons of St. Patrick*, p. 90.

⁶⁹ Manuscript of William Constable, president of the Society in *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library; *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, address of Charles P. Daly, March 17, 1889.

⁷⁰ Henry L. Domett, *A History of the Bank of New York, 1784-1884*; New York, 1884, p. 2.

⁷¹ In 1887, 175 pounds lawful money of New York was equivalent to 100 pounds sterling.

were greatly depreciated in value and while New York's own paper money issues held up well, need was felt for prompt action to stabilize the currency of the State.

At this time the only bank in the country was the Bank of North America, at Philadelphia, incorporated by Congress in December 1781 and by the state of Pennsylvania in the next year.⁷² Attempts to establish a branch in New York failed.⁷³ Consequently, early in 1784, a movement was launched to give New York its own bank. Upstate landowners, headed by Chancellor Robert R. Livingston were sponsoring a land bank and had applied for a charter.⁷⁴ The merchants and substantial businessmen of New York were decidedly opposed to a land bank and quickly made plans for a specie bank which would retain for the city its dominance in the financial affairs of the state. In this movement members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, especially Daniel McCormick, Thomas Randall, and William Constable, took a leading part. In the *New York Packet* for February 23, 1784, a notice headed "Bank" invited gentlemen of the city who were interested in a bank, "the stock to consist of specie only" to meet tomorrow evening, at six o'clock, at the Merchant's Coffee House, "where a plan will be submitted to their consideration."⁷⁵ The meeting was held on the twenty-fourth followed by another on the twenty-sixth at which the "principal merchants and citizens" of the city were present. General Alexander McDougall, the old Son of Liberty, presided. It was decided to establish a bank with capital stock of 500,000 dollars. There were to be one thousand shares payable in gold or silver. A committee of six to receive subscriptions was appointed, including the Irish alderman William Neilson and Thomas B. Stoughton, partner of Dominick Lynch in the firm of Lynch and Stoughton. When half the stock had been pledged the subscribers were to meet and elect thirteen directors including a president, and also a cashier. The five hundred shares were quickly taken up and the Bank of New York was organized, March 15, 1784. General McDougall was elected president with William Seton, a former Tory, as cashier. Among the directors were Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Randall, Daniel McCormick, and Thomas B. Stoughton. William Constable was not elected a director until 1787.⁷⁶ The Bank opened for business two and one-half months later.⁷⁷

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⁷² Domett, *Bank of New York*, p. 3.

⁷³ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 185.

⁷⁴ Allan Nevins, *History of the Bank of New York and Trust Company, 1784 to 1934*, New York, 1934, p. 3.

⁷⁵ *New York Packet*, Feb. 23, 1784.

⁷⁶ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 186; Here he is mentioned as a director in 1784.

⁷⁷ Account is based on Domett, *Bank of New York*, pp. 4-10; Nevins, *Bank of New York*, pp. 3-8.

The role of Alexander Hamilton in the founding of the Bank of New York has doubtless been somewhat exaggerated by his biographers. Historians in general have followed their lead. The *History of the State of New York* tells us that "Hamilton and his friends . . . organized and opened the Bank of New York in 1784."⁷⁸ Actually much progress had been made on the project before Hamilton was invited to subscribe.⁷⁹ In a letter to his brother-in-law, John Barker Church, he says that he hesitated for some time before deciding to "fall in with them."⁸⁰ Church and Jeremiah Wadsworth, wealthy Connecticut merchant and politician, whose names are frequently associated with Hamilton's in the founding of the Bank were at this time residing in London, and had absolutely nothing to do with initiating the enterprise.⁸¹ They were, it is true, deeply interested in investing their money in some sort of a bank, which, however, they would expect to control. Attorney Hamilton was acting as their agent. He did draw up the constitution of the new bank or rather gave it its final form. But the peculiar voting arrangement which limited the voting rights of individuals, no matter how large their stockholdings, had been agreed upon before Hamilton joined the enterprise.⁸² This provision was probably the reason for Hamilton's reluctance to take part, as it would successfully prevent men like Church and Wadsworth from gaining control. Hamilton probably drew up the petition to the state legislature for incorporation but was far from successful in guiding it through that body.⁸³ Much opposition developed, especially up-state, and efforts to obtain a charter repeatedly failed. A petition of November, 1784, resulted in a bill which was rejected by the senate, April 9, 1785. A later petition, July 15, 1789, was similarly rejected in January of the next year.⁸⁴ This petition was printed in the *New York Packet*, October 1, 1789, and of its thirteen signers five were prominent members of the Friendly Sons: Daniel McCormick, William Edgar, John Murray, Thomas Randall, and William Constable.⁸⁵ When the Act of Incorporation finally passed the legislature on March 21, 1791, James Duane, former Mayor of New York, and a member of the Friendly Sons, was credited with being most influential in its successful passage.⁸⁶

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⁷⁸ Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 341.

⁷⁹ Domett, *Bank of New York*, p. 9.

⁸⁰ Henry Cabot Lodge, ed., *Works of Alexander Hamilton*, 12 vols., New York, 1903, X, 257-8.

⁸¹ Domett, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10; Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 182.

⁸² Domett, *Bank of New York*, p. 9; Nevins, *Bank of New York*, p. 8; Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 182.

⁸³ Schachner, *op. cit.*, p. 182, who says that Hamilton "piloted them safely through the legislature."

⁸⁴ Domett, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-35.

⁸⁵ *New York Packet*, October 1, 1789.

⁸⁶ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 186.

It is evident that Daniel McCormick and his colleagues of the St. Patrick Society were among the most active of the city merchants whose efforts launched the new financial enterprise. Although it has been said that Hamilton reserved for Church and Wadsworth large blocks of stock, and that later he made place for them on the board of directors, neither name appears as a stockholder of record in 1791, the year of incorporation, nor is Church listed as director at any time.⁸⁷ Jeremiah Wadsworth, however, was elected president for a single term on May 9, 1785; but his holding of the office is usually overlooked by historians.⁸⁸ He was succeeded in 1786 by Isaac Roosevelt who had been connected with the project from the beginning. Hamilton himself was a director from 1784 to 1788, but could hardly be said to have been active in the management of the bank. Many members of the Friendly Sons were apparently among the original subscribers. Eighteen of them held an aggregate of 106½ shares of the 723 shares outstanding in 1791.⁸⁹ Daniel McCormick, William Constable, Michael Price, and John McVickar were among the very largest stockholders, owning fifteen, fourteen, sixteen, and ten shares respectively. Only two stockholders, Alexander Robertson, 34 shares and Temperance Green, 25 shares, held more. Shortly after the incorporation of the bank, the St. Patrick Society itself became a shareholder, owning one share of stock until 1836.⁹⁰ Daniel McCormick continued to serve as director of the bank until 1799, while Thomas Randall, William Constable, William Edgar, John Murray, and John McVickar were directors at various times before 1800.⁹¹

The Bank of New York opened its doors for business, June 9, 1784, occupying part of the famous old Walton House, at No. 67 St. George's Square, afterwards called Franklin Square in honor of the wealthy Quaker merchant, Walter Franklin, who resided there. The address was also known as No. 156 Queen Street, soon changed to Pearl. At that time Pearl and Water Streets were the busiest streets in town.⁹² The Bank of New York remained at this location for three years, then removed to No. 11 Hanover Square, where the Cotton Exchange later

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⁸⁷ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 183; Domett, *Bank of New York*, Appendix II, p. 177 ff.; Nevins, *Bank of New York*, Appendix III. Recent research has established that they did subscribe to shares in July, 1784, and were still stockholders in June, 1786. Mitchell, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 610, n. 16.

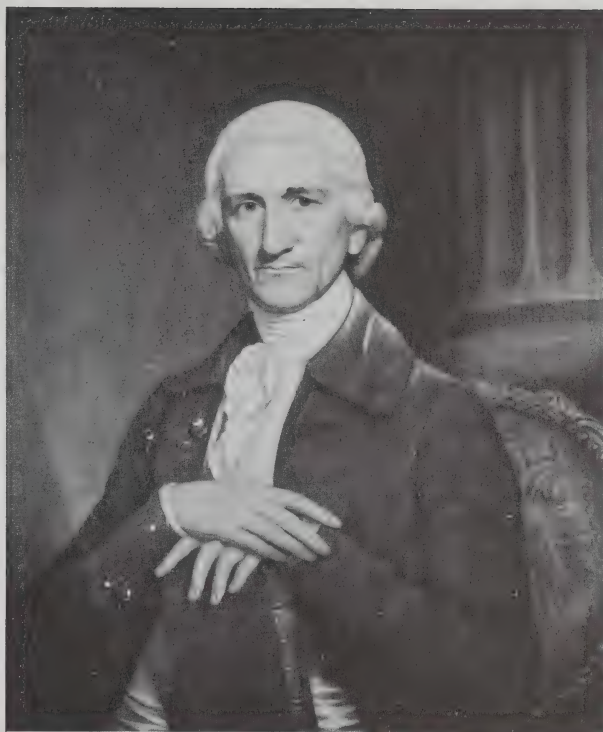
⁸⁸ Domett, *op. cit.*, p. 28. Both Pomerantz and Spaulding say McDougall was succeeded "upon his death in 1786" by Isaac Roosevelt; Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 168; Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 141.

⁸⁹ For list of stockholders in 1791 *vide* Domett, *Bank of New York*, Appendix VI, pp. 132 ff.; Nevins, *Bank of New York*, Appendix XI.

⁹⁰ *Vide infra*; *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, Permanent Fund, 1836.

⁹¹ List of Directors, Domett, *Bank of New York*, Appendix II, p. 117. Thomas Eddy, of the Society, received a state appointment as director in 1880, while as late as 1884 Eugene Kelly, treasurer of the Friendly Sons from 1883 to 1894, was elected a director of the bank.

⁹² Nevins, *Bank of New York*, p. 11.



CHARLES THOMSON

stood. The Bank bought this property for £5,000 New York currency. Cashier William Seton lived over the bank, as was quite customary for business men during the period. When more desirable quarters became necessary in 1796, the bank bought his house and lot on the corner of Wall and William Streets from William Constable where its first building was erected.⁹³ The building was completed in 1798.⁹⁴ Constable had ceased to be a director of the bank in 1792, but was probably a stockholder when the purchase was made.

Since November, 1783, New York City had been the capital of the state. Now, early in 1785, it became also the capital of the United States, an honor which it was to hold until 1790. On January 8, 1785, the guns of the fort at the Battery boomed a salute to the President of Congress, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, to Charles Thomson and other members of Congress, who had come to convene that body in New York's City Hall put at its disposal by the Common Council.⁹⁵ They were welcomed at Whitehall Slip by Governor George Clinton, who escorted "the president" to his mansion on Pearl Street, the former home of Henry White, an attainted Tory.⁹⁶ Irish born Charles Thomson was one of the most respected members of the new government. He was sole secretary of Congress from 1774 to 1789, and to him we owe the careful preservation of its journals. While residing in New York during the next four years he became a member of the St. Patrick Society, of which he was a Councillor from 1785 to 1788. Thomson's life is described as "singularly noble and upright and his devotion to the interests of the nation in its infancy deserving of immortal honor."⁹⁷ He was a cultivated gentleman, a classical scholar, and the friend of all the great men of his time. The choice of New York as both state and national capital naturally stimulated social life in the metropolis which rapidly became the leader of fashion in the nation. John Jay, of a well known New York colonial landowning and merchant family, had been highly influential in inducing Congress to come to New York. At this time, he was in charge of foreign affairs for Congress under the Articles of Confederation and was deep in negotiations with the Spanish minister, Don Diego de Gardoqui. For the next four years, Mrs. John Jay was the unquestioned social leader of the city. If we can believe Gardoqui, Mrs. Jay not only dominated New York society but her husband as well, so that the Spanish minister found it valuable literally to "dance" attendance on her in

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⁹³ Constable was paid £11,000, New York currency, for the property. *Ibid.*, p. 27; Domett, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

⁹⁴ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 231.

⁹⁵ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 105; Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 103; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 95.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 95; Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 304.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 293-4.

furthering his negotiations with the Secretary for Foreign Affairs.⁹⁸

The Jay mansion on Broadway below Wall Street was the fashionable center of the city and its guest list practically constituted the social register during this period. Prominent on this list, which included William Constable, Dr. and Mrs. John Charlton, Governor George Clinton, William Duer and Lady Kitty Duer, Mr. and Mrs. James Duane and Miss Duane, Charles Thomson, and Richard Harrison, was the wealthy bachelor Daniel McCormick, already renowned for his "generous hospitality, convivial habits, and strict religious principles."⁹⁹ His presence is noted at a grand dinner given by the Jays to the "President," May 20, 1788.¹⁰⁰ His home after 1792 was at 57 Wall Street, at the corner of Pearl, which property he purchased in 1790,¹⁰¹ and where he lived until his death in 1834. When McCormick bought the house the upper or western end of Wall Street was the fashionable residential section.¹⁰² Here lived the McEvers, the Van Hornes, the Buchanans, the Ludlows, the Constables, and others.¹⁰³ At his home, a brick building forty feet wide, McCormick entertained lavishly, and invitations to his dinners were eagerly sought by the elite of the city. He numbered among his friends Governor Clinton, James Duane, Gilbert Stuart, John Ramage, the Irish miniature painter, John Pintard, and many of the leading men of that day. McCormick was a close friend of Col. William S. Smith of Jamaica, L. I., Secretary of the United States Legation in London, who married on June 12, 1787 the only daughter of John Adams, future President of the United States. The Smiths returned to America in 1788, arriving in New York on May 13th. On May 20th Mrs. Smith wrote to her mother: "Col. Smith's friend, Mr. McCormick came aboard and conducted us to his home, where I have been treated with great kindness and attention."¹⁰⁴ McCormick was described as "one of the most polished gentlemen of the City," and we are told that "he never changed his habits and always wore powdered hair, knee breeches, white stockings and silver buckle shoes to the end of his life."¹⁰⁵ At this time he was not only exceedingly active in business affairs, but took a leading part in civic projects, even dabbling a bit in politics. A member of the Masonic order as early as 1786, he was grand treasurer of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of New York.¹⁰⁶ On Sept. 30,

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⁹⁸ S. F. Bemis, *Pinckney's Treaty*, Baltimore, 1926, pp. 73-84.

⁹⁹ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 282; R. W. Grinswold, *The Republican Court*, New York, 1884, pp. 98-9.

¹⁰⁰ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 105.

¹⁰¹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 249, 264; Duer, *New York As It Was*, p. 11.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Nevins, *Bank of New York*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁴ Grinswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 91.

¹⁰⁵ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 249.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

1788, he was elected "Assessor of the East Ward,"¹⁰⁷ and in the following year and again in 1790 he was chosen Alderman of the East Ward, taking the oath of office on October 14th before Mayor James Duane.¹⁰⁸ In 1801 McCormick was appointed Inspector of Elections for the City of New York.¹⁰⁹

Another member of the St. Patrick's Society, socially prominent in the city in the eighties and nineties and also an intimate friend of the Jays, was Dr. John Charlton.¹¹⁰ Born in Dublin in the year 1730 he had studied medicine at Trinity College, graduating in 1754. As Surgeon in the British Army he had come to New York in 1762, when he resigned his commission and began the "practice of Physic" in the city. In 1770 he married Mary de Peyster, daughter of Treasurer Abraham and Margaret Van Cortlandt de Peyster, thus allying himself with two of the old New York colonial families, and through them to all the leading families of the province.¹¹¹ During the Revolution he lived on Long Island, returning to the city perhaps as early as 1781, when he resumed the practice of medicine. Dr. Charlton was possibly related to the Rev. Richard Charlton, a close friend of Anthony Duane.¹¹² Richard's grandson, John Charlton Dongan, of State Island, became a member of the Friendly Sons in 1789. Reputed to be wealthy, Dr. Charlton's practice was chiefly confined to his friends and family connections, though he was in great demand as a consultant.¹¹³ Dr. Charlton succeeded Dr. John Bard as president of the Medical Society of the State of New York, which was active in pressing for public health regulations.¹¹⁴ In 1789 the Medical Society had only twenty-eight members but by 1800 most of the eighty-five doctors of the city were affiliated with it.¹¹⁵

Dr. Charlton is described as a short, stout man, with a florid complexion and somewhat pompous manners. He was a great lover of horses and very fond of horseback riding.¹¹⁶ As early as 1786 he lived at 110 Broadway, not far from the Jays, in a house valued in 1799 at £2500.¹¹⁷ Charlton was one of the few doctors of the city on the dining list of the Jays and may have been their family physician. On one date on the list Dr. and Mrs. Charlton were the only guests for

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¹⁰⁷ *Minutes of the Meetings of the Common Council*, I, 405.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 508; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 251.

¹⁰⁹ *New York City Directory*, 1801.

¹¹⁰ *Vide supra*.

¹¹¹ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 305; Flick, *New York State History*, III, 148.

¹¹² *Vide supra*.

¹¹³ Lamb, *op. cit.*, II, 305; *Medical Register of New York, New Jersey, Connecticut*, Vol. XVIII, p. 218, cited by R. C. Murphy, *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous.

¹¹⁴ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 404.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 404; Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 100.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, IV, 394.

¹¹⁷ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 346; Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 151; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 249.

dinner. Charlton's portrait in crayon, life size, hung for many years in the Jay House at Bedford.¹¹⁸ He became a member of the St. Patrick Society before 1790, and was its councillor from 1792 to 1796. Charlton had a country estate in Bloomingdale. He died in 1806, leaving no children. John Adams, then a retired merchant, "purchased in 1812 the residence of the late Dr. John Charlton opposite the family seat of the McVickars in Bloomingdale. All were Irish born and all members of the St. Patrick Society as early as 1792."¹¹⁹

Next in seniority to Dr. John Bard among the physicians of the city stood Dr. John Cochran, "who had achieved so high a reputation during the war that he enjoyed a wide reputation among the citizens of New York."¹²⁰ His home at 96 Broadway¹²¹ was the hospitable center of a large circle of Schuyler and Livingston relatives and here it was that prominent generals of the army were entertained in princely fashion.¹²² Born in 1730 of Irish parents, Cochran had practiced briefly in New York. In 1760 he married a widow, Mrs. Gertrude Schuyler. Physician and surgeon-general of the army for about four years during the Revolution, in 1781 Congress made him director-general of hospitals.¹²³ It was apparently from Dr. Cochran's New Jersey home that young Alexander Hamilton's engagement to a daughter of General Philip Schuyler was announced. A letter from Miss Kitty Livingston to her sister, Mrs. John Jay in Madrid, dated Trenton, May 23, 1780 tells us: "Apropos, Betsy Schuyler is engaged to our friend Colonel Hamilton. She has been at Morristown, at Dr. Cochran's since last February."¹²⁴ Cochran is described as a genial, kindly man, held in high esteem by all classes.¹²⁵ It was to Dr. Cochran's home on Broadway that the obnoxious Dr. Hicks fled for protection during the "Doctor's Riot" of 1788.¹²⁶ Cochran had been a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia,¹²⁷ and was one of the founders of the New York Society in 1784. He served as a member of its Council in 1795 and 1796. He was also one of the earliest to join the Society of the Cincinnati, which was founded in June, 1783 by General Henry Knox, at the headquarters of Baron von Steuben, near Fishkill Landing, N. Y. Cochran retired to his Mohawk Valley estate, at Palatine, N. Y. in 1806, owing to ill health. He died there on April 6, 1807.¹²⁸

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¹¹⁸ Wilson, *op. cit.*, III, 100, 101.

¹¹⁹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, IV, 29.

¹²⁰ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 305

¹²¹ *New York City Directory*, 1791.

¹²² Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 305.

¹²³ *Harper's Encyclopaedia*, II, 225.

¹²⁴ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 95-96.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 18.

¹²⁶ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, pp. 583-6; Duer, *New York As It Was*, pp. 20-21.

¹²⁷ *Vide Supra*.

¹²⁸ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 348; *Harper's Encyclopaedia*, II, 225.

He had been personal physician to General Lafayette and the Constable family, and was a close friend of William Constable.¹²⁹

Members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick set an excellent example of disinterested service in the cultural and philanthropic life of the city. Daniel McCormick was treasurer of the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge, a literary society founded in 1787, of which Mayor James Duane was vice president.¹³⁰ Duane was also a member of the Society for the Relief of Distressed Debtors. As state senator in January of 1784 Duane had introduced the bill which resulted in an act of May 1 which established the University of the State of New York with Columbia College as its leading institution.¹³¹ As Mayor, Duane was *ex officio* a regent of the new university. In the middle of May he met what his biographer calls "a real emergency" when he kept young De Witt Clinton from straying to Princeton.¹³² Duane persuaded Dr. William Cochran, a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, to set up a grammar school and to become an instructor in the classics until Columbia College was fully organized.¹³³ De Witt Clinton was admitted to the college as a Junior in 1784 and graduated two years later. After three years in the law office of Samuel Jones, he was admitted to practice before the State Supreme Court in 1790. The governor's nephew then decided to stay in the city as his uncle's secretary, and in the same year, 1790, he became a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.¹³⁴

The New York Society Library, earliest loan library in the city, founded in 1754 and chartered in 1772, had held no meetings for fourteen years.¹³⁵ Its books had been stolen or destroyed by British troops during the occupation. In December, 1788 a movement was instituted to revive the library in which Chancellor Robert R. Livingston and Hugh Gaine took leading parts. Its charter was confirmed by an act of legislature, passed February 18, 1789, which appointed Hugh Gaine and eleven others trustees of the library.¹³⁶ Its first quarters were in City Hall, where it remained after the building was renovated as Federal Hall, thus serving the nation as the first Congressional Library.¹³⁷ Hugh Gaine was also chairman of the "first Literary Fair ever held in the United States," which took place in the old Coffee

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¹²⁹ General John Cochrane of Civil War fame was his grandson. *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, note citing Ida Cochran Houghton, *Chronicles of the Cochrans*, New York, 1915.

¹³⁰ Thomas E. V. Smith, *New York City in the Year of Washington's Inauguration*, New York, 1889, p. 200; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 41.

¹³¹ Alexander, *James Duane*, p. 181.

¹³² *Ibid.*, p. 183.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

¹³⁴ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, pp. 161, 197, 198.

¹³⁵ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 418.

¹³⁶ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 418; Smith, *New York in 1789*, p. 205.

¹³⁷ Austin B. Keep, *History of the New York Society Library*, New York, 1908, p. 210.

House from June 1 to June 7, 1802.¹³⁸ Mathew Carey, famous Philadelphia publisher and frequently a guest of the Friendly Sons at its anniversary dinners, was secretary of the gathering. He, too, was a native of Ireland.

Members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick were closely identified from the beginning with the movement to abolish slavery in the State of New York. When the "New York Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves and Protecting such of them as have been or may be Liberated" was founded in 1785 with John Jay as president, among its most important members were Governor George Clinton, Mayor James Duane, and John Murray.¹³⁹ Thomas Eddy of the Friendly Sons was an early member and became increasingly active as the long fight continued. In 1797 he became Chairman of the corresponding committee of the Manumission Society.¹⁴⁰ James Duane supported a bill for manumission in the State Senate in 1785 and voted to pass the bill over the veto of the Council of Revision, but failed in his endeavor.¹⁴¹ On March 13, 1786 a "Memorial of Citizens of the City of New York" pleaded with the Senate and Assembly to put an end to the practice of exporting Negro slaves to the West Indies and the Southern States, a commerce "so repugnant to humanity and so inconsistent with the liberality and justice which should distinguish a free and enlightened people."¹⁴² Among the public spirited citizens who signed this document were five of the earliest members of the Friendly Sons, William Constable, Daniel McCormick, Christopher Colles, James Duane, and Hercules Mulligan. At this time little more could be accomplished than the banning of importation of slaves into the state; but in 1788 a state law prohibited the purchase of slaves for exportation beyond the state or the sale of slaves brought into the state after June 1, 1785.¹⁴³ It was not until 1817 that laws providing for gradual manumission of slaves were passed and the institution itself did not cease forever in the State of New York until 1841.¹⁴⁴

When the Society of Tammany or Columbian Order was founded in New York in 1785-86, William Mooney, the leading upholsterer in the city and a former staunch "Liberty Boy," was most prominent among its members if not its actual founder.¹⁴⁵ Mooney was a member of the Friendly Sons and served on its Charity Committee in 1785 and 1786. The Tammany Society was established as a patriotic, fra-

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¹³⁸ *Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1802.

¹³⁹ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 221-222.

¹⁴⁰ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 346; Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, pp. 14, 20.

¹⁴¹ Alexander, *James Duane*, p. 186.

¹⁴² *Daily Advertiser*, March 14, 1786.

¹⁴³ *New York State Laws*, 9th Session, May 1, 1786, ch. 58.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 40th Session, March 31, 1817; *Ibid.*, 64th Session, May 25, 1841, ch. 247.

¹⁴⁵ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 470-471; Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 330.

ternal and charitable order and at first took no interest in politics. An inscription on the cornerstone of its first building, at Park Row and Frankfort Street, laid in 1811, read: "Tammany Society or Columbian Order — founded by William Mooney in 1786 — organized under a constitution and laws in 1789 — William Mooney, First Grand Sachem, May 12, 1789."¹⁴⁶ Although some historians push its origin back somewhat before 1786, there is no question that Mooney was its first Grand Sachem or that he remained eminent in the Society for the next thirty years.¹⁴⁷ John Pintard, who was active with Mooney in founding the Order, wrote in 1790 that he hoped "its democratic principles will serve in some measure to correct the aristocracy of the city."¹⁴⁸ In 1790 the Tammany Society sponsored the first Museum in the town whose purpose was to preserve all kinds of American historical materials. For years the order held great celebrations on its anniversary, May 12th, on Evacuation Day, November 25th, and on the Fourth of July. Tammany took no interest in politics until the outbreak of the French Revolution which it supported.¹⁴⁹ De Witt Clinton, of the Friendly Sons, was a "scribe" of Tammany in 1791.¹⁵⁰

No clearer evidence of the eminent position held by many Irishmen in the city of New York before and after the Revolution, can be found than in the history of the Trinity Church Corporation from its inception in 1697. Many Irish names appear in the list of church wardens and vestrymen down to 1847. By its Charter the business affairs of the Corporation were controlled by a board of twenty vestrymen and two wardens elected every year. Most prominent among them in the early days was Irish born Joseph Murray who was vestryman from 1720 to 1726 and warden from 1726 to his death in 1758. Murray is described as "a lawyer of great eminence in the city of New York about the middle of the century."¹⁵¹ He was a member of the Governor's Council, Attorney-General of the Province, and much celebrated in his day as a constitutional lawyer. In 1732 Anthony Duane became vestryman, a position which he held until his death on August 14, 1747.¹⁵² Duane was very active in the affairs of Trinity Church. He had been a pewholder since July 20, 1724. Pews in those days were sold by the churchwardens. Duane paid twenty-seven pounds

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¹⁴⁶ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, note of R. C. Murphy; Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 110.

¹⁴⁷ E. P. Kilroe, *St. Tammany and the Origin of the Society of Tammany*, New York, 1913, passim; G. Myers, *History of Tammany Hall*, New York, 1917, pp. 1-6; Flick, *History of New York State*, IV, 331.

¹⁴⁸ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 470-1.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 114; Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 331.

¹⁵⁰ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 220.

¹⁵¹ William Berrian, D.D., *An Historical Sketch of Trinity Church*, New York, N. Y., 1847, p. 356.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 357; *Vide supra*.

for his.¹⁵³ Anthony's friends Thomas Lynch, whose widow he later married, John Moore, James Henderson, and John Kelly, all Irishmen, were also pewholders. When subscriptions were taken up toward enlarging the church in 1736 Duane was one of the largest donors. So were his friends, Irish Captain Sir Peter Warren, and Joseph Murray.¹⁵⁴ They each subscribed ten pounds. John Kelly, Thomas Lynch and the Rev. Richard Charlton were also subscribers. Charlton was catechist and assistant rector of Trinity Parish from 1732 to 1747 when he accepted a call to the Church of St. Andrew in Staten Island.¹⁵⁵

When subscriptions were taken in 1752 toward building Trinity's first "Chapel of ease," St. George's in Beekman Street, Sir Peter Warren who now lived in England sent a donation of £100 sterling with the request that, if "not inconsistent with the Rules of the Church," a pew should be reserved for him and his family in case they should come to this country.¹⁵⁶ Sir Peter was very anxious to return to New York as royal governor, an ambition he was never to realize.¹⁵⁷ At that time he was considered one of the richest commoners in England. In 1764 Dr. John Charlton, later a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, was elected vestryman and continued in office until the British Evacuation in 1784.¹⁵⁸ Ten years later he was elected warden to succeed James Duane who had retired to his Duanesburg estate. James Duane had been vestryman from 1772 to 1777, naturally resigning the office during the British occupation. From 1784 to 1794 he was warden of Trinity Church.¹⁵⁹ Charlton served as warden until his death, July 8, 1806. Richard Harison had been vestryman in 1783 and in 1788 he was reelected to the board serving until 1811 when he became warden until his resignation in 1827.¹⁶⁰ For more than forty years these three men, two of whom were members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, dominated the business affairs of the Trinity Corporation. Richard Harison, a Welshman, was of course, ineligible for membership in the St. Patrick Society. These three served on all committees of importance, were lay delegates to Episcopal Conventions and it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of their contributions.¹⁶¹ During this period three other members of the Friendly Sons were vestry-

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¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 338.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 340-342.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹⁵⁶ Berrian, *Trinity Church*, p. 81. Minutes of the corporation are quoted.

¹⁵⁷ John Knox Laughton, "Sir Peter Warren," *Dictionary of National Biography*, XX, 876-7.

¹⁵⁸ Berrian, *op. cit.*, p. 358.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

¹⁶¹ Berrian, *Trinity Church*, pp. 167, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 188, 189, 196, 218, *et passim*.

men in Trinity Corporation, Hercules Mulligan, 1784-1787, Thomas Randall, 1785-1791, and Hugh Gaine 1792-1808. The records show considerable activity on the part of the last two, but little evidence of such in the case of Hercules Mulligan, who was a member of the vestry for only three years.¹⁶²

At the time of Harison's resignation as church warden of Trinity Charles McEvers, Jr., son of a founder of the St. Patrick's Society, was elected warden to succeed him. McEvers had been a vestryman since 1800 and continued in office as warden until 1839.¹⁶³ John McVicker, a member of the St. Patrick's Council from 1790 to 1795, was a vestryman of Trinity Church, 1801-1812.¹⁶⁴ John and Isaac McComb, sons of John McComb, a member of the Friendly Sons, designed St. John's Chapel which was established by Trinity Church in 1803 on the east side of Hudson Square.¹⁶⁵ Described as a beautiful edifice, it cost \$172,833, a very large sum for that day. When Trinity founded an Episcopal Charity School between 1795 and 1800, Dr. John Charlton was among the trustees, as he had been for the "Society for the Promotion of Religion and Learning," established in 1802. To pursue farther the contributions of members of the Friendly Sons to the activities of Trinity Church would be to write a history of the Trinity Corporation. Sufficient to say that when the third Trinity Church was consecrated in 1847, the presence of a Mrs. Ann Livingston was noted. She had been present at the consecration of the second Trinity Church, and had been baptized in the first. She is identified by the historian, not as a member of the famous Livingston family, but as a family connection of Dr. John Charlton, who was Councillor of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick from 1792 to 1796.¹⁶⁶

One of the most interesting members of the St. Patrick Society in the years immediately following the Revolution was Christopher Colles, Irish engineer, inventor, promoter of internal improvements, and in 1789 "the sole representative of the city as a practical man of science."¹⁶⁷ In 1786 he was engaged in business as manufacturer at a Lower-Battery, near the site of present Nos. 1-6 State Street.¹⁶⁸ Colles joined the Society as early as 1788, was a member of its Council from 1797 to 1799, and again from 1813 to his death in 1821. Described as a "lovable, gray-eyed, square-jawed Irishman," he was of far-seeing vision, inventor of many useful articles, a voluminous writer on scientific subjects, but impractical in his personal business affairs. His

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¹⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 177, 186, 187, 192, 194, *et passim*.

¹⁶³ Bertian, *Trinity Church*, p. 362.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 362.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 98, 316.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

¹⁶⁷ Smith, *City of New York in 1789*, p. 200.

¹⁶⁸ *New York City Directory*, 1786.

attempts to give the city an adequate water system had been frustrated by the war,¹⁶⁹ and although the city water "grew worse everyday" in the eighties, no action was taken.¹⁷⁰ The Collect Pond was becoming contaminated and water from the good wells such as the Tea Water Pump in Chatham Street was sold to dealers at three pence per hoghead of 130 gallons, resold to consumers at a penny a gallon. The City Corporation owed Colles £450,¹⁷¹ as engineer and superintendent of the old water project, which the strained financial position of the city prevented reundertaking. In 1788, desperately in need of funds, Colles settled for £150.¹⁷² Always interested in inland navigation, especially canals, Colles had lectured on the subject in New York as early as 1773. He was "unquestionably the first who suggested and called public attention to the importance of a navigable water communication between the Hudson River and Lakes Erie, Ontario, and Champlain."¹⁷³ Colles had himself examined the territory and had personally surveyed a portion of the Mohawk Valley. In 1784 he memorialized the state legislature in behalf of his project which received wide publicity and was enthusiastically endorsed by the New York Chamber of Commerce.¹⁷⁴ Bills to further his scheme failed at the time but years later were taken up and pushed to successful conclusion by his close personal friend, De Witt Clinton, himself a member of the Friendly Sons for nearly forty years. In 1808 Colles proposed a canal between New York and Philadelphia. He was always deeply interested in roads and road building and during the late seventeen-eighties had made a personal survey of the roads of New York and Pennsylvania.¹⁷⁵ It may be noted in passing that George Washington paid eight shillings for the report of this survey on New York in 1789 and in the following year the same amount for the Pennsylvania survey.¹⁷⁶ In 1796 Colles was engaged in business in New York City, manufacturing rat and mouse traps, paper hangings, fireworks, colors, and the like. Like most inventors he was usually in pecuniary difficulties and for a time was helped by an appointment in the custom service. In his seventies, through the influence of one of his closest friends, John Pintard, he was made Superintendent of the American Academy of Arts which was chartered in 1808 and opened in 1810.¹⁷⁷ Colles lived

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¹⁶⁹ *Vide supra*.

¹⁷⁰ *New York Journal*, August 25, 1785.

¹⁷¹ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 278.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 279.

¹⁷³ Letter of Benson J. Lossing to New York Historical Society, quoted in Francis, *Old New York*, p. cxxvii.

¹⁷⁴ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 208, 318; Spaulding, *New York in Critical Period*, p. 15.

¹⁷⁵ Harry J. Carman, "Christopher Colles," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 301-2.

¹⁷⁶ Stephen Decatur, Jr., *Private Affairs of Washington*, Boston, 1933, pp. 61, 149.

¹⁷⁷ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 123.

long enough to serve his country in the "Second War for Independence" as he had served it in the first.¹⁷⁸ Dr. John Francis, an intimate friend and enthusiastic admirer, who with John Pintard attended his funeral, says Colles died in 1821 and he is listed in the city directories as a councillor of the Friendly Sons from 1813 to 1820.¹⁷⁹ When the great celebration was held in New York in November, 1825, marking the completion of the Erie Canal, "the effigy of Colles was borne with appropriate dignity among the emblems of that vast procession."¹⁸⁰ Although comparatively unknown and neglected by historians in the second half of the nineteenth century the influence of this eccentric genius was "everywhere felt in the great pulsating arteries of our national enterprise," for many years after his death. Cadwallader D. Colden groups his name with Thomas Eddy in the Manumission Society and their names are always coupled as authors and promoters of the great western canal project.¹⁸¹ Strangely enough in late life, Thomas Eddy, than whom no one, not even De Witt Clinton, did more to promote the Erie Canal, tended to depreciate Colles' contribution to this great scheme. In a letter written to Robert Troup, November 14, 1880, he asserted that Colles "was never in our western country, and certainly never projected a plan of canal from Erie to Hudson," despite Elkanah Wilson's testimony.¹⁸² Why Eddy should have taken this attitude is not known. Ordinary human jealousy, which might account for it in others, is entirely out of character with the great Irish Quaker philanthropist.

As the great struggle to strengthen the central government, culminating in the adoption of a new federal constitution, got well under way it was more or less inevitable that members of the St. Patrick Society should identify themselves with the new movement. Great merchants like William and James Constable, Daniel McCormick, William Edgar, and John McVicker, land speculators like Alexander Macomb, and great proprietors like James Duane had much to gain and little to lose by increasing the powers of Congress so that it would be enabled to regulate trade, protect manufacturers, and control the border. Although some maintain that the hard times which followed the Revolution had begun to ease for the country in general as early as 1786, this seems to have been far from true for the New York

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¹⁷⁸ *Vide infra*. Authorities disagree as to the date of his death, some giving 1816, but this is an error. Smith, *New York City, in 1789*, p. 200; Carman, *loc. cit.*, p. 302.

¹⁷⁹ Francis, *Old New York*, p. cxxvii; Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 359.

¹⁸⁰ Francis, *op. cit.*, p. cxxvii. A memoir of Christopher Colles was read by Dr. Francis before the New York Historical Society in 1854, and was published in the *Knickerbocker Gallery*, 1855.

¹⁸¹ Colden's letter to Dr. Hosack, June 23, 1833, Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 17.

¹⁸² Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 307.

City area.¹⁸³ Failure of the wheat crop near the city in 1786, owing to the "Hessian Fly," made it difficult to pay for imports.¹⁸⁴ Manufacturers were forced into bankruptcy by dumping of British goods in the New York market and their appeals to the legislature for a higher tariff to protect them from British competition were without avail. Shipbuilding was at a standstill by 1787 and many mechanics were out of work. This probably accounts for the fact that the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, which bitterly opposed the Merchants at the time of its founding in 1785, later joined up with them in supporting the new constitution.¹⁸⁵ Members of the Friendly Sons such as John McComb and Hercules Mulligan were closely identified with the Mechanics Society. Commercial New York saw little improvement in business until well into 1788. In January of that year business was reported as "very dull here; nothing sells and we can get no money."¹⁸⁶ Although the *Empress of China*, sent out from New York to Canton in 1784 by the firm of Daniel Parker and Company¹⁸⁷ returned the following year with great profits, the new China trade remained relatively unimportant for three or four years.¹⁸⁸ It was not until the firm of William Constable and Company dispatched the *Washington* at the turn of 1790-1 with instructions to sail around the Cape of Good Hope, so arriving in India and China before ships sailing from Europe in the spring, that the fabulous Cathay trade really got under way.¹⁸⁹ The *Washington* under Captain Peter Hodgkinson had as supercargo William Bell who later became a great friend of Daniel McCormick.¹⁹⁰ The profits to William Constable from this voyage and from later voyages were enormous.¹⁹¹ But all this came after the adoption of the Constitution.

Meanwhile, all efforts to strengthen Congress under the Articles of Confederation failed to achieve results. Members of the St. Patrick Society as well as their colleagues in the Chamber of Commerce supported Alexander Hamilton in his futile struggle in the Assembly to secure for Congress the power to collect duties or imposts on imports without disabling restrictions. The failure of Congress to get this concession is thought to have set the stage for the Constitution

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¹⁸³ Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, 6 Vols. New York, 1905-25, III, 481; Victor S. Clark, *History of Manufactures in the United States, 1607-1860*, Washington, 1916, p. 229; cf. Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, pp. 25-27.

¹⁸⁴ *New York Packet*, July 20, 1786.

¹⁸⁵ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 97.

¹⁸⁶ MS. Letter of Melancton Smith in the New York State Library cited by Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 25.

¹⁸⁷ C. L. Ver Steeg, *Robert Morris, Revolutionary Financier*, Philadelphia, 1954, p. 189.

¹⁸⁸ Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 20, n. 49.

¹⁸⁹ Voyages of the ships of *Washington*, *Mary*, and *America*; *Constable-Pierrepont Papers*, New York Public Library.

¹⁹⁰ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 248.

¹⁹¹ *Constable-Pierrepont Papers*, New York Public Library.

of 1787.¹⁹² When commissioners were appointed to attend the Annapolis Convention to frame regulations for interstate trade and navigation, James Duane was named with Hamilton and four others who were decidedly federal in their sympathies.¹⁹³ Duane, however, seems never to have reached Annapolis.¹⁹⁴ When the Annapolis Convention resulted in the Federal Convention at Philadelphia to revise the Articles of Confederation, an attempt was made in the Assembly to name Duane on the delegation but he was defeated by the Clintonian John Lansing by a vote of 26 to 23.¹⁹⁵ When the great battle over the ratification of the Constitution got under way the electorate of New York City almost to a man supported the Federalist cause, but the great bulk of upstate farmers was just as definitely anti-Federalist. The decision of the legislature to extend the suffrage in the election of delegates to the Poughkeepsie Ratifying Convention to all free males over twenty-one seems to have had little effect upon the results but the previous adoption by the state of the secret ballot enabled tenants on the great landed estates to oppose the will of their landlords with impunity.¹⁹⁶ For the most part great landed proprietors joined with the merchants of New York City in supporting the new Constitution.¹⁹⁷ In New York City Governor George Clinton, leader of the anti-Federalists, was defeated in the election for delegates and had to go to Poughkeepsie as a representative from Ulster County. Clinton received only 134 votes, the highest given an anti-Federalist in New York County. John Jay led the Federalists with a vote of 2,735 out of a possible 2,836 in his district. The upstate counties went just as overwhelmingly Clintonian. Delegates to the convention were proportioned in accordance with representation in the Assembly. Perhaps only the fact that upstate counties were underrepresented in the Assembly saved the Constitution in New York State.¹⁹⁸ As it was, the Clintonians carried 46 seats and 9 counties while the Federalists carried only 19 seats and 4 counties.¹⁹⁹ Great fears were aroused in New York City that the Poughkeepsie Convention would fail to ratify the Constitution and keep the state out of the Union even if the requisite

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¹⁹² Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, pp. 169-170; Thomas C. Cochran, *New York in the Confederation*, Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 172-178.

¹⁹³ *Journal of the Assembly*, May 5, 1786.

¹⁹⁴ Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

¹⁹⁵ *Journal of the Assembly*, March 6, 1787; Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 186; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 100.

¹⁹⁶ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 216; Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 76.

¹⁹⁷ Spaulding, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 82; cf. O. G. Libby, *Geographical Distribution of the Vote. On the Federal Constitution, 1787-1788*, Madison, 1894, p. 26. "Not always correct in its conclusions concerning New York;" Cochran, *New York in the Confederation*, pp. 17-18, chaps. VII-IX.

¹⁹⁸ Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, pp. 202-3.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

nine states were to ratify.

The nine delegates sent by New York County to Poughkeepsie included James Duane and Richard Harison. The burden of debates in favor of the Constitution was borne by six or seven men at Poughkeepsie, among whom were Duane and Harison.²⁰⁰ As the struggle went on, a movement was begun to have the commercial sections secede from the state and "adhere to the Union," should the Convention decide to reject the Constitution.²⁰¹ Hugh Gaine was one of the signers of "a memorial of sundry citizens" of New York City praying that measures be taken for receiving that District into the American confederacy as a free and independent State.²⁰² Whether or not this secession movement was an empty threat, some historians believe that it had great significance and that "the fear of secession undoubtedly helped to persuade the moderate Clintonians that it was unwise to reject the Constitution."²⁰³ Whatever the reason, owing to a switch by a number of moderate Clintonians led by Melancton Smith, who had been the principal speaker against ratification, the convention at Poughkeepsie voted on July 26, 1788 to ratify the Constitution by thirty ballots to twenty-seven.

Down in New York City while the debate was progressing from June 17th to July 26th, excitement was at high pitch. When New Hampshire, the ninth state ratified the Constitution on June 21st, the city went wild. Cannons were fired and all the church bells rang out. On July 23rd, three days before the Poughkeepsie convention cast its final vote, and possibly with the intention of hastening action in that body, the city marked the adoption of the Constitution by a great parade and barbecue which historians agree "will always rank among the most striking pageants in the history of the city,"²⁰⁴ despite the fact that the population of New York at that time was scarcely 30,000 people. The formal celebration was devised by Major Pierre L'Enfant, who later redesigned the City Hall to house the new federal government, and still later drew up the plans for the city of Washington. The committee's plan for the pageant was contained in a document of 9000 words and the barbecue was enjoyed by 8000 "well behaved" Federalist enthusiasts.²⁰⁵ The procession is described as the first of its kind in New York or America and of "such great magnitude that nothing since has excelled (it) in magnificence of design or splendor of effect."²⁰⁶ It was mar-

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²⁰⁰ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 102; Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

²⁰¹ John Jay's letter to Washington, May 29, 1788, H. P. Johnston, *Correspondence and Public Papers of John Jay*, 4 vols., New York, 1890, II, 334.

²⁰² Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, I, 66.

²⁰³ Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 256. Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 217; D. L. Ford, ed. *The Federalist*, New York, 1898, p. 38, n.

²⁰⁴ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 102.

²⁰⁵ *New York Journal*, July 24, 1788; Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 110.

²⁰⁶ Lamb, *History of New York*, II, 322.

shaded in ten divisions in honor of the ten states that already had acceded to the Constitution; Virginia was the tenth, having ratified June 25th. It was said to have been "a sort of living picture of the community, with horse drawn floats, upon which a printery, a cooper's shop, a pottery, and a brewery were shown, all hands at work; sail-makers made sails, blacksmiths forged an anchor."²⁰⁷ The upholsterers of the city displayed a superbly carpeted float drawn by six horses upon which was the Federal Chair of State prepared by William Mooney of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and soon to be the first Grand Sachem of Tammany.²⁰⁸ Above the chair was "a rich canopy, nineteen feet high, overlaid with deep blue satin, and hung with festoons and fringes of glittering gold. To the right and left of the chair were figures representing the Goddesses of Liberty and Justice, the latter blindfolded and bearing the traditional sword and balance. The printers', bookbinders', and stationers' section was led by Hugh Gaine and his old rival Sam Loudon on horseback.²⁰⁹ Their central exhibit was a stage drawn by four horses upon which was a printing press with compositors and pressmen turning out copies of a song written by William Duer for the occasion. The most impressive part of the pageant was the Federal Ship "Hamilton," a frigate with a twenty-seven foot keel and a ten foot beam, drawn by ten splendid horses.²¹⁰ The vessel, built for the occasion and presented by the ship carpenters of the city, was equipped as a thirty-two gun frigate, with everything complete in proportion as to hull and rigging. It was manned by thirty sailors, and commanded by Commodore James Nicholson.

The procession which formed in "the fields" passed down Broadway, through the Great Dock Street to Hanover Square, and on through Pearl, Chatham, and Division Streets to Arundel and Bullock Streets. When the "Hamilton" rolled by Bowling Green she fired a thirteen gun salute to the President and members of Congress who were gathered there. As the frigate reached the house of William Constable, then in Pearl Street, Mrs. William Edgar came to the window and presented the ship with a set of colors.²¹¹ Mrs. Edgar was the wife of Constable's colleague in the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and the daughter of David Van Horne, "a gentleman of fortune and family, of large and extensive trade as a merchant," who then resided in Wall Street.²¹² When the "Hamilton" came abreast of Old Slip, a Spanish naval vessel saluted the frigate with thirteen guns, to which

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²⁰⁷ Gilder, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

²⁰⁸ Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 325; Duer, *New York as It Was*, p. 26.

²¹⁰ There is a wood cut of the Frigate "Hamilton" by Alfred Fredericks in the *Emmet Collection*, New York Public Library.

²¹¹ Lamb, *History of the City of New York*, II, 325.

²¹² De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 22.

she replied with promptness and dispatch.²¹³ At the end of her voyage the "Hamilton" returned to her "moorings" at Bowling Green, where she lay for nearly a year, one of the sights of the city.²¹⁴

When news that New York had joined the Union reached the city at nine o'clock in the evening of July 26th, the Federalists crowded into the streets, shouting and cheering. Dignified merchants gathered at the Coffee House to celebrate. When the crowd reached the office of Thomas Greenleaf's *New York Journal*, an anti-Federalist newspaper, which had commented facetiously on the great federal procession in its edition of July 24th, windows were broken, the press was wrecked, and a quantity of type carried away. For a time the home in Wall Street between Pearl and William of that old patriot and "Son of Liberty," General John Lamb, who had opposed ratification, was threatened with destruction. But cooler heads prevailed. The inmates barricaded within made no reply to the shouts and threats. General Lamb was at this time Collector of Customs for the port of New York and part of his home was used as the Custom House.²¹⁵ The mob contented itself with marching to the governor's residence in Pearl Street, where it hissed the absent Clinton who had not yet returned from Poughkeepsie.²¹⁶ Citizens of New York City, which had unquestionably exerted a decisive influence in securing the ratification of the Constitution in the state, naturally had great hopes of commercial prosperity under the new government, and eagerly awaited the decision of the old Congress to retain their city as capital of the United States. The decision that the capital was to remain in New York was finally made on September 13, 1788, but only after a close contest during which it looked for a time that New York would be passed by.

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²¹³ Account is based principally on Lamb, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 321-325; cf. Sarah H. J. Simpson "The Federal Procession in the City of New York" in *New York Historical Society, Bulletin*, Vol. IX, pp. 39-56; C. E. Miner, *Ratification of the Federal Constitution by the State of New York*, N. Y., 1921, pp. 125-27.

²¹⁴ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 110.

²¹⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 50.

²¹⁶ *New York Journal*, July 31, 1788; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 102-3; Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 273; Booth, *History of the City of New York*, pp. 590-1.

CHAPTER VI

THE FRIENDLY SONS IN THE EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD



AS soon as the decision was made that New York would remain the capital of the United States under the new Constitution the Common Council of the city made plans to house the new Congress in the City Hall and the Chamber of Commerce began to bring pressure upon state and local governments to have the building completely renovated so as to be suitable for federal purposes. This was accomplished late in 1788 and early in 1789 by means of private subscriptions and a loan secured from the Bank of New York.¹ The New York City Hall had been built in 1699 and since the Revolution had served the municipal, state, and federal governments albeit with some crowding. Now the whole structure was turned over to the new government as a national capital. Work on the edifice was completed by the summer of 1789 at a cost of \$65,000, twice as much as had originally been appropriated.² The municipal government had to move into the Merchants Exchange, a two-story building on arches in the middle of Broad Street at its lower end. This structure had been erected in 1753 by popular subscription, and had been turned over to the municipal corporation.³ The old Congress wound up its business on March 2, 1789, and the new Constitution went into effect the following day.

On April 16, 1789, at ten o'clock in the morning, George Washington left his home in Mount Vernon to set out on his journey to New York to become the first President of the United States. He was accompanied by two men. The first was Charles Thomson, member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick who in his capacity as secretary of Congress had brought the official notification of election,⁴ the other was Colonel David Humphreys, Washington's confidential aide. Mrs.

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¹ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 188, 234, Booth, *History of New York City*, p. 591.

² Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 46; Smith, *New York City in 1789*, p. 47.

³ Harrington, *New York Merchant*, p. 73; Smith, *New York City in 1789*, p. 36.

⁴ Nathan Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, New York, 1954, p. 1; It is interesting to note that on May 7, 1789, the President refunded to Charles Thomson the sum of four pounds, twelve shillings, six pence "the amount of expenses paid by him on the journey from Virginia." Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 11.

Washington did not travel with the General, being unable to leave at such short notice. The party arrived in New York on April 23, 1789. When Washington and his companions reached Elizabethtown Point on the New Jersey coast they were met by John Jay, at the head of a committee of Congress, and escorted to the city in a gorgeous barge, forty-seven feet long, which was manned by thirteen New York master pilots in white uniforms. Its coxwain was Captain Thomas Randall, a founder of the St. Patrick's Society, who presented the barge to the President-elect in the name of a number of New York gentlemen who had financed its construction at a cost between £200 and £300.⁵ In a letter dated New York, May 2, 1789, the President asked Captain Randall to offer his "best thanks to the Gentlemen who were owners of it, and assure them in my name that I consider myself much honored by their polite attention."⁶ As the barge approached the New York shore, about two o'clock in the afternoon, a throng of thousands reaching back as far as Bowling Green was to be seen. The crowd greeted the first President with "the wildest and most prolonged cheers." The ferry steps at Murray's wharf were carpeted and the rails hung with crimson.⁷ At the top of the steps stood Governor George Clinton and a group of officials and foreign diplomats. All the houses on Pearl Street, Wall Street, and even Broadway were elaborately decorated for the occasion. The new house of Alexander Macomb, and that of William Edgar, both members of the St. Patrick Society, were particularly noted in the newspapers of the day.⁸ General Washington, having courteously declined a carriage, was escorted on foot by companies of soldiers, bands of music, and plain citizens along Pearl Street to his residence, the old Franklin Mansion at 3 Cherry Street, in Franklin Square. This had been built by the old Quaker merchant Walter Franklin and had been one of the finest in the city before the war. It was now the home of Samuel Osgood who had placed it at Washington's disposal for the occasion. Osgood had married the widow of Walter Franklin, the former Hannah Bowne, the young daughter of a simple Quaker farmer of Flushing, Long Island. After her marriage she became "one of the most popular matrons of New York."⁹ The house, a square built building, three stories high, with a row of five windows across the front, had been completely refitted at city expense for Washington's

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⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁶ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols., Washington, 1939, XXX, 308.

⁷ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 333.

⁸ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 84.

⁹ Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 14; cf. Edgar Mayhew Bacon in Flick, *New York State History*, V, 85, who says Osgood was Franklin's son-in-law.

use,¹⁰ but soon proved unsuited for his purposes. In later years it was, for a while, the home of De Witt Clinton, mayor and governor of New York, and a lifetime member of the Friendly Sons, who had married the daughter of Walter Franklin.¹¹

One week later, on April 30, the balcony of Federal Hall was the scene of an impressive ceremony in which George Washington, clothed in a dark brown suit of American manufacture, with white silk stockings and silver shoe buckles, took the oath of office as President of the United States. Much to the disappointment of the ladies, Mrs. Washington had not yet arrived so that plans for a formal Inauguration Ball had to be foregone. One week later however, on the evening of Thursday, May 7, a very splendid, though unofficial Ball was given at the "Assembly Rooms" in honor of the President. The Ball was graced by the most distinguished ladies of the city, prominent among whom were the wives of first and second generation Irishmen, many of whom were members of the Friendly Sons. Conspicuous among them was Mrs. Montgomery, widow of the General, Mrs. George Clinton, wife of the governor, Mrs. James Duane, wife of the mayor, and Mrs. Dominick Lynch wife of the lay leaders of the small Irish Catholic community of the city.¹² On the following Thursday, May 14, the Count de Moustier, the French minister, gave an even more magnificent ball in honor of the President at his residence on Broadway. This was the fine mansion erected by Alexander Macomb, vice-president of the Friendly Sons, at 39-41 Broadway, on the reputed site of the first building ever erected on Manhattan Island.¹³ Macomb does not seem to have occupied the residence very long for it was leased to the French minister in 1789 and later was occupied by George Washington during the second session of Congress. Mrs. Washington was not present on either of these occasions. She left Mount Vernon with her grandchildren, Eleanor and George Washington Parke Custis, on the nineteenth of May, arriving in New York, Wednesday morning, May 27, where she was greeted by her husband in the splendid barge which had been presented to him by Captain Thomas Randall.¹⁴ Once more the barge was manned by thirteen pilots garbed in white, was greeted by a thirteen gun salute from the lower battery, and by enthusiastic crowds of citizens who hailed the first lady of the land. The principal ladies of the city hastened to pay their respects to Mrs. Washington. Among those who

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85; cf. Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 117, who states that the total cost of repairs and alterations, \$8,000, was placed before Congress for payment.

¹¹ Duer, *New York As It Was*, p. 12.

¹² Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 156.

¹³ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 623.

¹⁴ Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 164; cf. Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, p. 57, who says she arrived May 29; Booth, *op. cit.*, p. 596.



ALEXANDER MACOMB

called upon her on Thursday morning were Mrs. George Clinton, Mrs. Montgomery, Lady Sterling and her daughters, Lady Kitty Duer and Lady Mary Watts, Mrs. Charles Thomson, Mrs. Alexander Macomb, Mrs. William Edgar, and Mrs. Dominick Lynch.¹⁵ The first and last four were the wives of members of the St. Patrick Society. Lady Sterling was the wife of General William Alexander of the Patriot army whom Americans delighted to call Lord Sterling, although his claim to the earldom had never been recognized in England. His daughter, Katherine, referred to as "Lady Kitty" was the wife of Colonel William Duer, and the mother of William Alexander Duer, future president of Columbia College. William Duer, at this time a member of the Treasury Board and soon to become Hamilton's Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, has been described as a "fantastic character" who engaged in the wildest speculations on a grand scale.¹⁶ The Duers were living lavishly in a house at the upper end of Broadway, about opposite St. Paul's Chapel. They entertained on a princely scale with no less than fifteen kinds of wine at their dinner parties.¹⁷ Duer was a close associate of Alexander Macomb, who will be elected president of the Friendly Sons in 1791, only a few months before the collapse of their vast speculative enterprises plunged both Duer and Macomb into bankruptcy and debtors' prison. Duer died in prison May 7, 1799, despite all of Alexander Hamilton's efforts to obtain his friend's release.¹⁸ His widow later married the Irish Alderman William Neilson, a rich merchant who owned many ships trading between New York and Newry in Ireland.¹⁹ The Neilson's house at No. 1 State Street was taxed at \$16,000 in 1822 and his estate was valued at \$200,000 in 1845.²⁰

Once his inauguration was over, President Washington turned his attention to the many difficult problems which confronted him, not the least of which was that of appointing the executive officials for which the Constitution and supplemental legislation had provided. Naturally the supporters of the Constitution in New York City had to be considered and members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, who generally fell into that category, would not be neglected. Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, leaders in the fight for ratification, of course received the highest offices, the former being appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and the latter Chief Justice of the United States. Minor offices were not neglected. In a letter to Thomas Randall,

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¹⁵ Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

¹⁶ Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, p. 85.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

¹⁸ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, III, 159; H. W. Knott, "William Duer," *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 486.

¹⁹ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 124.

²⁰ Moses Y. Beach, ed., *Wealth and Biography of the Wealthy Citizens of New York City*, New York, 1845, p. 22.

Augustine Lawrence, and William Heyer, Wardens of the Port of New York, dated August 18, 1789, the President asked them to continue superintendence of the Light House in the Port until Congress could take over.²¹ Dr. John Cochran, Captain Thomas Randall, of the New York Friendly Sons, and General Stephen Moylan of the Philadelphia Society, were at least considered for the office of Postmaster General.

In a letter dated September 25, 1789 to Alexander Hamilton, Washington lists a number of names which he had "selected" from a great variety "who have made a tender of their services for suitable offices."²² Cochran, Randall, and Moylan, all three personally well known to the President, were among those selected for consideration. Jay and Hamilton, were requested to "run them over to see if among them there can be found one, who under all *circumstances* is more eligible for the Post Office than Colonel O."²³ For some reason Washington seemed reluctant to appoint Colonel O. who was Samuel Osgood. Osgood was eventually given the position probably because of his family connection with the Livingston clan which both Jay and Hamilton were anxious to keep out of the Clintonian faction. Dr. John Cochran, who was held in high esteem by Washington, was later, in 1790, appointed loan commissioner for New York.²⁴ General Henry Knox, of the Philadelphia Friendly Sons, was made Secretary of War.

James Duane resigned as mayor of the city to become the first judge of the Federal District Court of New York.²⁵ Richard Harison, close friend of McCormick and Constable, was made first United States Attorney for the same district.²⁶ A former Tory, scarcely six years before he had begged the New York Assembly in vain to remove the sentence of banishment against him.²⁷ Now he was one of the ornaments of the law, excelling "in an intimate knowledge of its intricacies and mysteries."²⁸ In 1791 Washington appointed him Auditor of the United States Treasury, a position in which he served until 1836. He died July 10, 1841, at the age of 91, one of the most respected men in the city.²⁹ His career is representative of that of many former Tories in New York after the Revolution. Richard Varick, former Recorder, was appointed by Governor Clinton to succeed Duane as

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²¹ Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, XXX, 381.

²² Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, XXX, 413.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ A. Everett Peterson, "John Cochran," *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV, 251.

²⁵ Duane's letter of resignation to Gov. Clinton, Sept. 28, 1789, and his commission as district judge are in *Duane Papers*, Box 7, New York Historical Society.

²⁶ De Alva S. Alexander, *Political History of New York*, 4 vols., New York, 1906-23, I, 44.

²⁷ Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, p. 165.

²⁸ Alexander, *Political History*, I, 44.

²⁹ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 111.

mayor, an office which he held until 1801.³⁰ McCormick's friend, Colonel William S. Smith, formerly Washington's aide and son-in-law to Vice-President Adams, was appointed United States Marshal.³¹

While Washington lived in New York as President he was on cordial personal or business terms with many members of the St. Patrick's Society, as his *Letters* and the *Records and Accounts* of Tobias Lear, his secretary, make clear. Washington's letter to Charles Thomson, secretary of Congress for almost fifteen years, is a warm personal testimonial.³² Hercules Mulligan, wartime "confidential correspondent" of General Washington, with whom the General had breakfasted on Evacuation Day, became the new President's tailor as well as supplier of yard goods for Mrs. Washington.³³ On one occasion Lear's accounts show an expenditure of twenty-nine pounds, New York currency, "paid to Mr. Mulligan for fourteen and one half yards velvet for a suit of clothes for the President."³⁴ Even after the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, Washington continued to do business with the New York tailor. A letter to Hercules Mulligan, dated Philadelphia, February 6, 1792 and signed by T. Lear, contains an order for black moleskin for a pair of breeches "like those you made for him while he was in New York."³⁵ On July 9, 1790, Washington purchased from Hugh Gaine, Treasurer of the Friendly Sons, some French texts for Master Custis, for which he paid £1 7s 6d.³⁶ Washington also engaged in many business transactions with the trading firm of William Constable & Co., importing, among other things, various articles of household furniture from France.³⁷ A single transaction, November 24, 1790, for wine coolers, lamps, and the like involved a payment to William Constable of \$973.75 plus \$100 for freight and duties.³⁸ Perhaps it was in connection with this purchase that Washington, on August 14, 1790, instructed Tobias Lear to secure a bill of exchange for sixty pounds sterling from Constable & Co., drawn on that house's British correspondents, Phyn, Ellice, & Inglis.³⁹

In 1789 and 1790 Senator Robert Morris of Pennsylvania, financier of the Revolution, was a silent partner in Constable and Co., as was Gouverneur Morris, United States Minister to France. The names of both are involved in some of these purchases by the President. Robert Morris was a close personal friend of Washington and Mrs. Morris

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³⁰ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 791.

³¹ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 107.

³² July 24, 1789, Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XXX, pp. 358-9.

³³ Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, pp. 62, 72, 131.

³⁴ October 14, 1789, *Ibid.*, p. 72.

³⁵ Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XXXI, 474.

³⁶ Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 138.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 168.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 168.

³⁹ Fitzpatrick, *Writings of Washington*, XXXI, 93.

was of Mrs. Washington. The Morrisses at this time were living in New York at 39 Great Dock Street.⁴⁰ Washington, Robert Morris, and William Constable had all been members of the Philadelphia Society of the Friendly Sons at the same time: Washington, an "adopted" member, Morris, not of Irish blood, an honorary member, and Constable, born in Dublin, a regular member until his removal to New York.⁴¹ Already the financial affairs of Robert Morris, a tremendous land speculator, were becoming involved. At one time he owned or controlled nearly eight million acres of land in the west. It was characteristic of the man that no matter how much profit he made from a successful venture the whole amount was immediately plunged into some even more hazardous speculation. In 1791 William Constable found it impossible to endorse any more of Morris' notes lest he himself be brought to complete financial ruin. He reorganized Constable & Co., eliminating Morris as a partner, and took in his brother James.⁴² The new firm was called William and James Constable. Morris' affairs went from bad to worse. The slow sale of his lands finally ruined him. Unable to pay his creditors, he spent three of the last years of his life, from 1798 to 1801, in debtors' prison. While in prison, during the summer of 1798, Washington dined with his old friend.⁴³

Washington, within a few months, found the old Franklin Mansion unsuitable as a residence. Various reasons are given for this. It was "uptown," in an unfashionable neighborhood, inconveniently located as regards the shopping districts and Federal Hall.⁴⁴ Perhaps the main reason was that the house was somewhat too small to accommodate comfortably the President's large establishment which included Mrs. Washington, her two grandchildren, five secretaries, fourteen white servants and seven slaves.⁴⁵ Interesting evidence of the low cost of labor in this period is found in the fact that the average total wages per month for fourteen white servants was only \$105.⁴⁶ Luckily, when the French Minister, Count de Moustier, departed for France in October, 1789, the far more commodious and conveniently located mansion of Alexander Macomb on Broadway became available. This house, one of the finest in the city, was built in 1787, on the block immediately below Trinity Church, within walking distance of Fed-

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⁴⁰ Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 166.

⁴¹ *Vide supra*, Chapter III.

⁴² *Constable-Pierrepont Papers* in New York Public Library; especially letters from William Constable to Robert Morris and William Duer, during 1791.

⁴³ Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 135.

⁴⁴ Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 168. Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 118. Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 361-2.

⁴⁵ Decatur, *op. cit.*, pp. 39, 156-7.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 157.

eral Hall. Four stories and an attic high, fifty-six feet wide on Broadway, the house was so large that it was later converted into a hotel.⁴⁷ Washington personally negotiated with Macomb a lease for one year beginning the first of May.⁴⁸ The yearly rental was \$1,000.⁴⁹

Through the courtesy of Louis Otto, the French chargé d'affaires, the President was able to get possession of the Macomb house in February, moving in on the twenty-third of that month.⁵⁰ We learn from Washington's "Diary" that he visited the Macomb "rooms" on at least two occasions and personally supervised the arrangement of furniture and directed the building of a wash house and a stable, thirty feet square, with twelve stalls.⁵¹ Washington, while in New York, usually kept from twelve to fifteen horses and on May 10, 1790, he bought two cows, a purchase made necessary by the impossibility of buying fresh cream in the city.⁵² The President was well pleased with his new residence which was furnished in part with articles bought from de Moustier, for which, according to an entry of March 8, 1790, he paid £655 16s 6d New York currency.⁵³ The house had the advantage of giving Washington an office on the first floor, a feature which he missed exceedingly after moving to Philadelphia.⁵⁴ He was also enabled to entertain more extensively. The maximum number of dinner guests in the old Franklin house had been fourteen. Now he could invite from sixteen to twenty for his Thursday dinners, which meant that, with Mrs. Washington and the five secretaries, as many as twenty-seven persons sometimes sat down to dinner.⁵⁵ Apparently, extensive grounds in back of the house sloped down to the river where the President's barge could be tied up to Macomb's wharf. From a rear balcony a splendid view of the Hudson or North River could be had. In every way the President was well satisfied with his new residence. It is doubtful however, that he would ever have troubled to move could he have anticipated that Congress in August 1790 would change the seat of government to Philadelphia. In May 1790 the State of New York began to construct a mansion for the President of the United States on the site of old Fort George, the "upper Battery," perhaps with the hope of inducing Congress to remain in New York.⁵⁶ It was still uncompleted when Washington left

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⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 147-8.

⁴⁸ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 96; Freeman, *Washington*, VI, 252.

⁴⁹ Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 147, payable quarterly, £100, \$250.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-127.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-127, February 3 and 6, 1790.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 131-2.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

⁵⁴ Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 241.

⁵⁵ Decatur, *Private Affairs of Washington*, p. 126.

⁵⁶ *New York State Laws*, 13 Sess., March 16, 1790; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 235.

the city. The building was later used as a residence for the state governors and was known as Government House. Governor George Clinton moved into it in the spring of 1791. John Jay was the last governor to live there. He moved out six years later when the State capital was transferred to Albany.⁵⁷ The structure was afterwards put to various uses. It became the Customs House after 1799.

New York in the eighties and nineties could hardly be called a religious town. The city directory of 1789 lists only fourteen clergymen as compared with 122 attorneys qualified to practice in the State Supreme Court.⁵⁸ Yet religious matters brought Washington into closer contact with members of the Friendly Sons. Many of them like the President himself were Episcopalians who attended services, when they went to church at all, in St. Paul's Chapel on Broadway. Trinity Church, completed in 1737, had been utterly destroyed by the great fire of September, 1776. When the Duers reached New York on evacuation day only the ghastly front wall of the church remained standing.⁵⁹ Work on a new church began in 1788 and the dedication took place on the last Thursday in March, 1790, in the presence of Washington, members of the cabinet, and a large, fashionable assemblage.⁶⁰ The vestry, of which the Friendly Sons James Duane and Captain Thomas Randall were members, put at the disposal of the President a "richly-ornamented pew with a canopy over it."⁶¹ Pews were also assigned to the Governor of the state, George Clinton, and to members of Congress.

Daniel McCormick, of course, was not an Episcopalian. Like the majority of his colleagues in the Friendly Sons, at this time, he was a staunch Presbyterian. Some of them were members of the First Presbyterian Church erected on the north side of Wall Street between Nassau and Broadway in 1719. Most, however, belonged to the Brick Presbyterian Church built "out of town" in the "fields," bounded by present Beekman and Nassau Streets. The Brick Church, "most of whose founders were Irishmen" was opened for worship, January 1, 1768. Among the first trustees appointed were Daniel McCormick and William Neilson.⁶² John McComb, of the Friendly Sons, was architect of the Church.⁶³

The Roman Catholic community in the city at this time was very small. Its leaders were Dominick Lynch and Cornelius Heeney, both

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⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 235.

⁵⁸ Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 138.

⁵⁹ Duer, *New York as It Was*, p. 8.

⁶⁰ Griswold, *op. cit.*, p. 226; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 230-1; Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 367.

⁶¹ Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 226; Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 267.

⁶² Barrett, *Old Merchants*, IV, 26.

⁶³ T. F. Hamlin, "John McComb," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XI, p. 599.

members of the Friendly Sons, and Thomas Stoughton, Lynch's partner. These three were largely instrumental in the erection of St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street which was opened in 1786, although not completed until 1794.⁶⁴ When John Carroll, then Vicar-Apostolic, came to New York in 1785, he was told that there were only 1500 Catholics in the state.⁶⁵ Even this figure is probably an exaggeration. In colonial New York, Catholics had been outlawed. The condition of Catholics in New York City before the Revolution is interestingly illustrated by the career of John Leary who for many years conducted a business on Leary, now Cortlandt, Street and who was a member of Trinity Church. But, he tells us, he went "once a year to Philadelphia to attend the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass," doubtless at Easter time.⁶⁶ When St. Peter's at Barclay Street was opened Leary, then a very old man, became a member of the new Church. The State Constitution of 1777 completely disestablished the Episcopal Church and guaranteed "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship," despite the efforts of conservatives and especially John Jay, who seems to have been intensely anti-Catholic, to restrict the civil liberties of Roman Catholics and to deny them the right of owning real estate.⁶⁷ But this by no means ended discrimination nor wiped out prejudice. As late as 1787 the New York City Common Council refused to allow Catholics to worship in the Exchange on Broad Street and in the same year attempts were made in the legislature to disenfranchise them.⁶⁸ An act of April 6, 1784 had put all denominations upon an equal basis by allowing the incorporation of any religious society and in the same year the old colonial statute imposing life imprisonment on Catholic priests found in the province was repealed.⁶⁹ However, a clause in the state constitution could by interpretation prevent any Catholic immigrant from becoming a citizen. The oath of naturalization called for a renunciation of "all allegiance and subjection to all and every foreign king, prince, potentate and State, in all matters *ecclesiastical* as well as civil."⁷⁰ When a similar oath for state office holders was required by a law of 1788, Catholics were successfully shut out of the Senate and Assembly.⁷¹ It

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⁶⁴ O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 1084; Lynch, Heenery, and Stoughton, and later Andrew Morris and Michael Roth of the Society were all trustees of St. Peter's Church. W. H. Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York*; p. 451.

⁶⁵ Theodore Maynard, *The Story of American Catholicism*, New York, 1948, p. 174.

⁶⁶ M. J. O'Brien, *Journal of American-Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XXVI, 1927, p. 27.

⁶⁷ Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 33; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 373.

⁶⁸ *New York Gazetteer*, January 29, 1787.

⁶⁹ Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 33; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 383.

⁷⁰ *New York State Constitution of 1777*. Article XLII.

⁷¹ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 374.

was not until 1806 when Francis Cooper, of an old Pennsylvania Catholic family, was elected to the Assembly that this law was repealed. Cooper was a member of St. Peter's Church, and a friend of Cornelius Heeney of the St. Patrick's Society, with whom he kept bachelor quarters for many years over Heeney's store at No. 82 Water Street.⁷² In response to a petition signed by 1300 persons, the legislature modified the oath required from all state officials so as not to bar Catholics from subscribing to it. Cooper took his seat in the Assembly's twenty-ninth session, January 28, 1806. He also served in 1807-8-9, '14, and 1826.⁷³ Cornelius Heeney followed his friend into the Assembly, where he served from 1816 until 1822.⁷⁴

Dominick Lynch of the Friendly Sons was one of the five signers of the historic "Address of the Roman Catholics of the United States" presented to President Washington by Charles Carroll of Carrollton on March 15, 1790. Carroll was at this time Senator from Maryland, residing at No. 52 Smith, now William Street.⁷⁵ He had been accompanied to New York by his lovely daughter Polly, Mrs. Richard Caton, a general favorite. Washington "was extremely partial to her."⁷⁶ Charles Carroll was one of the very great men of his times and the leading Roman Catholic layman in the United States. The address was presented to Washington by Charles and Daniel Carroll of Maryland, Thomas Fitzsimons of Pennsylvania, Dominick Lynch, and Rev. Nicholas Burke, pastor of St. Peter's.⁷⁷ It is interesting to note that one of those who attended the St. Patrick Society Anniversary banquet in 1790 was Charles Carroll of Carrollton, probably as the guest of Lynch.

George Washington departed from New York for Philadelphia on August 30, 1790. He never laid eyes on the city again. We have the assurance of George Washington Parke Custis that the departure made the President very sad. He would have preferred to go without ceremony but all the executives of the federal, state and local governments and a tremendous crowd gathered to escort him to his barge. The Battery fired a thirteen gun salute. Governor Clinton, Chief Justice Jay, General Knox, Colonel Hamilton, and Mayor Varick accompanied him as far as Paulus Hook. "As the General left the house, he took my hand, and I thought I never saw him look so sad. We reached the appointed place of departure . . . the crowd was immense . . . I saw that his heart was too full for utterance and his eyes seemed

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⁷² William Harper Bennett, *American-Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, pp. 217-18; W. H. Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York*, New York, 1909, p. 452.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*; Werner, *Civil List*, pp. 331-5.

⁷⁵ Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 166.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-10.

⁷⁷ *Virginia Herald and Fredericksburg Advertiser*, April 1, 1790.

bursting with suppressed tears."⁷⁸ Having landed at Paulus Hook, the President had no further use for the beautiful barge that had been presented to him by Captain Thomas Randall, so he directed that it should be returned to the donors, in a letter written just before starting, in which he again warmly thanked the gentlemen of New York for their "beautiful present" which he considered

a pledge of that real urbanity which, I am happy in declaring, I have experienced on every occasion during my residence among them. . . . I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the polite attention of the citizens in general, and of those in particular to whom the contents of this note are addressed.⁷⁹

In 1791 Alexander Macomb, was elected president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick to succeed his friend William Constable. At this time Macomb was at the very peak of his fame and prosperity. Born July 27, 1748, in the parish of Ballymuire, County Antrim, Ireland, the son of John Macomb and Jane Gordon, natives of that place, he had emigrated to America with his family, settling near Albany in 1755. There he formed with William Constable, who lived near Schenectady, a friendship which lasted to the end of their lives. In 1769, the family moved to Detroit where Alexander and his brother William acquired a fortune in the fur business.⁸⁰ On May 4, 1773, Alexander married Catherine Navarre, daughter of Robert Navarre and Catherine Lothman de Barrios. They had ten children, of whom the most famous was General Alexander Macomb, hero of Plattsburg in the War of 1812, who became General in chief of the United States Army.⁸¹ After the death of his first wife, in 1789, Macomb married Jane Russell Rucker, the widow of J. P. Rucker, a partner of his friend William Constable in the firm of Constable, Rucker, & Co.⁸²

After the war Macomb came to New York where he built the magnificent mansion subsequently occupied by President Washington. Between 1787 and 1789 he was engaged in extensive speculations in

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⁷⁸ "Recollections" of G. W. P. Custis, quoted by Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 229.
⁷⁹ Letter to Captain Thomas Randall, New York, August 30, 1790. Fitzpatrick, *Writings of George Washington*, XXXI, 107.

⁸⁰ Harry F. Loudon says that Macomb was a partner in the fur business of John Jacob Astor. Harry F. Loudon, *The North Country*, 3 vols., Indianapolis, Ind., 1932, I, 88. This is most probably an error, as Astor did not arrive in New York until 1783, by which time Macomb had abandoned the fur business. However, Astor was indeed, for several years the partner of a colleague of Macomb's in the St. Patrick Society, Cornelius Heeney, from July 20, 1792 to July 20, 1795, when the partnership was dissolved. *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, Sept. 24, 1795.

⁸¹ *History of the Macomb Family*, New York Historical Society; Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, pp. 205-8.

⁸² Trinity Church Records, cited by R. C. Murphy, *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous.

both state and federal securities in conjunction with William Constable, William Duer, Robert Morris, and Jeremiah Wadsworth.⁸³ "Unknown to any but their direct business associates," and working through Robert Morris' partner William Constable, they combined with a consortium of European Bankers to buy up American debentures at a low price.⁸⁴ Gouverneur Morris was their European agent. In these ventures Macomb seems to have added to his wealth. During this period he was also active in politics and was elected several times to the state legislature,⁸⁵ while his family took a prominent part in the social life of the city. One of his daughters married Captain Arent Schuyler de Peyster, of a famous old New York colonial family; another daughter, Jane, became the wife of Hon. Captain Robert Kennedy, son of Admiral Archibald Kennedy, the eleventh Earl of Cassilis in Scotland. These marriages indicate the social position of the Macombs in 1791. The de Peysters were related to almost every family of note in New York province,⁸⁶ while the Kennedys were almost equally well connected. The first Archibald Kennedy had been for nearly fifty years Receiver General and Collector of the Customs in New York as well as a member of the Governor's Council for a somewhat shorter period. His son, before the war a Captain in the Royal Navy, had married Ann Watts, daughter of Councillor John Watts, Sr., and granddaughter of Etienne de Lancey. Another daughter of Watts had married Sir John Johnson, heir of the Irish lord of the Mohawk Valley.⁸⁷

In 1787, following the passage by the state legislature of a very favorable Land Act in the previous year, Alexander Macomb became the principal purchaser of the famous St. Lawrence Ten Towns, a tract of 640,000 acres along the St. Lawrence River in upstate New York.⁸⁸ Macomb's friends William Constable and Daniel McCormick were both involved in this deal, as were Alexander Hamilton, General Philip Schuyler, and Secretary of War Henry Knox.⁸⁹ McCormick seems to have acted as Macomb's agent in buying the land when sold at auction in New York City on July 10, 1787.⁹⁰ In 1791, acting as agent for a company consisting of himself, Daniel McCormick, and William Constable, Macomb petitioned the State Land Board for a

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⁸³ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 181.

⁸⁴ John Dos Passos, *The Men Who Made the Nation*, Garden City, New York, 1957, p. 192.

⁸⁵ Werner, *Civil List*, p. 318.

⁸⁶ Flick, *New York State History*, III, 148.

⁸⁷ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, I, 12; Flick, *op. cit.*, III, 111; Gilder, *The Battery*, pp. 69, 72, 83, 101.

⁸⁸ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 188.

⁸⁹ *Knox Papers*, Massachusetts Historical Society, cited by Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 288.

⁹⁰ Flick, *op. cit.*, V, 189; *vide infra*, Chapter VII.

tract of land, since known as the "Macomb Purchase." Thus the first three presidents of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick became the principals in the greatest land sale in the history of the state.⁹¹ Unfortunately, Macomb, before this transaction was completed, became involved in the first financial panic after the adoption of the Constitution, one caused in large part by his own speculative agreements with the notorious William Duer. He and Duer were secretly engaged in tremendously complicated manipulations in government securities, shares in the Bank of the United States, The Bank of New York, and in three proposed banks: the "Million Bank of New York," the "Tammany Bank," and the "Merchants Bank."⁹² Duer had, in order to raise sufficient capital, brought thousands of small property owners into partnership in what came to be known as the "six per cent company." He offered his dupes six per cent a month for the use of their savings.⁹³ The crash came soon after Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott instructed the United States District Attorney for New York to bring suit to recover treasury funds which Duer was accused of misappropriating while himself Assistant Secretary of the Treasury.⁹⁴ In March 1792 Duer failed for three million dollars, Macomb for one million, enormous sums for that day. Both went to debtors' prison. Thousands of small investors were ruined and mobs threatened to take Duer out of prison to "tear him piecemeal," and to hang every endorser of his notes.⁹⁵ Macomb had endorsed his notes "for incredible amounts."⁹⁶

Constable and McCormick weathered the storm which brought bankruptcy to many of the New York aristocracy including Walter Livingston and John Pintard. They took over Macomb's place in his great "Purchase" and subsequently turned it into a creative land venture. The "Prince of Speculators" never recovered his financial power although he seems later to have achieved a large measure of prosperity. For many years he continued to live as a "respectable merchant" at 61 Greenwich Street in the city.⁹⁷ In 1798 he still owned two lots with houses on Broadway valued at 2,000 and 3,000 pounds.⁹⁸ His second wife gave him three more sons and four daughters. Eventually he retired, living in Georgetown, D. C., where he died at a ripe old age

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⁹¹ For this and other land transactions by members of the Society, *vide infra*, Chapter VII.

⁹² Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 341; Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 284-6; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 182-3; Franklin B. Hough, *History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York*, Albany, 1853, p. 242.

⁹³ Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, pp. 214-215.

⁹⁴ Wolcott to Richard Harison, March 17, 1792; *Wolcott Papers*, Connecticut Historical Society, cited by Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, p. 581.

⁹⁵ De Lancey, *Thomas Jones' History of New York*, II, 589.

⁹⁶ Dos Passos, *Men Who Made the Nation*, p. 243.

⁹⁷ R. S. Guernsey, *New York City during the War of 1812*, 2 vols., New York, 1889, I, 98.

⁹⁸ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 150.

on January 19, 1831. He remained a member of the St. Patrick Society and the old treasurer's book shows him present at a meeting in March, 1806.⁹⁹

When Alexander Hamilton founded his Society for the Establishment of Useful Manufactures, known as S. U. M., two members of the Friendly Sons, Alexander Macomb and William Constable, were involved.¹⁰⁰ The company was incorporated by the State of New Jersey, which gave it a grant of land and authorized a lottery to raise funds.¹⁰¹ The plan was to begin with the production of textiles on a large scale. A tract of land at the falls of the Passaic River was obtained where the engineer L'Enfant planned to establish a great industrial city to be named Paterson after the governor of New Jersey who was a director of the company.¹⁰² Agents in England tried to entice skilled workmen to come to America but without success. Perhaps it was the influence of Macomb and Constable which induced 4,000 Irish immigrants to embark at Londonderry in the summer of 1791 but these were agricultural laborers and of little use in the project.¹⁰³ The whole grandiose scheme collapsed when it became involved in the bankruptcy of Duer and Macomb. William Duer had been made governor of the new company and it was found that he had used its funds indiscriminately with his own for speculative purposes.¹⁰⁴ S. U. M. survived for many years as a land company, earning dividends on leaseholds, until very recently the State of New Jersey induced the heirs to surrender their lands and charter.¹⁰⁵ It is interesting to note that the original prospectus of the Society, apparently written by Alexander Hamilton, "contained in essence" his later Report on Manufactures.¹⁰⁶

Not all of the speculators of this period came to a bad end. Thomas Eddy, an Irish Quaker and a member of the Friendly Sons from 1791 to his death in 1827, was a decided exception. As he tells us in his memoirs, "about 1792," when the public debt of the United States was funded, "this afforded an opportunity for people to speculate in the public funds. In this business I made a good deal of money."¹⁰⁷ Eddy's Philadelphia business, with his brother George, was ruined by the depression that followed the war. This and unfortunate ventures in the tobacco market caused the failure of this firm and also the firm of their brother Charles in London. Thomas returned to New

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⁹⁹ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, March, 1806.

¹⁰⁰ Dos Passos, *Men Who Made the Nation*, p. 242.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 242.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 242; Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 280.

¹⁰³ Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, p. 189.

¹⁰⁴ Dos Passos, *Men Who Made the Nation*, p. 243; Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, p. 189.

¹⁰⁵ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 281; Schachner, *The Founding Fathers*, p. 190.

¹⁰⁶ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 278-9.

¹⁰⁷ Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 54.

York, which he had left in 1783, in 1791 with only fifty pounds in his pocket advanced by his father-in-law.¹⁰⁸ The rapid financial success of Eddy in the years that followed is an indication of the opportunities open to men of energy and ability in the early nineties. Aided by Robert Bowne, a Quaker merchant, he entered the insurance brokerage business at 277 Pearl Street with success for three or four years. At that time there were no insurance offices in the city. Later he discontinued as a broker, but continued to do a considerable and successful business as an insurance underwriter.¹⁰⁹ By this time, being in easy circumstances, Eddy had leisure to turn his attention to some of those charities that are of permanent benefit to mankind. He never became a very wealthy man, probably because he did not wish it. His house in Pearl Street was valued for tax purposes at £2,200 in 1799,¹¹⁰ and he was taxed in 1820 on \$8,000 personal property, which in those days meant stocks and bonds.¹¹¹ In 1793 or 1794 he was elected director in the Mutual Insurance Company, the first insurance company in New York, of which William Edgar was treasurer.¹¹² Soon after he became a director in the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company which opened a communication by canal between the Mohawk River and Lakes Seneca and Ontario.¹¹³ In 1797 he was appointed treasurer of the company. Eddy, with General Philip Schuyler, Elkanah Watson of Albany, and Walter Bowne of New York, were the most active members. So he began a lifetime interest in canal construction.¹¹⁴ He was among the first to join the "Society for Promoting the Manumission of Slaves" of which John Jay was president in 1786. In 1797 Eddy became chairman of the corresponding committee of the society.¹¹⁵ In 1794, while on a journey to Philadelphia in company with General Philip Schuyler, he succeeded in interesting that gentleman in the reform and amelioration of the penal laws of the state. This launched Eddy in a lifetime career devoted to prison reform which gained for him by the general consent of his contemporaries, the appellation of the "Howard of America."¹¹⁶

Described as a man five feet six inches tall, with a muscular compact frame, a large handsome head with most determined features, Eddy was capable of bearing great fatigue and remained to the end of his life extremely active in mind and body. It was said of him by Cad-

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¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, pp. 54-5; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 345.

¹¹⁰ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 150-1.

¹¹¹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 250.

¹¹² Lanier, *A Century of Banking*, p. 106.

¹¹³ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 716; Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 55; Flick, *New York State History*, V, 308.

¹¹⁴ *Vide infra*.

¹¹⁵ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 346.

¹¹⁶ Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 41; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 318.

wallader D. Colden that "there is no benevolence or charitable institution found in that time, of which he was not the zealous promoter, if the project for its establishment did not originate with him."¹¹⁷ On March 26, 1796 Eddy was appointed a member of a commission to build a state prison in New York City. This prison, Newgate, in what is now Greenwich Village, was completed on November 27, 1797 under the personal supervision of Eddy to whom the Commission surrendered its powers as a committee of one.¹¹⁸ In 1793 Eddy was elected one of the governors of the New York Hospital, founded a few years before the Revolution, an institution for which his influence at Albany soon gained substantially increased State funds.¹¹⁹ He later became president of the hospital, a position which he held for eighteen years until his resignation in 1823, four years before his death. One of the problems of the day on which Thomas Eddy worked the longest and least successfully was that of juvenile delinquency in New York. It was not until 1825 that he succeeded in establishing a "House of Refuge" for young offenders.¹²⁰

Alexander Macomb served as president of the St. Patrick Society for only one year. He was succeeded in 1792 by Thomas Roach at that time a prosperous wine merchant in the city.¹²¹ Roach, a native of Castletown Roche, near Fermoy, County Cork, Ireland, had come to New York in 1743, at the age of sixteen. He later became master of a merchant vessel in the triangular trade between New York, the West Indies, and Europe. Described by one of his descendants as "a handsome looking Irishman of powerful build," there is a tradition in the family that during one of his voyages to the Caribbean Sea he was attacked by pirates who boarded his vessel.¹²² After a desperate struggle Roach and his men not only repulsed the attack but captured the pirate captain and brought him to New York where he was condemned and executed. In 1771 Thomas Roach was elected to membership in the Marine Society of New York and in 1783 became its president. At that time this venerable society, now located at 80 Broad Street, was one of the largest and most important organizations in a city which drew its very lifeblood from commerce. It claimed a membership of over 500 in the first year of occupation by the British.¹²³ Washington and George Clinton were elected honorary members. It is evidence of the high standing in the community of some of the earliest members of the Friendly Sons that the names of no less than

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¹¹⁷ Letter of Colden to Dr. Hosack, June 23, 1833 in Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 17.

¹¹⁸ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 342; Knapp; *op. cit.*, p. 57.

¹¹⁹ Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 95.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92.

¹²¹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 249.

¹²² *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous. Sketch of Thomas Roach by R. E. Murphy.

¹²³ Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 64.



Ancient Celtic Cross, Clonmacnoise

eighteen of them are listed in the "Honorary Membership Roll" of the Marine Society. Daniel McCormick, first president of the Friendly Sons, was made an honorary member as early as 1770. Following is a list of members of the Friendly Sons who were also honorary members of the Marine Society with dates of election where ascertainable.¹²⁴

| <i>Name</i> | <i>Year Elected</i> |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| Michael Boyle | 1791 |
| Thomas Carberry | 1788 |
| John Cochran | — |
| James Constable | 1790 |
| William Constable | 1791 |
| James Duane | 1785 |
| Hugh Gaine | 1771 |
| Alexander Macomb | 1788 |
| Daniel McCormick | 1770 |
| Patrick McDavitt | 1771 |
| Charles McEvers | 1770 |
| Dennis McReady | 1773 |
| John McVickar | — |
| Hercules Mulligan | 1772 |
| John Kelly | 1780 |
| Dominick Lynch | 1788 |
| Carlisle Pollock | — |
| Oliver Templeton | — |

Thomas Roach, too, served but one year as president of the St. Patrick Society. He died on March 17, 1795, in the sixty-eighth year of his life. His wife, the former Eupheme Ogden, daughter of a prominent New York merchant, whom he had married on January 4, 1778,¹²⁵ followed him the next year. His remains were interred in Trinity Churchyard. His son, John, who succeeded to his estate, became a prominent marine engineer.¹²⁶ Daniel McCormick, who had continued his activity in the Society as Councillor from 1790 to 1793, returned to the presidency in 1793 and 1794. In 1795 William Constable once again became president of the Friendly Sons.

Gilbert Stuart arrived in New York from Europe in 1793. According to Dr. J. W. Francis, his coming "constituted a new era in the fine arts among us."¹²⁷ Stuart's talents were appreciated in the city and many

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¹²⁴ *Records of the Society*, list compiled by R. C. Murphy from the *Records of the Marine Society*.

¹²⁵ *Marriage Register*, Trinity Church, N. Y.

¹²⁶ Biographies of the James T. White Co., cited by Murphy, *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous.

¹²⁷ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 276.

members of old New York families who could afford his fees sat for their portraits.¹²⁸ William Constable commissioned Stuart to paint a portrait of the President, which is today known as the Pierrepont Washington, as it later passed into the hands of the Brooklyn Pierrepont family, whose founder had married a daughter of Constable.¹²⁹ While in New York, Stuart also painted a portrait of Daniel McCormick, first president of the Friendly Sons.¹³⁰

Hercules Mulligan was living on Broadway about this time on a site later occupied by the Astor House, having moved from 23 Queen, now Pearl Street.¹³¹ He had two boys, John W., and William C., who both became lawyers. John W. was born about 1774 and was admitted "attorney in the State Supreme Court" on May 4, 1805. He was County Surrogate in 1810.¹³² Some years previously he had been secretary to Baron von Steuben, drillmaster of the Continental Army, who had resided in New York for a time after the war.¹³³ Steuben found the cost of living in the city too high for a retired soldier and soon removed to his country estate at Steubenville, New York, where he died, November 28, 1794.¹³⁴ An extract from the Baron's will reads, "To John W. Mulligan I bequeth the whole of my library, maps and charts, and the sum of \$2,500 to complete it."¹³⁵ John W. was an attorney of considerable repute. Many prominent lawyers were trained in his office, including John A. King, elected governor of New York State in 1856.¹³⁶ John W. knew John Jay and Alexander Hamilton and was a strong Federalist as well as a staunch Episcopalian churchman. In later life he visited Athens, Greece, where a school had been founded by his daughters, Mrs. Frances Hills and Frederica Mulligan. Walter Barrett knew Mulligan well and called upon him once or twice before his death which occurred on January 17, 1862, at the age of 88 years. An obituary in the *Commercial* says that John W. was born in New York while under British rule, and that "he well remembered and frequently related how he stood as a little boy on a hill where Grand Street now crosses Broadway, and saw the last British sentinel file off on the memorable twenty-fifth of November."¹³⁷ William C. Mulligan, John's brother, was also a lawyer and was active

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¹²⁸ *Ibid.*; Griswold, *The Republican Court*, p. 355.

¹²⁹ *Records of the Society*, Printed Address of Judge Charles P. Daly, March 17, 1889, p. 9.

¹³⁰ This portrait was recently located by accident by Mr. John Burke, president of the Society, while on a trip to Europe in 1948. It is presently in the possession of a collateral descendant of McCormick in England. The Society now has a photographic copy of the painting.

¹³¹ Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, p. 96.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ *Ibid.*; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 279.

¹³⁴ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VIII, 418.

¹³⁵ Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, p. 96.

¹³⁶ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 279.

¹³⁷ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 279.

as late as 1833 when he was residing at 118 Chambers Street in the city.¹³⁸

One of the wealthiest merchants of the city as well as one of the most prominent members of the Friendly Sons during the decade of the nineties was William Edgar, founder of the New York family of that name. Edgar was never elected president of the St. Patrick Society, although he was a member of its council from 1788 to 1791, and about the same time was a vice-president.¹³⁹ A man of very considerable substance he was taxed on \$200,000 personal property, stocks and bonds, in 1815, and on \$140,000 in 1820.¹⁴⁰ Contemporaries always mention his "white marble palace" at 7 Greenwich Street.¹⁴¹ However, the sources are confused on this subject as there is no evidence that the senior Edgar ever resided at No. 7 Greenwich Street, although he probably died there in 1820 when it was the residence of his son, William, Jr.¹⁴² This mansion on Greenwich Street seems to have been built by the great merchant Herman Le Roy for his daughter, Cornelia, who married William Edgar, Jr. The young Edgars indeed made the Greenwich Street house a center of New York social life. Herman Le Roy had a marble palace of his own nearby on Broadway. Another daughter of Herman married Daniel Webster.¹⁴³ The William Edgar of the St. Patrick Society was born in County Down, Ireland, in the year 1739. Arriving in New York about 1760, he soon went into the fur business for himself with a warehouse on what is now Washington Street. He did business on a large scale with warehouses in Montreal and Detroit.¹⁴⁴ After the war, in 1786, he was in business at No. 7 Wall Street, where he continued for some years.¹⁴⁵ In 1797 he still lived there. He was treasurer of the Mutual Insurance Company, the first fire insurance company established in the city, in 1793. Two of his colleagues in the Society, Daniel McCormick, and Thomas Eddy were directors of the company whose offices were at 49 Wall Street.¹⁴⁶ Like many others in the Society, Edgar was an original stockholder of the Bank of New York, as well as a director.¹⁴⁷ He married twice. His daughter, Maria, married Garner G. Howland, a coffee importer. With her money and credit Howland founded the firm of G. G. and S. S. Howland, on Greenwich Street. The first vessel owned by the firm was a schooner named the *Edgar*. Their eldest son was named William

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¹³⁸ Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, p. 96.

¹³⁹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 250; Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 106.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 250.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, I, 160, I, 304-5.

¹⁴³ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 118; Barrett, *op. cit.*, I, 160.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 161.

¹⁴⁵ Lanier, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹⁴⁶ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 250, 252; Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 55.

¹⁴⁷ Domett, *Bank of New York*, pp. 117-134.

Edgar Howland. In the year 1799 old William Edgar moved to No. 39 Broadway into a house valued in that year at £4000.¹⁴⁸ There he continued to live for twenty years and his daughter Maria was married from that house.¹⁴⁹ The Edgars, Le Roys, Bayards, and McEvers were all intermarried and were leaders of New York society in the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth century.

In 1796 William Constable relinquished the presidency of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick to George Pollock, one of three brothers whose name bulked rather large in New York City in the two decades following the war. They are now almost forgotten and their name is seldom mentioned by present day historians of the state. George, Carlisle, and Hugh Pollock were the sons of John Pollock of Mountaintown, Navan, County Meath, Ireland. The Pollocks were people of substance in the mother country. Their name, anglicized from the Gaelic Poloc, sometimes is spelled Polk. President James Knox Polk is said to have been descended from the same family. His name was originally spelled Pollock.¹⁵⁰ John Pollock had a town house in Dublin and all of his children were born in that city. His daughter Betsy married a Dr. Hartigan who had a prominent position in Trinity College, Dublin. Betsy Pollock Hartigan was a famous belle in the Irish capital. Gilbert Stuart painted her portrait which was displayed for years in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹⁵¹ The three brothers left their native land and came to Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where their uncle Oliver Pollock, a financier of the American Revolution, was already established.¹⁵² Shortly thereafter they moved to New York and entered the importing business. Carlisle's place of business was at 11 Whitehall Street, Hugh's at 3 Governor's Lane, and George's at 91 Water Street.¹⁵³ They were principally engaged in the importation of Irish goods, especially linens, with their brother, James who acted as their agent in Dublin. George married soon after his arrival in New York and had one daughter, George Ann. His wife soon died whereupon the father sent Ann to Dublin to be educated under the guidance of her aunt, Mrs. Hartigan. On her return to America, Ann became, in 1807 the wife of Commodore Daniel Todd Patterson.¹⁵⁴ The Pattersons had two sons, Thomas Harmon, who became a Rear Admiral in the United States Navy, and Captain Carlisle Pollock, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey.¹⁵⁵ A daughter,

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¹⁴⁸ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 150.

¹⁴⁹ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 106.

¹⁵⁰ E. I. McCormac, "James Knox Polk," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 34.

¹⁵¹ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 416.

¹⁵² *Vide supra*.

¹⁵³ *New York City Directory*, 1795.

¹⁵⁴ Allan Wescott, "Daniel Todd Patterson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 301.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*.

George Ann, married, on March 10, 1839, David Dixon Porter, who, later as admiral, commanded the Union Flotilla on the Mississippi River during the Civil War.¹⁵⁶

On March 17, 1787, George Pollock married again, at Trinity Church, Catherine Yates, whose brother George had become a partner of Pollock's in the importing business. George's brother, Carlisle, married another sister, Sophia Yates. George's country home was built on the east bank of the Hudson and was at that time called Monte Alta. It occupied that portion of Riverside Drive which is now the site of Grant's Tomb. Adjoining were the homes of his brother-in-law, Richard Yates, and his brother, Carlisle. A little to the north of Grant's Tomb, marked by a marble monument, is the grave of "An Amiable Child" Saint Claire Pollock, who was drowned in the river nearby on July 15, 1797, in the fifth year of his age.¹⁵⁷ George Pollock owned considerable property in the region of what is now Riverside Drive.¹⁵⁸ He later conveyed most of this property at different date to Gulian Verplanck and to Cornelia Verplanck, Gulian's widow.

In 1804, two ships, the property of the Pollocks, laden with cargoes valued at \$60,000 a piece, were seized by French privateers and became a total loss. In consequence they lost most of their possessions. Soon after George and his family moved to New Orleans where the name Pollock was already well known. There he regained his fortune and became a successful merchant and real estate operator. Hugh and Carlisle remained in New York as his agents. Carlisle was prominent in the marine insurance business and was associated with the Irish house of Conyngham, Nesbitt & Co. of Philadelphia. John Maxwell Nesbitt, one of Philadelphia's great merchants, had come to Philadelphia in 1747 when he was apprenticed to Redmond Conyngham, a distant relative. Nesbitt was the first vice-president of the Friendly Sons of Philadelphia from 1771 to 1773, president in 1774 and again from 1782 to 1796.¹⁵⁹ His close relationship with the Irish merchants of New York is another example of Irish unity in the early days of the Republic.

George Pollock was president of the Friendly Sons of New York for only a single year. He was succeeded in 1797 by Daniel McCormick, founder of the Society, who remained in that office until his retirement in 1828, during years in which his name became a legend in the city. As we approach 1800 there is no great increase in immigration

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¹⁵⁶ Charles O. Paullin, "David Dixon Porter," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 85.

¹⁵⁷ A beautiful poem entitled "An Amiable Child," written by Catherine Murphy Markham, wife of Edwin Markham, is among the *Records of the Society*.

¹⁵⁸ As is shown from the deeds recorded in the Hall of Records, New York. *Lib.* 57, p. 206, *Lib.* 64, p. 265. *Lib.* 57, p. 273.

¹⁵⁹ John H. Frederick, "John Maxwell Nesbitt," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XIII, 429-30.

at the port of New York. The annual average in the nineties will not surpass 3,000 of whom not more than 2,000 were coming from the British Isles, with most of the others from France and Germany. But even during these years the Irish were beginning to outnumber all the rest, and Irish Catholics became more conspicuous among the immigrants arriving in New York.¹⁶⁰ Many of the latter were needy and had to seek help from the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Irish weavers were coming to the country in rather considerable numbers and, after 1794, the political disturbances in Ireland which culminated in the unsuccessful uprising of the United Irishmen in 1798, drove many political refugees to the new world. On February 13 of that year Hugh Gaine, treasurer of the Friendly Sons, wrote in his "Diary" that "Too many United Irishmen arrived here within a few days."¹⁶¹ It was not to their nationality that Gaine, himself a son of the old sod, was objecting but to their politics. For to Gaine and his friends of Federalist persuasion the United Irishmen seemed ultra-republicans if not radical democrats who were thought to be a threat to men of property everywhere.

In June and July of 1798 Congress passed the famous or infamous Alien and Sedition Acts that were directed in large part against the republican Irish. So when the heroes of 'ninety-eight, after escaping the gallows in their own country, arrived in New York they were "welcomed with laws even more offensive than the coercion Acts which they had left behind them."¹⁶² It was at this time that De Witt Clinton, himself a member of the Friendly Sons, gained the lasting admiration of the newer Irish immigrants. Rapidly rising to state leadership in the Republican party of his uncle, Clinton vigorously opposed the Alien and Sedition Acts. During a brief term in the United States Senate he demanded and secured reduction of the naturalization period from fourteen to five years.¹⁶³ The Irish, and especially the leaders of the rising of '98, most of whom came to New York, never forgot him.¹⁶⁴ They welcomed him gladly when he resigned from the United States Senate in 1803 to accept an appointment as mayor of New York.¹⁶⁵

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¹⁶⁰ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 203.

¹⁶¹ Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, II, 209.

¹⁶² Alexander, *Political History of New York*, I, 183.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

¹⁶⁴ *Vide infra*.

¹⁶⁵ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 142.

CHAPTER VII

THE FRIENDLY SONS AND THE SETTLEMENT OF NORTHERN NEW YORK



NO single group of men was more closely identified with the settlement of the wilderness in Northern New York, during the decades following the Revolution, than the little band of Irishmen that formed the nucleus of the Society of The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick when it was founded in 1784. Their names are perpetuated in the townships of upstate New York, and their memories are fresher there, where many of their descendants still live, than in the great metropolitan city where they made their fortunes.

From his first days in the new world Daniel McCormick, a founder of the Society, was keenly interested in land speculation. His name appears many times in the land records of the State of New York. On February 3, 1766, with John Kelly, John Woodward, and Samuel Loudon, he joined with other citizens of New York in a petition for a land grant in Albany County,¹ and on July 5, 1768, a petition was filed by Daniel McCormick, Alexander Stewart, John Shaw, and John McNeil with the Land Board for "A grant of 5,928 acres of land on the south side of the Mohawk River in Albany County, lately purchased from the Indians."² A "Return of Survey" for this tract was issued October 1, 1768.³ In the Land Papers of the year 1787 there were six "Certificates of Location" in the name of Daniel McCormick for land grants in New York.⁴ Of the seven men here mentioned all but Samuel Loudon and John McNeil were members of the Friendly Sons at a later date.⁵

It can be seen that the interest of the New York Irish in land speculation began long before the Revolution; it was merely accelerated thereafter. James Duane, wealthy and influential New York lawyer, was a notable land plunger even before the war. With John Morin Scott, William Smith, Jr., Richard Morris, and others, he had invested

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¹ *Land Papers*, New York State Library, Vol. 20, p. 122.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. 24, p. 145.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. 25, p. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 43, *passim*.

⁵ *Records of the Society*, *Vide* Appendix G, Members, 1784-1835.

heavily in what was sometimes called the New Hampshire Grants but which New York considered part of Albany County.⁶ Duane claimed 60,000 acres in the area under New York titles. It can easily be seen why he became for years the bitterest opponent in Congress of Vermont's "secession" from New York State. When Vermont entered the Union as a state on July 4, 1791, New York proprietors were paid only a paltry \$30,000 for their claims.⁷ Duane lost heavily on his venture.

It was in his development of Duanesburg to the west of Schenectady that James Duane made his greatest contribution to the settlement of upstate New York. Anthony Duane's original 6,000 acres were divided equally among his surviving three sons in 1761 but Abraham's early death and Cornelius' failure in business brought the entire tract into the possession of James.⁸ He immediately began to expand his holdings, acquiring by purchase a six thousand acre tract in 1761 and one of like size three years later. By the eve of the Revolution he owned more than 30,000 acres for which he had paid about £6,500.⁹ On March 13, 1765, Duanesburg was created a township. Duane divided up his property into rectangular farms of approximately 100 acres each, with a 400 acre town plot. He would sell a farm in fee for seventy pounds payable in seven or ten installments, or would lease it for three lives, renewable forever on the expiration of any life upon payment of a year's rent. The annual rent was twenty or twenty-five bushels of wheat or one-eighth of a Spanish milled dollar per acre.¹⁰ By the Revolution Duane had rented or sold fifty-one farms. He set up a potash plant, a grist mill, and a saw mill which, with other improvements, had cost him £800 by 1775. He usually charged no rent for the first five or ten years of a lease. Duane seems to have been too easy a landlord to make any considerable profits except "in the form of improvements to his property,"¹¹ but eventually he received a fairly good income in kind and services yearly. After the war his settlement grew so rapidly that by 1788 he had very few farms to sell or lease. Duane added about 10,000 acres more to his property, some of which he bought from his friend Richard Harison, but he never succeeded in acquiring the whole township which contained 48,000 acres. It was his custom to plough back his profits into improvements. He built additional mills after the war, a tavern, a school, and in 1793 a church, at whose consecration the Right Reverend Samuel Provoost, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church of New York and Rector

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⁶ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, pp. 143-4.

⁷ O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, IV, 617 — has a list of amounts received by New York claimants; Dillon, *The New York Triumvirate*, p. 191; Spaulding, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

⁸ Alexander, *James Duane*, p. 54.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

¹¹ Alexander, *James Duane*, p. 66.

of Trinity Church, presided. By this time there were about 290 farm families in Duaneburg. It was Duane's ambition to retire to his 300 acre reserved farm and live the life of a country gentleman. When he was finally able to do so, he had less than three years to enjoy it.¹²

Governor George Clinton was a consistent advocate of northern and western expansion after the war. In 1784 he announced that the state land office would be so administered as to stimulate the rapid settlement of the country.¹³ The Governor's energetic policy of acquiring Indian Lands for white settlement, although sometimes rather ruthless, undoubtedly made possible the early northward and westward movement in New York State. Oddly enough by 1790 Clinton became the warm personal friend of Joseph Brant, the Mohawk Chief, who had been the terror of the New York frontier during the late conflict. The warmth of this friendship between Clinton and Brant is made clear by their extensive correspondence between 1790 and 1803.¹⁴ Clinton himself was something of a land speculator although not on a very large scale.¹⁵ When he died in 1812, his real property was estimated at \$125,000.¹⁶

Clinton, who lived on Manhattan Island between 1784 and 1794, owned some property there but the bulk of his land was held in upstate New York. His city house until 1791 was a large three-story mansion at No. 10 Queen Street, later Pearl.¹⁷ Formerly the home of wealthy Abraham de Peyster, it had later been the property of an attainted Tory, Henry White. After 1786 the state paid a rental of £300 a year to Henry White, Jr., who had been permitted to purchase the house from the Commissioners of Forfeitures. After 1791 the Governor lived in the new Government House. Around this time Clinton acquired title to a house and lot at 65 Pearl Street, which, in 1802, he rented to a James Hunt.¹⁸ Clinton had a country estate in Greenwich Village where he preferred to live while the state capital was in New York City. After his removal to Albany the Governor sold a half interest in the Greenwich farm to John Jacob Astor, in 1805, for the sum of \$15,000 with the intention of breaking it up into city lots. Clinton died before the project was completed, but Astor is said to have made two hundred per cent profit on the deal.¹⁹

Before the Revolution George Clinton had lived on a three hundred

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¹² The above account is based on *Ibid.*, pp. 52-67, 215-236.

¹³ C. Z. Lincoln, ed., *Messages from the Governors . . . ; 1683-1906*, Albany, 1909, II, 199.

¹⁴ William L. Stone, *Joseph Brant*, 2 vols., New York, 1838, II, 289.

¹⁵ George Clinton, *Public Papers of*, Hugh Hastings, Ed., 10 Vols., New York and Albany, 1899-1914, VI, 253.

¹⁶ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 229.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 193.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 230.

¹⁹ K. W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass., 1931, II, 921, 924, 1061.

fifty acre farm at New Windsor where he had grist and saw mills. When the British invaded the Hudson Valley in October, 1777, the Clintons left their farm never to return. Thereafter the Governor rented the property until April 26, 1790, when he sold it for £1500 to Hugh Walsh, a fellow member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.²⁰ Clinton invested shrewdly, lived frugally and amassed a fair fortune. Some of his enemies, including Alexander Hamilton, accused him of being penurious. His most famous land deal was the purchase, in partnership with George Washington, of a 6,000 acre tract in the Mohawk Valley. Clinton financed the entire transaction, lending Washington £2500 to meet his half of the price. Before he died, Washington is said to have doubled his money, and he still had 1,000 acres of land left, which was worth at least \$5.00 per acre.²¹ Such transactions were soon to pale into insignificance compared with the great land sales to come.

On May 5, 1786 the State Legislature passed an Act "For the speedy sale of the unappropriated lands of the State." A board of land commissioners was created, consisting of the governor, lieutenant-governor, speaker, secretary of state, attorney-general, treasurer, and auditor. The land commissioners were empowered to lay out townships and to dispose of unsold public lands. Tracts purchased would be exempt from taxes for seven years, but must be settled within the same period. One-half the sales price had to be paid at once, and the balance within sixty days. A shilling an acre was fixed as the minimum price. Townships were to contain 64,000 acres, one-twentieth of which was to be reserved for highway building, and lots were to be set aside for churches and schools.²² On May 25, 1787 the Board of Commissioners directed the surveyor-general "To lay down on a map, two ranges of townships for sale, each township to contain as nearly as may be 64,000 acres."²³ The tract embraced ten townships, lying in the northwestern part of the present county of St. Lawrence, five of which bordered on the St. Lawrence River. Thus were created the famous St. Lawrence Ten Towns, consisting of Louisville, Stockholm, Potsdam, Madrid, Lisbon, Canton, DeKalb, Oswegatchie, Hague, and Cambray. On June 7, 1787, it was advertised that the Ten Townships "will be sold at Public Vendue, at the Coffee House in the City of New York," beginning Tuesday, July 10, 1787, at eleven o'clock forenoon.²⁴ It was

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²⁰ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 230, n. 7; *Records of the Society*, vide, Appendix G. Members, 1784-1835.

²¹ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, pp. 228-233.

²² Duane Hamilton Hurd, *History of Clinton and Franklin Counties, New York*, Philadelphia, 1880, p. 21; Flick, *New York State History*, V, 187; Spaulding, *New York in the Critical Period*, p. 16; *Laws of the State of New York*, chap. LXVII, pp. 129-137.

²³ Hurd, *op. cit.*, p. 21; Flick, *New York State History*, V, 187.

²⁴ *Albany Gazette*, June 7, 1787.

at this point that members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick stepped into the picture. The value of the tract was entirely unknown, and no one had definite knowledge of its geography except perhaps Alexander Macomb. He probably had seen it many times during his trips up and down the St. Lawrence River, as a fur trader.²⁵ He became the principal purchaser.

At the auction, by private agreement, certain agents of Macomb bid in the property. These agents included Daniel McCormick, Michael Connolly, Thomas McFarren, and others.²⁶ Lots so sold were subsequently conveyed to Macomb before patenting. On December 17, 1787, Alexander Macomb patented nearly the whole of the Ten Towns.²⁷ On April 16, 1791, he appointed Gouverneur Morris, then United States Minister to France, as attorney to sell any portion except the Lisbon tract which had been previously disposed of. No sales apparently were made by Morris. On May 3, 1792, about the time of his financial collapse, Macomb conveyed to Samuel Ogden in trust for himself, General Henry Knox, Robert Morris, and Gouverneur Morris, four townships in the St. Lawrence tract. Knox received 44,000 acres, Robert Morris and Gouverneur Morris, 60,000 acres each.²⁸ This is not evidence that any of these gentlemen were originally parties to the St. Lawrence venture, although it may be indicative of their willingness to relieve their friend, Macomb, of certain assets before these could fall into the hands of his general creditors. Macomb's colleague in the St. Patrick Society, William Constable, may possibly have been a party to the contract from the beginning. In June, 1792, Macomb sold to William Constable for £1,500 the towns of Madrid, Potsdam, and the west half of Stockholm and Louisville, and to William Edgar, another member of the Friendly Sons, for £12,000 the towns of Lisbon and Canton, except the tracts previously sold.²⁹ At this time Macomb was lodged in debtors' prison, where he was assailed by a mob, but was preserved by the strength of the building.³⁰ On the same date Macomb was compelled to assign to William Edgar and Daniel McCormick, for the benefit of his creditors, his personal interest in a tract of 1,920,000 acres.³¹ This was an entirely different transaction, which will be described below.

In 1791 the legislature granted the Commissioners of the Land Office, of whom Governor George Clinton was an *ex officio* member,

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²⁵ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 188.

²⁶ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 239.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

²⁹ Franklin B. Hough, *A History of Lewis County in the State of New York*, Albany, 1860, p. 239; Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 242.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

almost unlimited powers to dispose of public lands without restriction as to price and quantity.³² Almost immediately, on June 22, 1791, there occurred the greatest land sale ever made by the State of New York to this same Alexander Macomb. Macomb, in 1791, was a member of the State Assembly, 14th session, that sat in New York City from January 5th to March 24th.³³ Although the contract was made in the name of Macomb alone he was acting for a company consisting of himself, Daniel McCormick, and William Constable, in which each had one-third interest.³⁴ This great "Macomb Purchase" totalled at least 3,693,755 and perhaps more nearly 4,000,000 acres, almost one-tenth of all the land in the state.³⁵ It included the whole of the present counties of St. Lawrence, Lewis, Jefferson, and Franklin as well as parts of Oswego and Herkimer. By adding all the acreage in each of the several patents we find a total of 3,934,899 acres. Authorities are not agreed on the exact figure. The sale price was to be eight pence per acre, one-sixth part payable in one year and the rest in five annual installments.³⁶

Macomb's first offer of April, 1791, had been rejected by the land commissioners; but his second, dated May 2, 1791, was accepted at a meeting of the Board of Commissioners held in the City Hall on Wednesday, June 22, 1791.³⁷ Present at this meeting were Governor George Clinton, Secretary Lewis Scott, Treasurer Gerard Banka, and Auditor Peter T. Curtenius. Attorney-General Aaron Burr, whose principal client at this time was Macomb, was "absent."³⁸ The favorable terms of the grant immediately aroused political opposition among the Federalists. The commissioners were charged in the legislature with violation of the law. The price was defended on the ground that Massachusetts had recently sold 2,000,000 acres of land in the Genesee Country for seven pence an acre, a transaction in which William Constable also seems to have had a share.³⁹ On the motion of Melancton Smith, the legislature voted on April 10, 1792, by 35 to 20 to approve the action of the commissioners.⁴⁰ But the matter was an issue in the election of that year, and returned to plague George

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³² Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 149.

³³ Werner, *Civil List*, p. 318.

³⁴ Franklin B. Hough, *A History of Jefferson County in the State of New York*, Albany, 1854, p. 41; Hough *Lewis County*, p. 240; Hurd, *Clinton and Franklin Counties*, p. 22; Landon, *North Country*, I, 88.

³⁵ *Ibid.*; Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 239; O'Callaghan, *Documentary History*, III, 1069-1071; Flick, *New York State History*, V, 189.

³⁶ Hough, *Jefferson County*, p. 41.

³⁷ Hurd, *Clinton and Franklin Counties*, p. 22. There is a copy of Macomb's application in Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, pp. 253-4.

³⁸ Hurd, *Clinton and Franklin Counties*, p. 22; Alexander, *Political History of New York*, I, 55.

³⁹ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 240.

⁴⁰ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, pp. 252-3; Alexander, *Political History*, Vol. I, p. 55.

Clinton in 1801, when he again sought the gubernatorial office. Spaulding insists that there is no evidence to show that Clinton "was corrupt or was influenced by corrupt motives."⁴¹ He is probably not aware of Clinton's connections when he says that Macomb was not an intimate friend of Clinton.⁴² Macomb later testified on oath before Richard Varick, Mayor of New York, that Clinton had no interest, direct or indirect in the sale.⁴³

The purchase was immediately surveyed and laid out in six great tracts. By January 10, 1792, the survey was completed, security for payment of the southern half of the tract was deposited, and letters patent were issued for this part to Alexander Macomb on January 10, 1792.⁴⁴ This portion consisted of Sections 4, 5, and 6, in all 1,920,000 acres, lying in the present counties of Jefferson, Lewis and Oswego. The northern part of the tract was not actually patented until years later, and then in the name of Daniel McCormick.⁴⁵ Meanwhile, the bankruptcy of Macomb brought to the front a group of his friends who were to have the land surveyed, subdivided, and actually settled, men "who were the real developers of northern New York — Daniel McCormick, William Constable, John McVickar, Hezekiah B. Pierrepont, and Richard Harison."⁴⁶ McCormick was, of course the founder and first president of the Friendly Sons, William Constable was the second president, McVickar, one of the great New York merchants of his day, was vice-president of the Society in 1797; Pierrepont was the son-in-law of Constable, and Harison, of Welsh descent and, therefore, not eligible for membership, was a close associate of the leaders of the Society from 1784 until his death in 1828.

When Alexander Macomb fell into financial difficulties his friends William Constable and Daniel McCormick took over the management of the great "Purchase." At the office of the Secretary of State there is an abstract of a deed dated June 6, 1792, by which Macomb conveyed to Constable 1,920,000 acres of land, the sections 4, 5, 6 originally patented by Macomb, for a consideration of £50,000 and by a deed dated December 15, 1792, Constable sold 1,200,000 acres of this land to Samuel Ward for £100,000.⁴⁷ Ward, however, seems merely to have been acting as his agent for the resale of the land. There are other transfers of land by Macomb, apparently confidential, to William S. Smith, son-in-law of Vice-President John Adams and a close friend

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⁴¹ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 235.

⁴² cf. Alexander, *Political History*, p. 54.

⁴³ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 235.

⁴⁴ Hurd, *Clinton and Franklin Counties*, p. 22; Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*; p. 254; *Patents*, Office of Secretary of State, Liber 23, p. 160.

⁴⁵ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 240.

⁴⁶ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 189.

⁴⁷ *Land Papers*; Vol. 53, p. 131, and Vol. 61, p. 103.

of McCormick, and to Abijah Hammond, and Richard Harison, which seems to have involved Macomb's one-third interest in sections 2 and 3, not yet patented.⁴⁸ Macomb's contract with the Land Office was conveyed to Daniel McCormick, who thus became a principal actor in future transactions.⁴⁹

On March 3, 1795, Daniel McCormick, having paid the requisite sums to the treasurer of the State, patented No. 3 tract, which amounted to 640,000 acres and he seems to have satisfied the claims of Smith, Hammond, and Harison.⁵⁰ From this time on Harison will have a share in the distribution of lands in the northern half of the purchase. On May 17, 1798, Daniel McCormick patented tract No. 1, amounting to 831,879 acres, and tract No. 2, 553,020 acres. He paid fees of \$820, one-half to the treasury and one-half divided among the commissioners, in accordance with the Act of February 25, 1781.⁵¹ McCormick conveyed by deed to William Constable, on September 20, 1798, an undivided third in great tract No. 2, and on December 16, 1800, a partition deed between Macomb and McCormick to Constable was executed.⁵² Tract No. 1, which included almost all of present Franklin County was originally divided into twenty-seven townships. Hurd gives the divisions of these townships among the various holders and Hough supplies the original names of the towns, based on a record in the Constable-Pierrepoint Papers, which clearly show the Irish character of the original owners. It is interesting to note that Alexander Macomb received township No. 1, which was named Macomb after him. McCormick got four townships and parts of five others, Constable six townships and parts of two, and Richard Harison two full townships and parts of three.⁵³ Among the original town names were Cormachus — after McCormick — Constable, Moira, Malone — a name in Harison's family — St. Patrick, Shelah, Williamsville, Everettsville — after Constable's daughter — Johnsmenor and Harriestown — after a son and daughter of Constable — Lochneagh, Killarney, Barrymore, and Tipperary. In Tract No. 2 we find Kildare, Janestown, and Matildavale, after two daughters of Constable, while in Tract No. 3, divided into thirteen towns, Ballybean was named after McCormick's birthplace, Edwards after his brother, a captain in the East India trade, Emilyvale for a daughter of Constable, and others have such names as Clare and Killarney.⁵⁴ Many of these names were changed at later dates and are

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⁴⁸ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 256; Hurd, *Clinton and Franklin Counties*, p. 22.

⁴⁹ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 241; *Land Papers*, Vol. 51, p. 42, Feb. 13, 1795.

⁵⁰ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 256; Hurd, *Clinton and Franklin Counties*, p. 22.

⁵¹ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 257; *Patents*, liber 18, pp. 198, 394.

⁵² Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 257.

⁵³ Hurd, *Clinton and Franklin Counties*, pp. 22-23.

⁵⁴ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 255.

now forgotten; but others like Moira, Clare, Malone, Kildare, and Edwards are still retained.

From this time on until the end of his life Daniel McCormick was involved in land transactions on a large scale in northern New York. In January, 1814, he took final title from the State to the islands in the St. Lawrence River, which he patented late owing to the uncertainty about the Canadian border.⁵⁵ On May 14, 1817, he sold these islands to D. A. and T. L. Ogden. Other transactions are to be noted in August, 1815, and as late as December 15, 1823, not so many years before his death, he bought 976 acres in the north country.⁵⁶ In 1817 and later, Joseph Pitcairn, who was for a time United States consul in Paris, acquired from Daniel McCormick, "who took a great interest in his affairs, and to whom he is believed to have been related," the ownership of McCormick's unsold lands in St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties.⁵⁷ Pitcairn seems to have been the son of McCormick's cousin Janet. In his will McCormick left the bulk of his estate to his "kinsman," Joseph Pitcairn.⁵⁸ Pitcairn came to the northern part of the State where he began the settlement of the townships of Pitcairn, Edwards, Brasher, and others. He built for himself a summer home in Helena, named after his daughter of whom McCormick is said to have been very fond. Here he intended to live after his retirement. However, Pitcairn died in New York City in June, 1844, before he could accomplish his purpose.⁵⁹ The village of Helena still exists up near the Canadian border. Part of the original township of Clare was formerly owned by Madame de Stael, the celebrated French authoress, who invested in it on the recommendation of her acquaintance Gouverneur Morris. In his letter to her dated October 7, 1806, he says that the lands lie next to that of Ballybean "Which is rapidly growing in population." He recommends that she offer \$1.00 per acre and pay no more than \$2.00.⁶⁰ Ballybean later was renamed Russell. On a partition of lands between McCormick and others 15,200 acres were conveyed to Herman Le Roy and William Bayard in trust for her. The land was sold in 1846 by her daughter, Ada de Stael-Holstein, who was the wife of the Duc de Broglie, prime minister under Louis Philippe.⁶¹ The firm of Le Roy, Bayard and McEvers, of which Charles McEvers, son of a founder of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, was a member,

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⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 430.

⁵⁸ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, "Family Tree of the McCormicks," notes of R. C. Murphy, based on McCormick's will, Hall of Records. The Society has a copy of McCormick's will.

⁵⁹ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 430.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

invested in north county lands.⁶² Nor did Alexander Macomb lose interest, entirely, in the great purchase that bears his name. As late as June 24, 1801, Daniel McCormick passed title to No. 14 lot in Hopkinton township to Macomb, who on January 1, 1808, deeded 23,886 acres and part of another lot, 7,675 acres, to his son General Alexander Macomb, Jr.⁶³ The town of Edwards, St. Lawrence County, named after Edward McCormick, was settled in 1812 and organized on April 27, 1827.⁶⁴

When Alexander Macomb first patented the southern half of his great purchase he appointed William Constable as agent to sell his lands in Europe.⁶⁵ Later in the same year, as we have seen, Macomb conveyed his title to Constable. In 1793, William embarked with his family for Europe, leaving his commercial interests in New York in charge of his brother James whom he had recently taken into partnership in Constable & Company.⁶⁶ While in Europe Constable negotiated one great sale of 630,000 acres to a Peter Chassanis of Paris.⁶⁷ Unfortunately the advent of the French Revolution or other reasons caused cancellation of this contract; but at later dates much of the land was sold to French companies in which Chassanis was involved. A number of French refugees settled in Jefferson and Lewis Counties during the French Revolution. Their coming is reflected in some of the place names and customs of the district. It was while on this trip abroad that Constable purchased for his brother James a pair of fine carriage horses, and a "Fashionable Chariot" bearing a coat of arms with three white roses on a double shield.⁶⁸ William returned to New York late in 1795 when he began to make improvements in the roads of the north country so as to open his lands for settlement. He also seems to have had a share in the formation of the "Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company," the purpose of which was to form a waterway connecting the Hudson with Lake Ontario.⁶⁹ The project was only partially successful. Among the many French refugees who came to America about this time were the Duke of Orleans and his brothers. Gouverneur Morris, United States minister to France, gave the Duke a letter of credit for \$2000 on William Constable which was honored

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⁶² Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 340.

⁶³ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 139.

⁶⁴ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, Vol. II, p. 249; Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 297; Ruth L. Higgins, *Expansion in New York*, Columbus, Ohio, 1931, p. 143.

⁶⁵ Hough, *Jefferson County*, p. 44.

⁶⁶ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, sketch of William Constable based on *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library.

⁶⁷ *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library; Hough, *Jefferson County*, pp. 45-47.

⁶⁸ "Memorandum for William Constable," June 1795; *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library.

⁶⁹ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, sketch of William Constable; Flick, *New York State History*, V, 302; Hough, *Lewis County*, pp. 238ff.

by him and was later repaid with interest by the future King Louis Philippe.⁷⁰

William Constable's land transactions were on an exceedingly large scale. For example, he sold to Thomas Boylston of Massachusetts a tract of land estimated at 400,000 acres but which actually contained 817,155 acres. Later Constable repurchased the tract from Boylston, advancing him £60,000. Subsequently, Constable resold the northern part of the Boylston tract, 305,000 acres, at a price of \$1.00 per acre.⁷¹ He kept the remainder, 512,155 acres, and having bought out his associates proceeded to divide it up into thirteen townships. One group in the region of Turin, became known as "Constable's Five Towns."⁷² The town of Constableville in Lewis County perpetuates his name. Benjamin Wright, a surveyor of Rome, N. Y., was Constable's general land agent.⁷³ Benjamin and his cousin Moses Wright were for years to come the principal surveyors of McCormick's and Constable's properties.⁷⁴ Benjamin Wright later became famous for his work on the Erie Canal, which earned him the title, "Father of American Engineering."⁷⁵ In the beginning, Constable sold land titles to actual settlers taking back a mortgage. When this method proved troublesome it was superseded by a contract guaranteeing an ample deed upon full payment. This contract, originally prepared by Alexander Hamilton, had not been changed, as late as 1860,⁷⁶ and remains a model of its kind to this day.⁷⁷ The contract "secures legal interest annually to the proprietor, requires purchasers to pay all surveys, taxes, and assessments, binds them not to abandon the premises, or sell or assign the contract, or cut, or suffer to be cut for sale any timber without consent of the proprietor, or commit any waste, actual or permissive, upon the premises."⁷⁸

William Constable soon returned to Europe in furtherance of his land sales. On this last trip he narrowly escaped being taken prisoner by a privateer.⁷⁹ Unfortunately Constable's preoccupation with his land ventures caused him to neglect his mercantile business in New York which did not prosper under the management of his brother James. James Constable seems to have endorsed the notes of his friends and

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⁷⁰ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, sketch of William Constable; Hough, *Lewis County*, pp. 238ff.

⁷¹ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 240.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 240; vide "Map of Land Grants, etc." Flick, *New York State History*, V, after p. 381.

⁷³ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 241.

⁷⁴ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 259.

⁷⁵ Flick, *New York State History*, 302ff.

⁷⁶ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 29.

⁷⁷ Landon, *The North Country*, I, 91.

⁷⁸ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 29.

⁷⁹ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, based on *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library; Hough, *Jefferson County*, pp. 448-51.

business associates too often and too generously. With the affairs of William and James Constable hopelessly involved William was forced to return to New York. He at once disposed of his commercial interests in the city, assigned some of his northern New York property to his creditors and honorably discharged all claims. This consumed most of his personal property and he now determined to devote all of his attention to his landed estates in the north. He set out to visit Lewis County, which apparently he had never seen; but his health, never very robust, broke down on the way. He got no further than Rome, N. Y., where he died, May 22, 1803.⁸⁰ He left a widow and seven children. The executors of his will were his brother James, a member of the St. Patrick Society, John McVickar, another member of the Society, and H. B. Pierrepont, his son-in-law.⁸¹ William's death caused all three men to become even more closely identified with the history of upstate New York.

Hezekiah Beers Pierrepont, whose name was well known in Lewis County, New York, because of his extensive lands and his constant intercourse with its inhabitants, was born in New Haven, Connecticut, on November 3, 1768.⁸² He was descended from a John Pierrepont who originally settled in America in 1640. Pierrepont came to New York in 1790 where he made a small fortune by speculation in the national debt. For several years thereafter he was in partnership with his cousin, William Leffingwell, but in 1795 he gave up this business and invested his capital in a ship which he named the *Confederacy*.⁸³ In this vessel he, himself, as supercargo, made a voyage to India and China. On the way back the ship was seized by a French privateer, contrary to international law and the United States treaty with France. Pierrepont stayed in France for several years attempting to collect his claim, but without success. The United States government finally took over its citizens' claims against France, but he and many other claimants for French spoliation prior to 1800 were never paid.⁸⁴ He succeeded, however, in getting part of the value of his ship from English insurers. While in France, Pierrepont met Constable and Robert Fulton, after whom he later named a son who died in infancy. In 1802, after seven years abroad, Pierrepont returned to New York where he married Anna Maria, the daughter of William Constable whom he had met in Paris.⁸⁵ In the same year he purchased from Philip Livingston a

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⁸⁰ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, sketch of William Constable; Hough, *Lewis County*, pp. 238ff. Hough's account is based on information supplied by Henry E. Pierrepont, a descendant of Constable.

⁸¹ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 29.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 243-5.

⁸³ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 244.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

⁸⁵ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, sketch of William Constable; Hough, *Jefferson County*, pp. 448-51.

distillery in Brooklyn, N. Y., where he made a gin of high reputation.⁸⁶ What he at first intended as his country seat on Brooklyn Heights became later his permanent residence. When he first settled in Brooklyn Village he was one of only twenty-six freeholders there. In later years, as he devoted more and more time to the management of his northern estates, Pierrepont gave up the distillery business.

In 1806 he purchased the town of Pierrepont and later one-half of Stockholm in St. Lawrence County. When the estate of William Constable was finally settled in 1819, Pierrepont acquired large additions in the five northern counties by purchase from the Constable heirs and from others. Eventually he owned nearly 500,000 acres of which 150,000 alone were in Lewis County.⁸⁷ His personal attention, however, was devoted principally to the settlement of Pierrepont, Stockholm, and Louisville in St. Lawrence County.⁸⁸ He made annual visits to the north country to direct the building of roads and other improvements, and spent large sums on turnpike roads. Among these were the St. Lawrence Turnpike, of which he was president, seventy miles of road along the Black River to Franklin County, and also the Rome to Constableville Turnpike. He had a share in building the railroad between Albany and Schenectady, the first railroad constructed in New York State.⁸⁹ Pierrepont's first visit to Lewis County was in 1803 in the company of James Constable. The land was then an unbroken forest and travel had to be on horseback. Hezekiah Pierrepont enjoyed a fine reputation in the north country, the gradual settlement of which he saw in his own lifetime. He treated his settlers well and is described as being "indulgent to his own inconvenience in the collection of their indebtedness."⁹⁰ As their father grew older Hezekiah's two sons took over the management of his estates. William Constable Pierrepont handled the lands in Oswego and Jefferson Counties and Henry E. Pierrepont had charge of the properties in Lewis, St. Lawrence, and Franklin Counties.⁹¹ Hezekiah died on August 11, 1838, leaving a widow, two sons and eight daughters. By his father's will, Henry E. Pierrepont was to manage the estate for twenty years. As late as 1860, William C. Pierrepont was residing at Pierrepont Manor, in Jefferson County, but Henry E. Pierrepont remained a faithful resident of Brooklyn, N. Y., until the end of his life. On Henry's death in 1853 the estate was divided among the members of the family. One daughter of Hezekiah, Julia Josephine, married John Constable of Constable-

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⁸⁶ Albion, *Port of New York*, p. 77.

⁸⁷ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 245.

⁸⁸ Hough, *Jefferson County*, pp. 448-51.

⁸⁹ Hough, *Lewis County*, pp. 244-5.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

⁹¹ Hough, *Jefferson County*, p. 451.

ville. Their descendants still reside in the town.⁹²

When William Constable's estate was finally settled, H. B. Pierrepont paid about \$25,000 each to the remaining heirs, his wife and seven children.⁹³ Constable's former great wealth had shrunk to about \$200,000 owing probably to the collapse of the mercantile house of Constable and Co., in New York. Since payments to the heirs were made mostly in land, the family remained deeply interested in the north country. This was especially true of William Constable, Jr., who had married Eliza McVickar. In 1819 he erected an elegant mansion east of the town of Constableville, and to this day it remains the seat of the family.⁹⁴ John Pierrepont Constable has been the owner in recent years. This home, noted for its classic beauty, its elegant surroundings and peaceful atmosphere, has few, if any, equals in northern New York. "It contains valuable treasures, handmade Irish lace worn by the distinguished ladies of the family in bygone years, a magnificent hand-embroidered doeskin coat presented to William Constable by the Chiefs of the Five Nations, a gorgeous wampum belt presented by an Iroquois Chief, personal belongings and several letters from General Lafayette, furniture from the apartment of Marie Antoinette at the Versailles Palace, a document signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and many heirlooms of priceless value."⁹⁵

James Constable, brother of William, and his partner in William and James Constable, was elected a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1792, and served as Vice-President in 1795 and 1796.⁹⁶ He never married. As executor of the estate of his brother, James traveled extensively through Macomb's Purchase between the years of 1803 and 1806. He rode hundreds of miles on horseback from clearing to clearing and settlement to settlement.⁹⁷ He died in 1807 and his remains were interred in the family vault in St. Paul's Churchyard, New York City.⁹⁸

John McVickar, the third executor of William Constable's estate, was one of the great merchants of New York City at the turn of the century and a member of the St. Patrick's Society from 1784 to 1812. He founded a family whose name is interwoven with the prosperity of the city as well as that of the north country whose settlement he did so much to promote. McVickar was born in Ballylochlan, County

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⁹² Hough's account is based on information supplied by Henry E. Pierrepont of Brooklyn, N. Y., *vide Constable-Pierrepont Papers*, New York Public Library; Hough, *Lewis County*, pp. 243-245.

⁹³ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 29.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

⁹⁶ *Records of the Society*.

⁹⁷ Landon, *The North Country*, I, 91. His diary is the principal source of our knowledge of the early Black River Country and is constantly quoted by historians of the area.

⁹⁸ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

Antrim, Ireland, on May 26, 1759. He came to New York in 1780, and seems to have been employed for a time in the vendue house of Moore, Lynsen, and McCormick.⁹⁹ He was under the special guardianship of Daniel McCormick, who was very fond of him and in after years always treated him as a son, much to the surprise of strangers who were inclined to regard with awe New York's great merchant.¹⁰⁰ On the advice of McCormick he went into business for himself at 39 Maiden Lane before 1786, but soon moved to 27 Queen, now 228 Pearl Street.¹⁰¹ John and Philip Hone, later famous in the political and social life of the city, were among his clerks.¹⁰² Described as a large Irish shipowner and commission merchant he received vessels and cargoes from all parts of the West Indies as well as from Europe. In addition he dealt in Irish linens, and is said to have been the heaviest importer of Irish linen into the New York market in a day when the city was doing a vast trade in that commodity.¹⁰³ His brother Nathan arrived in New York in 1798 and was taken into the firm which became John & Nathan McVickar. The place of business was changed to 2 Burling Slip; but John continued to live for years at 228 Pearl Street. John McVickar, as we have seen, owned ten shares of stock in the Bank of New York and was elected a director in 1793.¹⁰⁴ In 1795 he became a director of the Mutual Insurance Company, and in 1805 of the Western and Northern Coal Company. He was a governor of the New York Hospital from 1798 to 1802.¹⁰⁵

Walter Barrett mentions John McVickar as one of the founders of the St. Patrick Society and active in its affairs in the day "when such men as William Edgar, Hugh Gaine, and Daniel McCormick belonged to it."¹⁰⁶ He was a member of the Society's Council from 1790 to 1796 and in 1797 was elected Vice-President.¹⁰⁷ His brother Nathan was Secretary of the Society from 1812 to 1816. John married Anne Moore, daughter of John Moore of Long Island, and sister of Patience Moore, who was the wife of John Charlton Dongan, of Staten Island, also a member of the Society. The McVickars had nine children, seven sons and two daughters.¹⁰⁸ An intimate friend of William Constable, three of John's children married into the Constable family, thus becoming deeply involved in upstate New York. James, the eldest son, married Euretta, and Edward, the fifth son, married Matilda, both daughters

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⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 281.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

¹⁰² Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 121.

¹⁰³ Barrett, *op. cit.*, II, 288.

¹⁰⁴ *Vide supra.*

¹⁰⁵ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 284.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 282.

¹⁰⁷ *Records of the Society*, *vide* Appendix E, Council, 1785-1835; Barrett, *op. cit.*, II, 282.

¹⁰⁸ Barrett, *op. cit.*, II, 283; *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

of William Constable. Eliza McVickar married William Constable, Jr. and settled at Constableville, Lewis County, N. Y. Augusta McVickar married Judge William Jay, youngest son of John Jay, and they too became interested in northern New York.¹⁰⁹ The McVickar family invested extensively in the neighborhood of Louisville, St. Lawrence County,¹¹⁰ as well as farther east and some of their descendants still live in Malone, New York.¹¹¹

The McVickars were Episcopalians. In 1801 John was elected a vestryman of Trinity Church, an office which he held until his death in 1812.¹¹² His son, John, Jr., an Episcopalian minister and professor of economics at Columbia College, was acting president of the College in 1829, and again in 1842.¹¹³ John, Jr. married Eliza, daughter of Dr. Samuel Bard, physician to President Washington and president of the New York Medical Society. Old John's great grandson, William Neilson McVickar, was Episcopal Bishop of Rhode Island in 1903.¹¹⁴ The John McVickars built a fine home at 231 Broadway which was assessed at \$13,000 in 1823 and, like other members of the Friendly Sons, had a country mansion in Bloomingdale.¹¹⁵ McVickar was very charitable and exceedingly generous especially to young Irish lads who were struggling to succeed in New York. He gave the land for and built a church on the "Dongan Domain" in Staten Island, where his sister-in-law, "Lady" Patience Dongan, lived.¹¹⁶ He also founded St. Michael's Church in Bloomingdale and built St. Paul's Church in Constableville, N. Y. His portrait by Copley "gives the impression of a fine and resolute will, a kind countenance, and a gentle heart."¹¹⁷

When Alexander Hamilton died, Richard Harison, prominent New York lawyer, became counsel for Constable and McCormick, whose intimate friend he was. A Tory during the Revolution, he was a close associate of all the great Federalist leaders after the war. Harison had a share in the distribution of the lands in the Macomb Purchase almost from the beginning. He was particularly interested in lands around Harrisburgh, N. Y., founded in 1803, of which he was the original proprietor;¹¹⁸ but he also owned great areas in Franklin and St. Lawrence Counties, with manor houses at Malone, Canton, and Morley.¹¹⁹

Many other members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, their

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¹⁰⁹ Barrett, *op. cit.*, II, 283.

¹¹⁰ Landon, *The North Country*, I, 91.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 92.

¹¹² Berrian, *Trinity Church*, p. 362.

¹¹³ M. H. Thomas, "John McVickar," *D.A.B.*, XII, 172-3.

¹¹⁴ H. E. Starr, "William Neilson McVickar," *D.A.B.*, XII, 173.

¹¹⁵ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 121; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 288-9.

¹¹⁶ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, based in part on a "History of the McVickar Family," New York Historical Society.

¹¹⁸ Hough, *Lewis County*, p. 113.

¹¹⁹ Landon, *The North Country*, p. 92.

friends, and relatives were involved in the settlement of upstate New York. Only a few can be mentioned here. Dominick Lynch, one of the first trustees of St. Peter's Church in New York City, was a founder of Rome, New York, which was originally called Lynchville.¹²⁰ Harriet Constable, daughter of old William, married in 1821 James Duane III, of Schenectady, New York. In 1825 the Duanes settled in the wilderness, ten miles from their nearest neighbor, and for several years were the most remote dwellers in the forest.¹²¹ Thomas Eddy, of the St. Patrick's Society, with Robert Brown, purchased a section of 3,000 acres in March, 1797, in the southwest corner of Ellisburgh. In June, 1804, Brown and Eddy sold half of the tract to George Scriba and Scriba sold it to William Bell, former super cargo of William Constable in the eastern trade and a great friend of Daniel McCormick.¹²² Michael Hogan, an associate of Thomas Addis Emmet and Dr. William James Macneven in the Irish rising of '98, became a pioneer along the Canadian border. He is described as being one of the most important promoters of settlement in Northern New York during the later period.¹²³ After fleeing from Ireland, Hogan had become a ship captain in the Asiatic trade. He came to New York, in 1804, bringing an East India lady as his bride, and a fortune "in gold sovereigns worth £400,000 equal to two million dollars."¹²⁴ Though we may be inclined to doubt the accuracy of the latter statement, another source tells us that he bought a whole township, some ten thousand acres, naming it Bombay, in honor of his wife "a princess of India."¹²⁵ There he planned to settle refugees from Ireland. Michael Hogan founded Hogansburg as well as Bombay up near the Canadian border where today Hogans are said to outnumber even the Smiths. In 1805, Michael Hogan joined the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of which Thomas Addis Emmet and William James Macneven were also members.¹²⁶ Michael's son, William, also a member of the Society settled in Hogansburg where he became a prominent Democratic politician. In 1830 he defeated Luther Bradish in an election for Congressman.¹²⁷ Luther Bradish of Franklin County, later lieutenant-governor of the state, was at this time a leading anti-Mason of Northern New York, as were also James McVickar and William Constable Pierrepont.¹²⁸ A few years later we find James McBride, president of the Friendly Sons of St.

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¹²⁰ J. S. M. Lynch "Diocese of Syracuse" in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 398.

¹²¹ Hough, *St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties*, p. 497.

¹²² Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 248.

¹²³ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 189.

¹²⁴ Barrett, *op. cit.*, III, 115-116.

¹²⁵ Landon, *The North Country*, I, 92.

¹²⁶ *Records of the Society*, Treasurers Book, 1806.

¹²⁷ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 213.

¹²⁸ Landon, *op. cit.*, I, 328.

Patrick in 1834, advertising for sale 100,000 acres of and in the Genesee region, which he hoped to settle with Irish immigrants.¹²⁹

It can readily be seen from the above account how members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, acting as a group though, of course, not in the name of the Society, played a vital role in the settlement of upstate New York, where their names are perpetuated and their descendants are influential even to the present day. During the first years of its existence many other members of the Society were drawn into this pioneering endeavor, but space will not permit tracing their activities. No doubt the founders, who undertook these great land projects were motivated primarily by the hope of personal profits yet their work was constructive in the true sense and their accomplishments worked far more profitably for the people of the State of New York than they did to the personal advantage of themselves and their families. They were, in the real meaning of the words, creative pioneers. In later years their successors in the Society will strive with true altruism to divert the great flood of Irish immigrants which comes after 1800 into new lands in the west. Their efforts, however, as we shall see will be crowned with less success.

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¹²⁹ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 64; Flick, *op. cit.*, VII, 38-39.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY ANNIVERSARY DINNERS OF THE SOCIETY



UNQUESTIONABLY the outstanding social event of the year for the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick from its inception has been the annual St. Patrick's Day dinner. Held on the 17th of March, unless that date fell upon Sunday, in compliance with the by-laws for the promotion of social intercourse among the members, the dinners have always proved "the most pleasant, witty and agreeable social gatherings of the kind in the city."¹ The absence of the Minutes of the Society for the first fifty years makes it necessary to fall back on the newspapers of the day for information regarding the early banquets. Unfortunately the newspapers of one hundred and seventy years ago were small in size and contained for the most part extracts from European papers, shipping news and advertisements. Very little space was devoted to local news. Reports of the St. Patrick's Day dinners were, therefore, necessarily brief and lacked much of the information that we would like to have and which will be given in great detail in the larger newspapers of a later day. In 1784 the two principal New York papers were weeklies; the *New York Journal* and the *New York Packet* founded before the war by John Holt and Samuel Loudon, respectively. Both newspapers resumed publication in the city in 1783.² Holt soon died and after a brief continuance under his widow the *Journal* passed into the hands of Thomas Greenleaf who made it the leading Clintonian newspaper in the city until his death in 1798.³ Greenleaf was a staunch anti-Federalist, and with William Mooney of the Friendly Sons, was a sachem of the Tammany Society. Loudon's *Packet* on the other hand was the leading Federalist organ until its discontinuance in 1792.⁴ It appealed particularly to the mercantile interest. Loudon changed his newspaper to a daily in 1785.⁵ Other early newspapers included the *Independent Journal* begun on Novem-

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¹ Benson J. Lossing, *History of New York City*, New York, 1884, p. 189.

² Spaulding, *The Critical Period*, p. 40, Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 445.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 445. Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 351.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

⁵ Lamb, *New York City*, II, 286.

ber 17, 1783 as a semi-weekly but which became a daily in 1788 under the name of the *New York Daily Gazette*. Renamed the *Gazette* in 1795 this newspaper will continue publication until 1840.⁶ During these years it will contain many reports of the activities of the St. Patrick's Society. Another newspaper which will give considerable space to the Society's anniversary dinner was the *Daily Advertiser*, the first daily in the city and the third in the nation, founded by Francis Childs on March 1, 1785.⁷ It will continue publication until 1806. A later newspaper which will contain lengthy accounts of the anniversary dinners was founded in 1801 with William Coleman as editor, the *New York Evening Post*.⁸

All of these newspapers, and others more short-lived, had unbelievably small circulations. Two thousand copies was very high for a daily. The *New York Evening Post* seldom sold more than 1600 copies. Up until 1804 the usual cost of a subscription to a daily was eight dollars; after that the price was raised to ten dollars annually.⁹ Mortality among the early newspapers was very great. Between 1783 and 1800 thirty-three newspapers were established in the city.¹⁰ Only twelve, five of which were dailies, were in existence in 1800. They depended almost entirely upon advertising because many subscriptions were never paid up.

That the New York newspapers of this early day devoted so much space to the activities of the Society is indicative of the importance of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick to the selected clientele upon which they depended for existence. After the first years the annual elections of the Society were reported with full lists of officers, charitable committees, and after 1824 the stewards of the Anniversary Dinners were named. Without this information, and that contained in the early city directories, it would have been impossible to reconstruct the membership and early history of the Society.¹¹

The second Anniversary Dinner in 1785 was held at "The Coffee House, conducted by Mr. Bradford in Water Street, near Wall," and accounts of it in the papers inform us that some important officials were present. The report in the *New York Packet* is as follows:

Thursday being the anniversary of St. Patrick, titular
Saint of Ireland, the same was celebrated at the Coffee

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⁶ Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 447-8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 452.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 453; Flick, *History of the State of New York*, IV, 352-3.

¹¹ That the information is incomplete and that some inaccuracies have crept in are recognized. That so much has been accomplished is due to the tireless efforts of the historians of the Society from the time of Charles Patrick Daly down to the present day.

House (Wall Street) by a number of respectable gentlemen of that ancient nation, with that festivity and good humor for which the brave sons of Hibernia have ever been remarkable. His Excellency the Governor, his Honor the Chancellor, the Honorable John Jay, the Attorney General, the Honorable Judge Hobart, and several members of the Legislature honoured this Social Knot with their company at dinner.¹²

The governor was the distinguished George Clinton, and the Chancellor Robert R. Livingston who will hold that office until 1801. Judge Hobart was John Sloss Hobart, of the State Supreme Court, who had been a prominent member of the committee that drafted the first New York State Constitution in 1777.¹³ Judging from his presence at so many anniversary dinners he must have been a good friend of the Irish as well as of the members of the St. Patrick's Society. It is evident from newspaper accounts that in 1785 another company of Irishmen, besides the Friendly Sons, celebrated St. Patrick's Day in New York. The *Packet* tells us that, "The same anniversary was also celebrated on the 17th at Cape's Tavern (Broadway) by a numerous and respectable company of the liberal sons of Ireland."¹⁴ Another source says that, "Mr. John Henry presided at this convivial board."¹⁵ John Henry, a native of Ireland, is described as "an able actor who had come to this country before the Revolutionary War."¹⁶ He became manager of the John Street Theater, the only theater in the city, in December, 1785. His company's welcome in the city was not "entirely friendly."¹⁷ There is no evidence that he ever became a member of the St. Patrick Society, perhaps because of the attitude of some of its Quaker members who opposed the theater on moral grounds.¹⁸

In 1786, the Society again held its celebration at the "Coffee House," No. 200 Water Street, and another company of Irishmen dined on the 17th of March at "Morgan's New Tavern," in Water Street near Broad. McLean's *Independent Advertiser and Gazette* of March 15th said:

The festival of St. Patrick, that ancient, noble and well-beloved patron of Ireland, will be celebrated on Friday

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¹² *New York Packet*, March 21, 1785.

¹³ Flick, *New York State History*, IV, 155.

¹⁴ *New York Packet*, March 21, 1785.

¹⁵ *Journal and General Advertiser*, March 24, 1785.

¹⁶ Flick, *op. cit.*, IX, 313.

¹⁷ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 475; Spaulding, *Critical Period*, p. 40.

¹⁸ Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 475. John Murray, Jr. was a leader of the Quaker opposition.

next at Morgan's New Tavern, the sign of the Grand Mason's Arms, on the Dock near the Ferry Stairs, Water Street, where the company of all the well wishers of that titular Saint will be expected, more especially as Mr. Morgan has much exerted himself to have his house in order for the reception of his countrymen and their well wishers, on that day being the first of opening.¹⁹

The *Daily Advertiser*, on March 18, 1786, informed its readers that:

Yesterday, the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, in the State of New York, held their anniversary meeting at the Coffee House where an elegant dinner was provided by Mr. Bradford. The company were numerous and respectable and the day was spent with that decorum and hilarity, so truly characteristic of this friendly society.²⁰

The *Independent Advertiser and Gazette*, on the same date said:

The anniversary of St. Patrick, patron of the Irish Nation, was celebrated with great festivity by our worthy friends of that kingdom. A very elegant entertainment was provided at Mr. Bradford's Coffee House, at which were present His Excellency, the Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chancellor, the Chief Justice, Judge Hobart, the Mayor, Recorder and many other persons of distinction. The day and evening passed with that convivial spirit which ever distinguished the true Milesian.²¹

The *New York Packet*, confirms this information.²²

The Governor was still George Clinton, the Lieutenant-Governor was Pierre Van Cortlandt, the Mayor was James Duane, a member of the Society, and the Recorder was Richard Varick. No accounts have been found of the anniversary dinner in 1787 which also took place at the Coffee House.²³ Although verification is lacking, it is believed that Cornelius Bradford, the owner of the Coffee House was a mem-

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¹⁹ *Independent Advertiser and Gazette*, March 15, 1786.

²⁰ *Daily Advertiser*, March 18, 1786.

²¹ *Independent Advertiser and Gazette*, March 18, 1786.

²² *Packet*, March 20, 1786.

²³ *Records of the Society*, Manual for 1899, p. 49.

ber of the Society and that he was related to Michael Bradford, one of the founding members. Cornelius died on November 8, 1786, and his obituary notice in the papers next day said he was "a very worthy and respectable citizen," who, "during the late struggle for independence, evinced his attachment to his country. His Coffee House in this city was kept with great dignity both before and since the war."²⁴ Both Cornelius and Michael Bradford were Roman Catholics who attended old St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street. Michael was the son of William Bradford, an emigrant from County Clare, Ireland, who had settled in Vermont perhaps as early as 1751. Michael served in the Revolutionary Army, coming to New York after the war, where with the assistance and advice of Daniel McCormick he began an importing business, opening an office and warehouse near the Fly Market. For a few years after 1800 Bradford was in partnership with another member of the Society, Michael Hogan, whose name is still famous in upstate New York.²⁵ After the partnership was dissolved Bradford carried on the business under his own name and became a wealthy



City Tavern

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²⁴ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

²⁵ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 189; *vide supra*, Chapter VII.

and successful merchant. He died childless in 1824 and is said to have been buried in old St. Peter's.²⁶

In 1788 the St. Patrick Society and its friends dined at the Merchant's Coffee House on the southeast corner of Wall and Water Streets. This was a tavern of excellent reputation which dated back to pre-war days. It was soon, however, to be overshadowed by the Tontine Coffee House, a large brick four-story building, built on the northwest corner of Wall and Water Streets. This hotel, where the finest accommodations were available at ten shillings a day or eight dollars a week, soon became the chief gathering place for business men.²⁷ Of the 1788 dinner the New York *Journal and Patriotic Register* said:

Yesterday being the anniversary of the titular Saint of Ireland, a number of gentlemen of that nation assembled at the Merchant's Coffee House in this City, where they partook of an elegant entertainment, drank a number of toasts, and 'liberally cheer did bestow'.²⁸



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²⁶ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, sketch of Michael Bradford; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 337.

²⁷ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 231-467.

²⁸ *Journal and Patriotic Register*, March 18, 1788.

The *Packet* reported the banquet saying that:

a large company of gentlemen, natives of that country (Ireland) assembled at the Coffee House, where a genteel entertainment was provided and which was well conducted. True festive mirth and hilarity were displayed at this festive board.²⁹

In 1789 William Constable became president of the Friendly Sons and under his auspices the Society's anniversary dinners returned to Cape's Tavern, the site of its first banquet in 1784. Now known as the City Tavern at 115 Broadway near Cedar Street, it was still one of the principal meeting places of the city and its large rooms were to be used for sessions of the courts when the city became the federal capital in 1789-90.³⁰ Tradition in the Society credits Constable with establishing a precedent by inviting to the annual banquet the presidents of the other important societies of those days, the German Society, The St. Andrew's Society, and the St. George's Society.³¹

During the succeeding years, 1789-1794, the Society's celebrations were held at the City Tavern, and in each year accounts, similar to those already quoted, appeared in the newspapers. Brief though the reports were, their language justifies the statement that the banquets of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick were regarded as among the important social events of the year, since they were attended by leading officials of the City and State, and by others described as "persons of Distinction." It is greatly to be regretted that, as a result of the destruction of the Society's papers of that period, there is no record of the speeches delivered on these occasions, or any more detailed accounts of their "elegant entertainments." Fortunately for one of these anniversary dinners, that of 1789, somewhat more complete information is extant owing to the preservation of certain memoranda in the handwriting of William Constable, then president of the Society.³² From these some details of the arrangements for the banquet, the formal toasts offered, the names of many of the guests, and also some of the members present can be learned.

Although it is probable that the dinner of March 17, 1789, was one of the best attended and most notable in the early days of the Society, still it can be taken as typical of the anniversary banquets held in that period. It was in a sense a celebration of the recent ratification of

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²⁹ *Packet*, March 18, 1788.

³⁰ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 467.

³¹ He invited them in 1789 and again in 1790. *Daily Gazette*, March 18, 1790.

³² *Constable-Pierrepoint Papers*, New York Public Library; *Charles Patrick Daly Papers*, Box 4, New York Public Library.

the Federal Constitution and was attended by most of the prominent personages then present in the city. The following is an exact copy of the meeting arrangements at two of the tables in the handwriting of William Constable.

| | | |
|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| The Governor | | Mr. Jay |
| General Knox | | Mr. Mayor |
| Mr. Morris | | General Irwin |
| Mr. Bache | President | Mr. Maxwell |
| Mr. Seaton | | Mr. Robertson |
| Mr. Waddington | | Mr. Lenox |
| Mr. Wilkes | | |
| | | |
| Judge Morris | | The Recorder |
| Judge Hobart | | Mr. Barclay |
| Baron Steuben | Vice-President | Members of |
| Mr. Kuntze | Mr. Macomb | the Society |
| Mr. Grim | | |
| Mr. Wilmerding | | |

On this occasion, this distinguished company drank to the following toasts:

General Washington
The Day and St. Patrick
Freedom and Prosperity to Ireland
The Daughters of Ireland
The Sons of Hibernia and St. Patrick
The Trade and Manufactures of Ireland
The Assertors and Supporters of Irish Catholics
May the friends of Ireland and America cordially unite in promoting the prosperity of both countries.
The United States — may they ever afford an asylum to the oppressed of all nations.
The New Constitution — may America long be happy under its protecting influence.
The Congress of the United States of America
The State of New York
St. George and his worthy sons
St. Andrew and the Land of Oakes
St. Herman and the Sons of Germany
The Manufacturers of America
The Mother of All Saints

It is noteworthy that the toast to "General Washington" precedes the toast to "The Day," usually first on the list of any St. Patrick's Day

celebration. The toast to "The New Constitution" was one to which all could drink with fervor, even the few who, like Governor Clinton, had opposed its ratification. Truly significant were those to "The Assertors and Supporters of Irish Catholics" and "The Mother of All Saints," when we consider that in its early days the Society was almost solidly Protestant. The "Protestant" Friendly Sons soon became the staunch supporters of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland. It is regrettable that the responses to these toasts were not recorded or that, if they were, the records have not come down. Nothing better substantiates the fact that the banquets of the Society ranked among the important social events of the time than an account of this dinner written by the Honorable Charles Patrick Daly, President of the Friendly Sons in 1860-1862, and in many years thereafter. Judge Daly knew personally several of the original members and it is probable that few were better acquainted than he with the Society's early history. In 1879 he remarked that "it is more than forty years since as a young man I attended for the first time a dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick," long before he was elected to membership in 1852.³³ The earliest record that the Society possesses of Judge Daly's presence at its banquets is in 1845, the year after his appointment as justice of the Court of Common Pleas.³⁴ In the absence of complete records the judge's remarks are valuable. In an address delivered at the 105th Annual Dinner of the Society, at Delmonico's, Madison Square, on the evening of March 16, 1889, Judge Daly said:³⁵

The late Mr. Henry E. Pierrepont, some years ago, showed me a manuscript of his maternal grandfather (Mr. Constable), who, a hundred years ago, in 1789 was the President of the Society, containing the regulations which he made for the dinner on the 17th of March in that year, at the Merchant's Coffee House,³⁶ in that city... I have in my hand a copy that I made of Mr. Constable's manuscript, in which he put down the names of those who were to sit on his right and on his left, and when I read the names you will see that our old Irish Society stood in the popular estimation of that day, as well as it does now or as ever. On his right was General George Clinton, then Governor of the State of New York, and the son of an Irishman. Next to him sat General Knox,

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³³ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, Address of Judge Daly at the Annual Dinner, 1879.

³⁴ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 93.

³⁵ *Records of the Society*. Address in printed account of Dinner 1889, pp. 8-14.

³⁶ Judge Daly evidently was mistaken in saying that the dinner in 1789 was held "at the Merchant's Coffee House," because the *Daily Gazette*, Mar. 18, 1789 says it was held "at the City Tavern."

that favorite soldier and companion of Washington, who you will remember, when Washington took farewell of all his officers in the city, was the first to advance towards his commander, and, falling upon his shoulder, wept. Next followed Baron Steuben, the officer of Frederick the Great, who volunteered in the American struggle and who was so efficient in the military instruction of our army. Then came John Jay, the first Chief Justice of the United States, and General Irwin. General Matthew Irwin may not be recalled by all present. He was an Irishman, who like Constable, had been a merchant in Philadelphia, and like him entered the American army at the breaking out of the Revolution. He was one of the most active in raising the funds, contributed in 1780 by sixty citizens of Philadelphia, for the relief of the American army at Valley Forge at the time of its great destitution, he himself contributing five thousand pounds, a very large sum at that time.

The other guests were as follows: Chief Justice Morris, then Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; Robert Morris, the great financier of the Revolution; The Reverend John C. Kuntz, one of the popular ministers of that day; Theophylact Bache, long a leading merchant of New York, whose brother Richard married Sarah, the only daughter of Benjamin Franklin; Robert Lenox, the father of the gentleman who gave the library of that name to this City; James Duane, the son of an Irishman and then Mayor of the City; Judge John Sloss Hobart, then a Judge of the Supreme Court of the State, afterwards Judge of the District Court of the United States, Colonel Richard Varick, Recorder of the City; David Grim, President of the German Society; David Maxwell, Vice-President of the St. Andrew's Society; Joshua Waddington, William Seaton and Christian W. Wilmerding, leading merchants of this City, and John Wilkes, president of the Bank of New York. These were the names that appear on Mr. Constable's list as the honored guests who were present at the Society's dinner on the 17th of March, 1789. I read further from his memorandum, he says:

'The following gentlemen will act as ushers for the day, introducing the strangers to the City, and officers of the different Societies, and also attending to the placing of the gentlemen.' The names given are Mr. Boyle, Mr. George Pollock, Mr. Bradford, all prominent and distinguished merchants of that time, and Dr. Gibson. And then follows a further direction:

'Mr. Thomas Roach, as Senior Councillor, will take the head of the side table, and aided by Mr. John Shaw, Mr. H. Smith, and Captain Barnwall will superintend at the different tables to give the toasts and pass the bottles.' This arrangement was particularly appropriate, as the gentlemen selected to pass the bottles were the principal wine merchants of the city.

Judge Daly then went on to mention a few of the members present whose names are well known to the readers of this history: Daniel McCormick, for many years president of the Society, and who, "during the colonial period was a member of the older society, the Friendly Brothers of St. Patrick. I remember him in my youth, sitting on his stoop in Wall Street, when Wall Street had more private residences than places of business, watching the gentlemen that passed by to select from them those whom he would invite to dinner." He recalled Hugh Gaine, treasurer of the Society for so many years who "died in 1812, leaving behind him a large property." He mentioned Alexander Macomb, William Edgar, and John McVickar, fur traders who acquired large fortunes and "were at the time, 1789, among the principal persons in New York." He recalled the "elegant private residence" of Macomb on Broadway and remarked that, "The house will be within the recollection of some of the gentlemen present as the hotel on the lower part of Broadway below Wall Street, long known as the Bunker Mansion House."³⁷ Dominick Lynch was remembered as "a lineal descendant of the famous Mayor of Galway of that name called "The Brutus of Ireland," who presided at the trial and conviction of his own son for a capital offense and who was executed."³⁸ Lynch's part in the building of the first Roman Catholic Church in the city, St. Peter's in Barclay Street, was not forgotten. The presence of Christopher Colles, whom Daly regarded as "the pioneer of the Croton Aqueduct" was mentioned.³⁹ Daly recalled that Washington made Colles "Superintendent of Ordinance" during the Revolution, and that he "was the first that conceived the idea of uniting the Hudson with the waters of Lake Erie, the first man to suggest the Erie Canal." He remembered how De Witt Clinton, who became a member of the Society in 1790, took up this project in 1810, and "brought it to a successful conclusion." Judge Daly was himself a witness of the celebration in New York of 1825 in honor of the completion of this great work, a celebration which he considered the "most beautiful and effective public display that I have ever seen in this City." His most vivid recollection of it was "the noble figure of Clinton riding in an

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³⁷ *Records of the Society*, printed account of Anniversary Dinner, March 16, 1789, p. 11.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

open barouche in the midst of the procession as it moved up Broadway, bowing in response to the cheers of the enthusiastic crowd."⁴⁰ Also among the members present was Charles Thomson, Secretary of the Continental Congress, who, so Judge Daly said, was a man of such integrity and truthfulness that it "was a common saying that a thing was as true as if Charles Thomson said it."⁴¹

Two of the guests listed by Constable were not mentioned by Judge Daly. Mr. Barclay probably was John Barclay, representing the Philadelphia Friendly Sons, who was a native of Ballyshannon, County Donegal, and who in 1791 became Mayor of Philadelphia, and Mr. Robertson, who was Vice-President of the Bank of New York. It will be noted that Constable listed a "General Irwin" seated at the table next to Mayor James Duane, but there seems to have been no officer of that name in the American Army. Constable undoubtedly meant General William Irvine of the Pennsylvania Line who was a native of Enniskillen, County Fermanagh, Ireland.⁴² Since he was a member of Congress in 1786-88 he might well have been in New York at this time. Irvine was also a member of the Friendly Sons of Philadelphia. There was a Captain Matthew Irwin, spelled also Irvin and Irvine, in the Commissary Department of the American Army in 1777, but he seems to have resigned in the summer of that year.⁴³

Matthew Carey, the famous Philadelphia publisher and political economist, sometimes known as "the father of the idea of protection of American Industries" submitted some verses of his own composition, which were read at the banquet held in 1789. Two stanzas will give some idea of its drift:

Rever'd be St. Patrick, who in our blest Isle
Spread the lustre of science around,
On his festal day, our cares let's beguile
While our foreheads with shamrocks are bound.

From Northern Quebec, where Montgomery fell
To Georgia's most southerly scene,
Each state has beheld, each commander can tell
How brave have our countrymen been.⁴⁴

Matthew Carey, born in Ireland, January 28, 1760, was an ardent Irish patriot. He had published the *Freeman's Journal* there in 1783.

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⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

⁴¹ *Records of the Society*, printed account of Anniversary Dinner, 1889, pp. 12-13.

⁴² C. G. Davidson, "William Irvine," *Dictionary of American Biography*, IX, 500-1.

⁴³ *Freeman, George Washington*, IV, 440, 441 n.

⁴⁴ *Records of the Society*, Misc., notes of R. C. Murphy, p. 121.

Confined for a time in New Gate Prison, because of a violent attack on Parliament, he had come to Philadelphia in November of 1784. Noted for his benevolence especially during the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, he later wrote and published a history of the epidemic. Although a Catholic, he was closely associated with Bishop William White who presided over the first convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America in 1785. Together they founded the first American Sunday-school society of which Carey was secretary.⁴⁵ Carey never forgot his Irish origin, and in 1819 he published his vindication of his countrymen entitled, *Vindicae Hiberniae*.⁴⁶

The Mr. Boyle mentioned by William Constable as one of the ushers of the day was Michael Boyle, a native of Limerick, who came to New York with his wife Bridie Barry, in 1756. He opened a grocery and provision warehouse near Murray's Wharf, later moving to Pearl Street. During the war he sided with the patriots and was forced to leave the city, fleeing to Elizabethtown, New Jersey. When the Bank of New York was established in 1784, Boyle, through the influence of Daniel McCormick, a director and founder of the Bank, was placed in charge of its note department.⁴⁷ Boyle died childless in 1820 and his remains were laid to rest in St. Peter's Cemetery.⁴⁸ Mr. George Pollock was the New York merchant who became president of the Society in 1796. Michael Bradford, mentioned above, was another usher. The last usher was James Gibson, M.D., who had come to New York before the Revolution, and had served under Dr. John Cochran in the Continental Army. He was at this time on the staff of the New York Hospital. Gibson was a close friend of Alexander Hamilton, William Mooney, Hugh Gaine, and Daniel McCormick.⁴⁹ The senior Councillor, Thomas Roach, became president of the Friendly Sons in 1792. Mr. John Shaw who assisted him was a well known New York merchant who had come to New York with his brother William in 1760. They later opened a warehouse at 213 Water Street where they imported merchandise from Ireland, consisting chiefly of hams, bacon, whiskey, and linen. John was an intimate friend of Governor George Clinton and James Duane. He first married Harriet Ende and after her death Ann Clinton, a cousin of George Clinton.⁵⁰ He left three children, James, William and Mary. Mary married Edward Kortright, whose sister was the wife of President James Monroe.⁵¹ John Shaw

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⁴⁵ Broadus Mitchell, "Matthew Carey," *D.A.B.*, III, 489, *New International Encyclopedia*, XXI, 672.

⁴⁶ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, II, 56-7.

⁴⁷ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 97.

⁴⁸ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, sketch of Michael Boyle.

⁴⁹ *Memoir of the Gibson Family*, New York Historical Society, cited by R. C. Murphy, *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous.

⁵⁰ *Marriage Records*, Trinity Church.

⁵¹ *Memoirs of the Kortright Family*, New York Historical Society.

died in 1796 and was interred in Trinity Churchyard. His brother, William, one of the most popular men of the day, an orator in great demand at Society dinners and banquets, survived him by several years. When he died his fortune was bequeathed to his brother's children. William never married. His remains were buried beside his brother in Trinity.⁵² James and William Shaw, the sons of John, were in later years also members of the St. Patrick Society.

The Mr. H. Smith mentioned by Constable was probably James H. Smith, a native of County Cavan, Ireland, who came to New York in 1760. Not much is known of him. He may have been a partner in the importing firm of Smith and Bradford at 22 Wall Street. He was a bachelor and is said to have been an intimate friend of Daniel McCormick.⁵³ The Captain Barnwall assigned to Constable to "pass the bottles" was undoubtedly Captain George Barnwall or Barnwell, as the name was more frequently spelled. He was the grandson of John Barnwell, "Tuscarora Jack," who came to the Carolinas in 1701 from Creekstown, County Meath, Ireland. It was John Barnwell's defeat of the Tuscaroras that drove the remnant of the tribe north to join the Five Nations.⁵⁴ George and his father Robert served in the Continental Army and both were at Trenton and Valley Forge. George was confidential agent for General Washington in Philadelphia during the British occupation. Just before the end of the war his company was stationed at Newburgh, New York. After being mustered out of the army, he remained for some time in New York, where he became a close friend of the Constable family. The *New York Directory* for 1789 lists him as a merchant in business at 205 Water Street. The George Barnwell mentioned in the Directory for 1801 as a merchant at 21 Wall Street may have been the same man.⁵⁵ He returned to South Carolina shortly thereafter, for he represented that state in Congress for several terms. He died in 1830, and was buried in Charleston. The Barnwells of Ireland and South Carolina were one of the families who are numbered among the Irish ancestors of Theodore Roosevelt, who when President of the United States was an honorary member of the Friendly Sons. Margaret Barnwell of Beaufort, South Carolina, a descendant of the original John Barnwell, married Cornelius Van Schaeck Roosevelt of New York, the grandfather of Theodore Roosevelt. Margaret's paternal grandfather was also a native of Ireland, Thomas Potts, founder of Pottsville, Pennsyl-

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⁵² *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, sketch of the Shaws, based on *History of the Shaw Family*, New York Historical Society, and the James T. White Biographies; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 424.

⁵³ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

⁵⁴ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, I, 286.

⁵⁵ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 333.

vania, and commander of a regiment in the Revolutionary War.⁵⁶

It is interesting to note that the *Daily Gazette* reported this great banquet of 1789 in a slightly different vein from the other newspapers. In its issue of March 18, it said that "the anniversary of St. Patrick, Titular Saint of Ireland, was observed yesterday with the usual festivity and good humor at the City Tavern," and that

many of those present doubtless experienced those sensations which piety towards their former country must have excited; but all must have acknowledged the liberality of that land, which is willing to receive, and to convert into free Americans the worthy natives of every region. Their regard to their former country, by evincing their sensibility, affords a proof of attachment to the State of New York, who, in being a benefactress, lays claim and is entitled to their respect and veneration.⁵⁷

In the following year the *Daily Gazette* reported:

Yesterday, being St. Patrick's Day, the same was celebrated by the St. Patrick's Society of this City at the City Tavern. Several of the officers of the different societies were invited, and a number of the most respectable characters were present. The day was spent in conviviality and closed with harmony.⁵⁸

On March 18th, the *New York Journal and Weekly Register* complimented the Friendly Sons, by coupling its report of the dinner with a reference to the British Evacuation of Boston when it said:

Yesterday, the anniversary of St. Patrick was celebrated in this City by the Sons of Hybernia (*sic*) in the usual style and be it also remembered that yesterday, the 17th of March, fourteen years ago, the enemies to American freedom were caused to retreat with the utmost precipitation from their stronghold at Boston.⁵⁹

It is a tradition in the Society that this dinner was attended by Charles Carroll of Carrollton, signer of the Declaration of Independence and at this time Senator from Maryland.

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⁵⁶ Michael J. O'Brien, "The Irish Ancestry of Theodore Roosevelt," *American Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 144; cf. Facsimile of Theodore Roosevelt's letter to William M. Sweeney, Sept. 16, 1904, *The Recorder*, Bulletin of American Irish Historical Society, Vol. 9, No. 4, Sept. 1, 1938. Roosevelt was one of the founders of this American Irish Society.

⁵⁷ *Daily Gazette*, March 18, 1789.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1790.

⁵⁹ *Journal and Weekly Register*, March 18, 1790.

The anniversary dinner of 1791, presided over by Alexander Macomb, then at the height of his career, received somewhat more detailed notice than usual in the New York papers. The *Daily Advertiser* said:

Yesterday being the 17th of March, the Festival of St. Patrick was celebrated in this City by a numerous assembly of the true and respectable sons of that honest patron of Hibernia's Isle. The utmost harmony, decent mirth, social glee, and jovial good humour were as usual, observed on this occasion, and the company broke up in due season after enjoying with great and general satisfaction

..... the friendly bowl,
the feast of reason and the flow of soul.⁶⁰

We are told that "there was no lack of themes of interest at the dinner," that "some of the finest and most characteristic selections of Irish lyric poetry were recited," and reference was made to "an emblem, on which was printed a famous expression of Irish hospitality, *Caed Mile Failte*, meaning 'a hundred thousand welcomes,' that was displayed over the president's chair." This "emblem" it may be remarked, has been displayed at all the Society's banquets under a picture of the Apostle of the Gael, surrounded by the American and Irish flags.⁶¹

In 1792, Thomas Roach, who had been Senior Councillor at the great dinner of 1789, became president of the Society, presiding over the dinner of that year in the City Tavern. Daniel McCormick returned to the presidency in 1793 and 1794 to be succeeded by William Constable the next year. Since the City Tavern had been torn down to make way for a larger hotel building,⁶² the dinner presided over by Constable in 1795 was held at the new Tontine Coffee House on the northwest corner of Wall and Water Streets. This building had been erected by the famous Tontine Association, founded in 1790 and incorporated in 1794 by a company of merchants, for the purpose of providing a center for the mercantile community. It was an extraordinary form of survivorship trust, a combination of lottery and annuity, named in honor of Lorenzo Tonti, a Neapolitan, who had introduced a similar scheme into France in 1653.⁶³ "Each shareholder elected a nominee, during whose life he was to receive his equal proportion of the establishment, but upon whose death his interest reverted to the owners of the surviving nominees."⁶⁴ The original shares

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⁶⁰ *Daily Advertiser*, March 18, 1791.

⁶¹ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

⁶² Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 467.

⁶³ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 383.

⁶⁴ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 630.

were assignable and the whole property was administered by five trustees until the number of surviving nominees was reduced to seven when the whole was to be divided among the fortunate shareholders depending upon them.⁶⁵ Two hundred and three shares were subscribed at \$200 each and many of the Friendly Sons joined in the project. Henry Saidler, James Saidler, William Shaw, Alexander Macomb, Dominick Lynch, Thomas Eddy, Thomas Randall, William Hill, James Watson, and Alexander Stewart received one share each, while John McVickar, John Shaw, and William Edgar each got two shares. William Constable subscribed to three.⁶⁶

The Tontine Association in 1792 began to erect the Tontine Coffee House. When the building was completed in 1794, the Merchants Exchange moved from the dilapidated old building on arches in the center of Broad Street, just below Pearl, where it had been located since before the Revolution, to the new structure. When the new exchange was erected in Wall Street in 1825, the Tontine Coffee House was leased for various purposes. In May, 1855 it was demolished to make room for a larger Tontine Building.⁶⁷

In 1796 George Pollock became president of the Society. Concerning the celebration in 1796 the *Journal and Patriotic Register* reports: "The general festival of St. Patrick was celebrated yesterday by the Sons of Hibernia in this city, with the usual hilarity and social glee;" but it remarks "We have not been favored with the toasts which were drank on the occasion."⁶⁸ In 1797 Daniel McCormick returned once again to the presidency to continue in that office for the next thirty years. On March 16, 1798 the following notice appeared in the *Daily Advertiser*:

St. Patrick's Society

The members of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick will please take notice, that their Anniversary Dinner will be held at the Tontine Coffee House on Saturday the 17th inst. Dinner on the table at 4 o'clock.

Robert R. Waddell⁶⁹

The same newspaper for March 16, 1799 has a notice with similar wording, announcing the dinner "on Monday the 18th of March at 4 o'clock." Signed, Robert R. Waddell, Sec'y.⁷⁰

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⁶⁵ The Division was made in 1876. Chas. H. Haswell, *Reminiscences of New York by an Octogenarian, 1816-1860*, New York, 1896, pp. 29-30.

⁶⁶ The list of subscribers and the Constitution of the Association are printed in Barrett, *Old Merchants*, IV, 218ff.

⁶⁷ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 630.

⁶⁸ *Journal and Patriotic Register*, March 18, 1796.

⁶⁹ *Daily Advertiser*, March 16, 1798.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, March 16, 1799.

From 1795 to 1803 the anniversary dinner of the Society was held each year at the Tontine Coffee House. In 1804 for reasons now unknown the banquet was moved to the "Old Coffee House" on Water Street near Wall.⁷¹ In 1805 and 1806 the Society returned to the Tontine Coffee House, only to move the next year to the Phoenix Coffee House, a five story building erected in 1805 at Wall and Water Streets to replace the old Merchants Coffee House which burned down in 1804.⁷² In 1806 the Society dined at Mechanics Hall, also called the Park Place Hotel, a four-story building on the northeast corner of Broadway and Park Place, which had a monumental sculptured group on its roof.⁷³ From 1809 to 1815 the Friendly Sons held their banquets at the Tontine Coffee House, with the exception of 1812 when they met at the Washington Hotel in Broad Street.⁷⁴ The story of all of these dinners cannot be retold, but one, especially, is deserving of consideration.

The dinner announced by Secretary Waddell for March 17, 1810 marked an unfortunate departure from the general aura of harmony which had characterized the celebrations of the Society up to this time. The presence as a guest of Francis James Jackson, British Minister to the United States, aroused considerable criticism among Irishmen of the City.⁷⁵ This guest was the notorious "Copenhagen Jackson" who had presented the ultimatum before the ruthless confiscation by the British of the Danish fleet at Copenhagen in 1807.⁷⁶ His overbearing and insulting conduct in Washington caused Secretary of State Robert Smith to refuse to receive any further communications from him. He remained in America nearly a year after his dismissal, and was wined and dined in the commercial centers of the north, especially in New England, where the desire for peace with England at any price was keenest. An invitation to such a character would seem to indicate the continued dominance of merchants in the membership of the Friendly Sons, since the New York merchants were almost unanimous in opposition to the policies of the administration in Washington. But the newer Irish immigrants refused to go along with this attitude. The New York *Columbian*, March 17, 1810, worked up quite a display of wrath over his presence when it said:

News — and no news! Mr. Copenhagen Jackson dines with the loyal society of St. Patrick at the Tontine today, after all. It

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⁷¹ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1804.

⁷² John A. Kouwenhoven, *The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York*, New York, 1953, p. 139; *Evening Post*, March 15, 1805, March 15, 1806, March 17, 1807.

⁷³ Kouwenhoven, *Columbia Historical Portrait*, p. 184; *Evening Post*, March 16, 1808.

⁷⁴ *The Evening Post*, March 16, 1812.

⁷⁵ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, pp. 49-50.

⁷⁶ Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, New York, 1955, pp. 126-S.

must be expressly understood that the Hibernian Provident Society have not disgraced themselves, and insulted the country of their choice, by admitting a single thought of licking the feet of this disgraced minister. Let the odium rest where it belongs. Irish royalists! Orangemen! Excellent citizens of the United States, and supporters of a republican government.⁷⁷

Other newspapers were equally harsh in their criticism. It was reported on March 20, 1810 that "St. Patrick's Day was celebrated by the Hibernian Provident Society with that sincerity and liberality which almost proverbially distinguished the Irishman. The sentiments expressed in their toasts were truly congenial with that of the American people. What a contrast does such a meeting present, when compared with that at the Tontine Coffee House, where Copenhagen Jackson was invited and where the British Crown on their flag was waving the whole day, an object of worship with them, but of execration to true Americans and their adopted brothers."⁷⁸

During the next few days the attack was continued. An unknown person, writing under the nom de plume "A Paddy and No More," contributed a vitriolic article in the *Columbian* of March 20, 1810, in which he used very strong expressions against the Society.⁷⁹ Another communication in a more humorous vein appeared in the *Public Advertiser* of the same date, which alludes to the Friendly Sons as the "Harp and Crown" Society, and labels its members "Jacksonites."⁸⁰ A third communication in the *Columbian* of March 22, 1810 was particularly bitter. It referred to the committee that invited Jackson to the dinner at the Tontine Coffee House as "Mean retainers of his Britannic Majesty," and spoke of "the Society misnaming itself of St. Patrick, but to which we offer gratis this more appropriate appellation of West Britainers."⁸¹ There is some indication of friction in the Society itself over this invitation as might well be expected, since by this time membership in the Friendly Sons included such men as Thomas Addis Emmet, Dr. William James Macneven, William Sampson, and Michael Hogan, all heroes of the Irish rising of '98, who could hardly be expected to adopt the old Federalist point of view. Emmet for one was an ardent Jeffersonian.⁸² The incident serves to illustrate the widening breach, at this time, between Jeffersonian Republicans and old Federalists over the problem of neutrality during the Napo-

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⁷⁷ *New York Columbian*, March 17, 1810.

⁷⁸ *Public Advertiser*, March 20, 1810.

⁷⁹ *The Columbian*, March 20, 1810.

⁸⁰ *New York Public Advertiser*, March 20, 1810.

⁸¹ *The Columbian*, March 22, 1810.

⁸² Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. 76.

leonic Wars. That political matters could split the ranks of the Irish in New York had already been shown by the publication on March 29, 1809, by one William Murphy of a pamphlet entitled *To the People of the State of New York. "The Hibernian Provident Society or the Spanish Inquisition under Nine Directors."*⁸³ Murphy, himself a member of the Hibernian Provident Society, made a lengthy and perhaps libelous attack upon Dr. George Cumming and other officials of that society. Dr. Cumming, if not at this time, was later on to become a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.⁸⁴ The Hibernian Provident Society was a new Irish organization, founded March 17, 1801; it did much good work of a charitable and benevolent nature.⁸⁵

Apparently the St. Patrick Society learned its lesson and carefully refrained from taking any part, as an organization, in the political battles of the next two years over the entrance of the United States into the War of 1812. Indeed it so carefully avoided taking sides as to merit notice by historians.⁸⁶ Such was far from being the case with individual members. Mayor De Witt Clinton, a conspicuous member of the Friendly Sons, headed the anti-Madisonian wing of the Republican Party. He opposed the war until it was actually declared, whereupon he became vigorous in prosecuting it to a successful conclusion. Not so the Federalists of the City. Their opposition to the war continued even after it got well under way. When the Federalist Washington Benevolent Society held its annual "Fourth of July" dinner, on July 5, 1813, its members formally toasted "Alexander the Deliverer," Emperor of Russia, an ally of Great Britain, and the volunteer toasts were so violently antiadministration that the New York newspapers, although themselves all opposed to the war, did not dare to publish them.⁸⁷ No such care was needed with regard to the St. Patrick Society's dinners in 1812 or 1813.

A notice in the *New York Evening Post* for February 27, 1813, records what appears to be an innovation at this time. The newspaper states that "The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick are requested to meet at the Tontine Coffee House, on Monday next, 1st March, at 12 o'clock to elect officers and transact other business."⁸⁸ In the same paper, March 13, 1813, appears a notice of the Anniversary Dinner, Wednesday the 17th, at the Tontine Coffee House, dinner at 4 o'clock, signed "N. McVickar, Secretary."⁸⁹ The practice of holding a preparatory

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⁸³ Printed in full in Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, pp. 308-320.

⁸⁴ *Records of the Society*, vide, Appendix G. Members 1784-1835; *Evening Post*, March 19, 1828.

⁸⁵ *New York American Citizen*, March 20, 1801; *Early Celebrations*, pp. 144-151.

⁸⁶ R. S. Guernsey, *New York City and Vicinity During the War of 1812-15*, 2 vols., New York, 1889, I, 261.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 259-260.

⁸⁸ *New York Evening Post*, Feb. 27, 1813.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, March 13, 1813.

meeting before the Annual Meeting in March had been inaugurated at least as early as 1806 as the old Treasurer's Book makes clear.⁹⁰ No doubt the custom of holding such a meeting for election of officers had begun much earlier. The provision was later incorporated into the revised By-Laws of 1832.⁹¹ A notice in *The Evening Post* for March 3, 1815 headed "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick" reads, "The members will please to take notice that the Annual Meeting of the Society will be held at the Tontine Coffee House, on Monday, the 6th of March, at 12 o'clock. Signed N. M'Vickar, Sec'ry." McVickar's name is spelt differently in the two notices. In the fifty years after the Revolution even educated men were exceedingly careless about spelling in general and spelled even their own names in several different ways. Their friends and associates could hardly be expected to be more careful. The name McVickar is spelled in four different ways at a time when the two brothers were among the most prominent merchants in the city. The books of the Friendly Sons illustrate very well this variety of spelling as do all the private and public records of the period. It can sometimes be very confusing. Historians of the Society have never quite been able to agree as to the way in which Michael Muldon, treasurer of the St. Patrick's Society from 1821 to 1825, spelled his name. Some would have it Muldoon, others Mulden, and most frequently Muldon. That is the way he signed his name in the Treasurer's Book, yet even there the entry which transfers the cash balance on March 15, 1821 from James Magee to the new treasurer spells his name "Mich. Mulden."⁹² The Magees apparently spelled their name indiscriminately McGee, M'Gee, and Magee. In genealogies the way in which Barneval becomes Barnewall, Barnwall, Barnwell, or Barnhill is most confusing, especially when the younger generation suddenly returns without warning to an older spelling. Thomas A. Cummin of the Society could apparently recognize his own name whether it was spelled Cummins or Cumming but things get rather difficult for the historian if there are other members of similar name.

In 1816 the Society dined at Washington Hall, located at what was then 232 but now 280 Broadway;⁹³ but the following year it returned to the Tontine Coffee House. Notice of the meeting in 1817 was signed by James Montgomery who had succeeded Nathan McVickar as secretary. He continued in office until 1821. A report for 1819 reads:

The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick had their Anniversary Dinner on Wednesday at the Bank Coffee House,

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⁹⁰ *Records of the Society*. Treasurer's Account makes note of a meeting on March 3, 1806.

⁹¹ *Revised By-Laws of the Society*, 1832, Art. XIII, Sect. I.

⁹² *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Account, 1820-21.

⁹³ *Evening Post*, March 16, 1816.



Washington Hall

which was furnished in Mr. Niblo's most splendid style, to a very numerous company; and to which were invited his honor the Mayor, the principal officers of the army and navy in this port, Commodore Chauncey, and Perry.⁹⁴

William Niblo, an Irish immigrant, had served his apprenticeship in the coffee houses of New York and later went into the amusement field. He became the proprietor of Niblo's Garden where many famous stars of the theater made their debut.⁹⁵ He was a member of the Friendly Sons from 1835 to 1842, as was his brother John.⁹⁶ The Society dined at his Bank Coffee House, on the South East Corner of Pine and William Street, from 1818 to 1832. The Mayor in 1819 was Cadwallader D. Colden, a close friend of the Society's Thomas Eddy.⁹⁷ The presence as guests of Commodores Isaac Chauncey and Oliver Hazard Perry, heroes of the War of 1812, reflects the great enthusiasm felt in New York for the navy because of its splendid service in the late war. Naval officers were wined and dined by all the societies and

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⁹⁴ *The Columbian*, March 19, 1819.

⁹⁵ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 262.

⁹⁶ *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1838-41, 1841-44.

⁹⁷ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 791; Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 17.

in 1816 the City Corporation erected a monument in Trinity Churchyard over the remains of Captain James Lawrence and Lieutenant Ludlow of the *Chesapeake*.⁹⁸ In 1847 the remains were moved to near the southeast corner of the church and the present monument was erected.⁹⁹

New York City was growing rapidly in the 'twenties and customs were gradually changing from those in vogue just after the Revolution. The newspapers of the early nineteenth century were larger than in the previous decades, they paid more attention to local news, and reports of the annual dinners grow more detailed. A gradual change in the character and scope of the Society's celebrations can be seen. In the early days the diners usually assembled at 4:00 p.m., the fashionable dinner hour established by British officers during the occupation.¹⁰⁰ The festivities seldom continued later than 10:00 o'clock, and several times the announcements of the forthcoming dinners of the Friendly Sons said that when the repast was ended the diners would have time "to go to the play in the evening" or to go to "the concert at the Assembly Room."¹⁰¹ There were in those days no long speeches, though there were numerous toasts, some of which were truly inspiring, and obviously the sentiments they expressed could be conceived only by men of intellect and patriotic feeling. Gradually the tendency to dine later made itself felt. The secretary's announcements of the annual dinner for 1819 gave the hour "as precisely half past 4 o'clock."¹⁰² The next year the Society returned to the earlier hour, but now the diners seldom sat down to the banquet before five o'clock.

After the adoption of the Constitution of the United States the custom of having thirteen formal toasts, one for each state in the Union, became fixed. During the War of 1812 the Madisonian Republicans tried to extend the number of formal toasts at dinners to keep pace with the newly admitted states, but conservatives, especially those of Federalist persuasion, would have none of the innovation.¹⁰³ The set toasts were always read from the chair and sometimes the newspapers said "the toasts were introduced with appropriate remarks." After they had been drunk, they were followed by what were called "volunteer toasts." The proposer would stand at his place by the table and offer the toast, and it is noted that many of the "volunteer toasts" drunk at the dinners of the Friendly Sons were phrased in the ornate language of the day and breathed of love for both the old land and the new. Frequently, toasts were offered by men of English, French,

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⁹⁸ Guernsey, *New York During War of 1812*, I, 313.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ *Vide supra*; Guernsey, *New York During War of 1812*, I, 44.

¹⁰¹ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹⁰² *The New York Gazette*, March 17, 1819.

¹⁰³ Guernsey, *New York During War of 1812*, I, 46.

Scottish, German or Dutch origin, usually congratulating the Friendly Sons on their charitable work or to the memory of Irish patriots. As each toast was drunk, it was followed by appropriate music by the band. Francis Scott Key's composition, "The Star-Spangled Banner," had not up to that time become nationally popular, nor was it generally known. As far as can be ascertained, 1831 was the first year when the present National Anthem was played at a Society dinner,¹⁰⁴ in response to a toast to the "Army and Navy."

From the newspapers of the day we learn that among the pieces usually played during the dinners of the Society were "St. Patrick's Day in the Morning," "Garryowen," "The Sprig of Shellelah," "Cushla Machree," "Savourneen Deelish," "Erin the Tear and the Smile in Thine Eyes," "Yankee Doodle," "The President's March," "Hail Columbia" and many others.¹⁰⁵ As the national joyousness of the Irish has ever been expressed in song, vocal music also had its place, and among the songs which entertained the diners were such as "The Marsellaise," "Auld Lang Syne," "Oh Breathe Not His Name," "The Harp that Once," "Oh the Shamrock," and others calculated to arouse the Irish spirit. Stories and jests were told across the table, laughter rang through the room, for Irish wit was at its best; they were joyous occasions, and if anyone did not enjoy himself to his heart's content, it was evidently not the fault of the management, the versatility of the entertainment, or those who supplied the food and wines.

The banquet of March 17, 1828, the first held under the leadership of John Chambers who had succeeded Daniel McCormick as president in that year, seems typical of the Society's celebrations during this period. It was reported on two different occasions in the *Evening Post*.¹⁰⁶ About seventy gentlemen sat down to a "most sumptuous dinner at the Bank Coffee House." Among "the respected guests" were Thomas Dixon and Robert Halliday, Presidents of the St. George and St. Andrew's Societies, James Buchanan, British Consul, the highly talented John Galt, a well known Scottish novelist, who was apparently in New York as representative of the Canada Land Company, the Reverend Mr. Levins and Mr. Devereux, President of the Utica Hibernian Society.¹⁰⁷

The long room of the tavern in which the Society dined "was tastefully decorated with transparencies and other designs, emblematic of the occasion, prepared by Mr. Child and executed by Messrs. Snook and Young, and put up under their direction." At the head of the room, in the centre, was a transparency, representing St. Patrick in

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¹⁰⁴ *Evening Post*, March 18, 1831.

¹⁰⁵ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹⁰⁶ *Evening Post*, March 18, 1828, March 19, 1828.

¹⁰⁷ *Evening Post*, March 19, 1828.



JOHN CHAMBERS

Bishop's costume.¹⁰⁸ On each side were arranged the flags of Ireland and of the United States with the banners of St. George and St. Andrew, "interspersed by sundry insignia from Brian Boroihme." At the other end of the room was erected an arch supported by a column at each extremity. This arch and the columns were decorated with various flags. A broad ribband passed in a special manner around the columns and arch, bearing on the parts seen, the following names: Sterne, Swift, Burke, Sheridan, Montgomery, Grattan, Moore, Curran, Farquhar. Over these hung two banners in mourning, bearing the name of Clinton on the right, and that of Emmet on the left; the whole surmounted by an eagle, with extended wings, uniting and protecting the Irish harp and the shield of the United States.¹⁰⁹ In his claws were an olive branch and a bunch of arrows, and in his mouth a garland of shamrocks. The ceiling and sides of the room were "tastefully" hung with festoons of green, blue, red, and white bunting. Over the head of St. Patrick, on a green ground was inscribed *Erin go Bragh*.

The dinner table was handsomely arranged in Mr. Niblo's very best style, and was loaded with good substantial roast beef, etc., and every delicacy that the season affords. The Society sat down to dine about 5 o'clock, and in the course of the evening a number of excellent toasts, regular and volunteers, were given from the chair, interspersed with patriotic songs.¹¹⁰

The usual thirteen formal toasts were read from the chair, and at least twenty-three "volunteer" toasts were offered. Among those drunk on the occasion are to be noted:

The President of the United States.

The King of Great Britain and Ireland.

The memory of Thomas Addis Emmet. A brilliant star which rising in the east and setting in the Western Hemisphere, assisted by its brightness in dispelling the mists of prejudice, that had too generally prevailed *against* the Irish character.

Our distinguished fellow citizen, General Andrew Jackson.

The Harp of Erin — By the magic hand of Moore it thrills through every heart.

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¹⁰⁸ *Records of the Society*, The Treasurer's account for 1828 notes that Mr. Childs was paid \$25 for painting the transparency.

¹⁰⁹ Thomas Addis Emmet died Nov. 14, 1827; and De Witt Clinton, Feb. 11, 1828.

¹¹⁰ *Evening Post*, March 18, 1828.

Ireland and the United States of America. While we cherish, with the holiest emotions, a fond recollection of our native Isle, we respect and venerate the institutions of the country of our adoption.

The Memory of George Washington, the father of our adopted country.

Andrew Jackson, the son of an Irishman. He is a brilliant luminary in the constellation of his country and the sons of his father's land hail him with triumph.

Greece — Her cause is the cause of religion, of freedom and of humanity. May her supplicating hands not be extended to us in vain.

The Marquis and Marchioness of Wellesley — May this splendid union of Irish and American produce a closer tie of affection between the two countries.

The heart-pulse of Religion — the golden link in the chain binding the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick — Charity.

The King of Britain and Ireland at the time was George IV, from whom the Society had high hopes of obtaining Catholic Emancipation. This may account for the toast on this occasion. There is no record of the Society's ever drinking the health of his predecessor, the "tyrant" George III. But the custom was continued. In 1844 by a resolution adopted by the Society it was explained with regard to the celebration on the 17th of March, "We feel it a duty upon that occasion to toast 'the Sovereign of the British Empire' as the acknowledged head of the Irish People."¹¹¹ The toast to the Marquis of Wellesley undoubtedly reflects appreciation for his services to Catholic Emancipation which his younger brother Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington, was at this time pushing to final success. The Marquis of Wellesley was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland and his wife was the granddaughter of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The toast to Greece was an expression of the feelings of all Americans and especially of the Friends of Freedom for Ireland toward the revolutionary Greek patriots. The toast to "Charity" was offered by the Reverend "Mr." Thomas Levins, a Roman Catholic priest and an Irishman. He never became an actual member of the Society probably because he was not always a resident of New York City; but he never failed to attend the St. Patrick's Day celebration and just as regularly he offered the toast to "Charity." At

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¹¹¹ *Records of the Society*, minutes of a special meeting, April 2, 1844, p. 74.

the Anniversary dinner of 1835 he will be mentioned as the "Chaplain of the Society."¹¹²

Since De Witt Clinton, Governor of New York, had died only the month before, poignant memories must have been aroused when second Vice-President Joseph Caldwell proposed the following toast: "The memory of the illustrious De Witt Clinton — nearly forty years a member of our Society." "Molaidisa Loibreachae," which as translated by the second vice-president, a Gaelic Scholar, meant "His works speak his fame." The toast was followed by an appropriate verse.

From Tara's Halls far famed in story,
Where Erin's bards sung Erin's glory
To Hudson's banks and Erie's shore
Where cataracts unceasing roar.
The deeds he wrought, the works he planned,
The love he bore for his native land
Shall through the world extend his fame,
And ever honor Clinton's name.

We are told that "the company separated about 12 o'clock," and when we remember that they sat down to dinner about five we realize that it must have been quite a celebration.¹¹³

The anniversary dinner of March 17, 1829, was also on a fine scale since on this occasion the Friendly Sons celebrated the passage of Catholic Emancipation in Ireland. A numerous company sat down to dinner at the Bank Coffee House, where the host had prepared a "sumptuous repast."¹¹⁴ About the same guests attended with the addition of John Graham, now President of the St. Andrew's Society, Commodore Isaac Chauncey, and Colonel Wilson of the Columbian army, "the gallant son of the patriotic Sir Robert Wilson," who had fought in the Peninsula Campaign. Toasts were drunk to "The Day" to "Our patron saint," to the "land we left and the land we live in." The usual toasts were given to "The President of the United States" and the "King of Great Britain and Ireland." The "restoration of liberty to Greece," was hailed with the hope that it would mean "the revival of her ancient glory in arts and science." "The memory of John Oliver," founder of the Hibernian Free School in Baltimore, Maryland, was pledged as it had been on the previous occasion, and "the friends of Civil and Religious Liberty all over the world" were remembered. We are told that the Reverend Thomas C. Levins delivered "a brilliant oration" at this dinner, concluding with his usual toast to

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¹¹² *Commercial Advertiser*, March 20, 1835.

¹¹³ *The Gazette*, March 18, 1828.

¹¹⁴ *Evening Post*, March 19, 1829.

"Charity." Once again it became the sad duty of the second vice-president John Caldwell to toast "the memory of our lamented friend and member, Michael Muldon," former treasurer of the Society who had died during the year. He had been a member of the Committee of Charity at the time of his death.¹¹⁵ In the course of the evening deputations were received from and sent to the "Association for Civil and Religious Liberty" of which William James Macneven, also a member of the Friendly Sons, was president. They were then celebrating the anniversary of the formation of their society at Tammany Hall.¹¹⁶

The notice of the anniversary dinner of 1830 published on March 16th, "dinner to be on the table at half-past four o'clock," for the first time mentions the price of a ticket, four dollars. The same newspapers announced on March 17th, that the dinner will be given at the Bank Coffee House in "the usual sumptuous style of that establishment."¹¹⁷ Amid the delicacies of the season, with which the tables were to be loaded, the host had procured twenty trout, from Fire Place, L. I., "weighing upwards of two pounds each." The room was tastefully decorated with evergreens, banners, and appropriate mottos. Among them in large letters, in a circle over the middle of the table, was "Sweet Home — The Land We Live In." A ball was to be given in the evening, in honor of the occasion, at the Bowery Theater.¹¹⁸ It is not quite clear what connection, if any, the Society had with this ball.

In the account of this dinner next day it is stated that about eighty gentlemen, members of the Friendly Sons and their guests, sat down at five o'clock "to a table loaded with the choicest and rarest delicacies of the season, and arranged and decorated in the most tasteful style."¹¹⁹ In the midst of the wreaths and festoons with which the walls were hung, the names of many of "the illustrious worthies of Great Britain and America were inscribed." Most prominent among them were Washington, Jackson, Canning, Wellington, O'Connell, and Shiel. This is the first mention that we find at the annual dinners of the Friendly Sons of the great Daniel O'Connell, "the Liberator of Ireland." Daniel O'Connell did not stand very high in the opinion of many of its members during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. O'Connell, an advocate of "peaceful agitation," had criticized the leaders of the "Rising of '98" in Ireland. Many of its heroes, Thomas Addis Emmet, William James Macneven, William Sampson, and Michael Hogan were influential members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. So bitter were the Emmets toward

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¹¹⁵ *Evening Post*, March 19, 1828.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, March 19, 1829.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1830.

¹¹⁸ *Evening Post*, March 17, 1830.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, March 18, 1830.

O'Connell that they had resigned from an Association supporting his Repeal Movement.¹²⁰ In America, if not in Ireland, the memory of Robert Emmet, martyr of the '98, was sacred. The presence of O'Connell's name at the anniversary dinner of 1830 may mark the passing of the old exiles. As previously noted Thomas Addis Emmet had died in 1827.

Among the guests present were His Honor the Mayor, Walter Bowne, the President of St. George's and St. Andrew's Societies, Mr. Buchanan, the British Consul, and the "Rev. Mr. Levins," all of whom addressed the meeting with a few pertinent and complimentary remarks. John Chambers, President of the Society, presided, assisted by John Caldwell, and Alexander Charters, first and second vice-presidents. Numerous toasts were drunk, one offered by Mayor Bowne, "The gallant sons of Green Erin; their prompt, dauntless, and faithful services in the War of Independence have immortalized their names in the annals of our country." The usual toasts were drunk to the "President," "the King," to the memory of De Witt Clinton, and vice-president John Caldwell offered a toast to "Daniel McCormick, the venerable president and founder of the Society, now retired." An invited guest, Edward Sparhawk, offered, amid considerable merriment, this sentiment: "The Shamrock and Shellelah, both emblems of Erin — with the one we crown our mirth, with the other we drub our enemies."¹²¹ References to religious liberty in Ireland were constant, and toasts to Canning and Wellington all reflect the fight for Catholic Emancipation.

The celebration of 1831 was reported by the *Mercantile Register* of March 18th and the *Evening Post* of the same date in similar notices. A brief summary of the history of the Society was given. "The Society of St. Patrick was instituted in 1784, the first and leading object of which was, and is, to administer charity to the poor and worthy. This society, from the time of its first president, D. McCormick, Esq., has regularly celebrated its anniversary, and among its members has ranked the names of the brightest and best Irishmen and their descendants who have made this country their home. The late lamented De Witt Clinton, was a member for upwards of thirty years."¹²² At five o'clock upwards of 100 members sat down with several guests of distinction, among whom were John Graham, President of St. Andrew's Society, Joseph Fowler, Vice-President of St. George's Society, Philip Hone, President of The German Society, the

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¹²⁰ Judge Robert Emmet was first president of the Repeal Organization in this country. He, his brother Thomas Addis Emmet, Jr., and Thomas Addis Emmet, III, all resigned because of "O'Connell's uncalled for abuse of the so called Rebellion of 1798." Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 128.

¹²¹ *Evening Post*, March 18, 1830.

¹²² *Mercantile Advertiser*, March 18, 1831.

British Consul, Senor Mosquera, "His Honor the Mayor," Walter Bowne, and "our worthy Collector," Samuel Swartout. The usual thirteen toasts were offered from the chair, including the "President of the United States," The "King of Great Britain," "The Army and Navy of the United States," and the "Governor and Lieut.-Governor of the State of New York."¹²³

Another newspaper in reporting the dinner said that among those who proposed toasts was Philip Hone, former Mayor of the City, who expressed his "strong admiration for the character of Irishmen, with many of whom he had lived on terms of intimate friendship and esteemed their warm and social dispositions."¹²⁴ In his *Diary* he bitterly criticized the Irish. The same newspaper, *The Truth Teller*, an Irish publication, quoted at length from a highly laudatory speech by the Mayor in which he expressed the wish that Ireland might be "free, prosperous and happy." He recalled the services of the Irish in the American Revolution and proposed the toast: "The memory of General Montgomery."¹²⁵

At this dinner a deputation consisting of John McLoughlin, Patrick Finnegan, and John F. Garrison, from the Sons of Erin, celebrating the day at Cottage House in Prince Street, waited upon the Society. To return this civility the president of the Friendly Sons sent a deputation to the Sons of Erin, consisting of Messrs. Brady, Bell, and Campbell, who were also instructed to wait upon and congratulate the Society of the Friends of Ireland, assembled at St. John's Hall. The Friends of Ireland reciprocated with a deputation to the Friendly Sons, delivering an appropriate address which concluded with the toast: "The St. Patrick's Society — embracing in its objects relief to the indigent, succor to the distressed, and above all the advantages of education to the children of adversity."¹²⁶

A notice in the *Evening Post*, March 12, 1832 signed by Dudley Perse, newly elected Secretary, announced the coming dinner to be held at Niblo's Saloon, Broadway, on Saturday, March 17th.¹²⁷ The *Commercial Advertiser*, March 16, 1832, also announced the dinner but made an error regarding the place which was given as the Bank Coffee House.¹²⁸ The error was corrected in the issue of the next day; but unfortunately it caused, many years later, a corresponding error in the Society's Manual for 1899.¹²⁹ Both the above mentioned newspapers reported the dinner at length. About sixty members and several

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¹²³ *Evening Post*, March 18, 1831.

¹²⁴ *Truth Teller*, March 26, 1831.

¹²⁵ *Truth Teller*, March 26, 1831.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, March 26, 1831.

¹²⁷ *Evening Post*, March 12, 1832.

¹²⁸ *Commercial Advertiser*, March 16, 1832.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1832.

guests sat down to dinner prepared by "Billy" Niblo and "served up in his spacious saloon on Broadway" with considerable pageantry.¹³⁰ Thomas Dixon, president of St. George's Society was in attendance, but Philip Hone of the German Society was out of town, and John Johnson of the St. Andrew's Society was too ill to be present. The usual thirteen toasts were drunk and many volunteer toasts were proposed. "The President of the United States" brought a response of nine cheers and the "President's March." William the Fourth was hailed as "the patriot King," to the accompaniment of cheers and "God Save the King" by the band. The British Consul pledged "The Health of Mr. Burke" and the memories of David Andrews and De Witt Clinton were toasted. Joseph Wilson proposed the "Majority in Commons and the minority in Lords — success attend their efforts in the cause of Reform." It is evident from the toasts offered at the various banquets that members of the Society followed very closely political developments in Great Britain and Ireland.

At this meeting the new secretary, Dudley Perrse, usurped the Reverend Thomas Levins' prerogative by proposing: "Charity, in its most comprehensive sense — relief to the distressed, and its mantle thrown over the faults of others, whilst we resolve to amend our own." Father Levins was forced to fall back on a toast to the "Memory of Michael Mulden," whose name is consistently spelled "Mulden" in all newspaper reports. When the elderly president of the Friendly Sons retired from the chair during the evening the vice-president John Caldwell took the opportunity to offer a toast to "John Chambers" which was received with much feeling and satisfaction. Caldwell said:

Gentlemen, your president is just retired, he is in the 79th year of his age. At a conspicuous early period of his life, he was a member of the Corporation of Dublin, but, for what he judged the welfare of his country, he sacrificed his hopes and prospects, yea all other considerations; he has been a firm and consistent friend of liberty during the whole course of his life.¹³¹

In response to a toast to "our sister societies," felicitating them on their charitable work, Thomas Dixon, president of the St. George's Society, made the following reply:

Mr. President — To meet thus in a friendly celebration of the anniversaries of our respective charitable societies, is at

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¹³⁰ *Commercial Advertiser*, March 9, 1832; *Evening Post*, March 20, 1832.

¹³¹ *Commercial Advertiser*, March 19, 1832; *Evening Post*, March 20, 1832.

all times a source of no ordinary gratification, but in times like the present, when the elements of discord and commotion are at work among the nations of continental Europe, it is doubly grateful on such occasion, to meet in grateful union, with men of various political creeds and religious persuasions, to commemorate those acts of Charity and benevolence, which the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick have ever displayed to their suffering countrymen.

It is true, the advantages that our country enjoys in many aspects are not unaccompanied by evils, but if peculiar wrongs there be in one part of the Empire, who shall say that equally peculiar ones do not exist in the other — together we endure them, and together we may hope to free ourselves from them, and

'Yet the harp of Innisfall
May strike full high to
notes of gladness!'¹³²

The Anniversary Dinner of the Society in 1833 was announced for the City Hotel, a commodious structure at 115 Broadway, which had replaced the earlier City Tavern as long ago as 1793.¹³³ Dinner was to be given at five o'clock; evidently the fashionable dinner hour in New York was growing later. Actually the members and their guests sat down to the "sumptuous" banquet, prepared by the host, Mr. Jennings, at about half past five. Among the guests were, Joseph Fowler, acting President of the St. George's Society, David Hadden and Philip Hone, presidents of the St. Andrew's and German Societies, Gideon Lee, Mayor of the City, James Buchanan, British Consul, the Rev. Mr. Levins, and several others. The usual toasts were offered. That to the King of Great Britain and Ireland asked for redress of grievances and hoped that he would "do justice to suffering sons of Erin." A toast to the "Army and Navy of the United States" drew the "Star-Spangled Banner" in response, as it had on two previous occasions.¹³⁴

It seems generally to have been the custom at these celebrations for some member of the Society to propose a toast in Gaelic, and then to give the English translation. One such toast, offered at the dinner of 1833 by John Caldwell, vice-president, was received "with uproarious applause." An English poetic version is as follows:

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¹³² *Commercial Advertiser*, March 19, 1832.

¹³³ *Pomerantz, New York: An American City*, p. 467; *The Gazette*, March 16, 1833.

¹³⁴ *The Gazette*, March 20, 1833.

The Patriots of the land
 Made a glorious stand
 And pledged their lives,
 their fortunes, and their honor,
 To support the Constitution
 With firmest resolution
 And rally round the Star-
 Spangled Banner,
 The whole deed was done,
 The battle fought and won
 And prosperity and peace bless
 the banner
 And in spite of factious tools
 Led on by knaves and fools
 We'll preserve it from stain
 and dishonor.¹³⁵

No detailed report of the anniversary dinner for 1834 has come down to us. It was announced for "Monday the 17th at the City Hotel," and members were requested by secretary Dudley Persse to meet at "half-past 3 o'clock for the transaction of business." At the preparatory meeting, also in the City Hotel, on March 6th James McBride had been elected president.¹³⁶ McBride, a prominent merchant of the city, had been one of the incorporators of the Society in 1827. On January 31, 1834 Daniel McCormick, venerable founder of the Friendly Sons, had died in the ninety-first year of his life.¹³⁷ He had apparently been in feeble health in his later years, and there is no evidence of his attendance at the anniversary banquets after his retirement from the presidency. He was invariably toasted on these occasions which was not customary when a member was present. McCormick's death apparently shocked the Society severely. It is possible that John Chambers, president of the Friendly Sons since McCormick's retirement in 1828, also died in the same year; the records are not clear. There is some evidence of confusion in the affairs of the Society in 1834.

At the quarterly meeting, March 5, 1835, Campbell P. White, a leading Tammany Hall politician, was elected to succeed James McBride.¹³⁸ This was quite an innovation in the affairs of the Society, since all previous presidents of the Friendly Sons had been chosen from among the prominent merchants of the city. White had indeed

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¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, March 6, 1834; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, pp. 85-102.

¹³⁷ *The Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1834.

¹³⁸ *Commercial Advertiser*, March 16, 1835.



Ancient Round Tower, Clonmacnoise

been engaged in a mercantile business for many years, but was far better known as a Democrat politician and statesman. He had been Congressman from New York since 1829, and was later chosen a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention of 1846.

White had been a member of the Friendly Sons only since 1832 and had never held any office before being chosen president. His election evidently reflects the presence of new blood in the organization. The St. Patrick Society was now over fifty years old and very few of the original members survived. Noteworthy among these was Cornelius Heeney who had been a member of the Charity Committee in 1785. He was still a member of that Committee in 1835.¹³⁹ In the notice, signed by Dudley Perse, it is stated that the Society "will celebrate their 'National' Anniversary by Dinner, at the City Hotel, on Tuesday, 17th instant, at 5 o'clock." Members of the Society and "Irish gentlemen who may be in this City on a visit, are invited to join."¹⁴⁰ This is the first time, as far as we know, that any such public invitation was extended to nonmembers. The stewards on this occasion included Jacob Harvey, one of New York's truly great philanthropists, John Caldwell, Thomas Suffern, Alexander Charters, and Judge Robert Emmet, son of Thomas Addis Emmet.

In the newspaper accounts of the day we learn that the "Rev. Mr. Leavins (sic) addressed the Throne of Grace," that the presidents of the St. George, St. Nicholas, St. Andrew, and the German Societies were present, and that J. Sheridan Knowles "was compelled to leave for Philadelphia, and sent his toast and apology."¹⁴¹ Among the guests was Peter G. Stuyvesant, a descendant of the last Dutch Governor of New York. The usual thirteen toasts were read from the chair, including "The President of the United States," "The King of Great Britain and Ireland," "The City of New York and our worthy chief Magistrate, Cornelius Lawrence," which last brought the playing of "Yankee Doodle" in response, the appropriateness of which is lost to us. Many volunteer toasts followed. President Campbell P. White proposed a toast to "James McBride, our late valued, esteemed and respected president," itself a departure from custom since McBride was present. This departure from custom was followed a little later in the evening by William Miles who offered a toast to Rev. Thomas C. Levins, "the enlightened and liberal chaplain of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick."¹⁴²

"In the course of the evening," we are told, "deputations were received from various charitable institutions, with their congratulations

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¹³⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, March 20, 1835.

¹⁴² *Commercial Advertiser*, March 20, 1835.

in the return of the day.”¹⁴³ Among these were delegates from the Hibernian Provident Society and the Hibernian Relief Society. At this dinner, too, an unusual communication to the secretary of the Society was read by him, showing that even to the unfortunates in the “Debtors’ Jail,” the Society extended its beneficence. The letter from the “Imprisoned Debtors” was as follows:

Debtors’ Jail,
March 17, 1835

Sir:

The persons confined in the Debtors’ Jail most gratefully acknowledge the receipt of thirty-seven dollars from the “Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick,” through the hands of their secretary, Dudley Persse, Esq. In acknowledging this donation, the Sons of Erin at present confined cannot fully express their gratitude to their countrymen for their kindness in thus giving them the means of celebrating the anniversary of the Patron Saint. Although fortune has at present frowned upon them, these frowns of fortune have, however, on this day been dispelled. You have this day shown that your feelings for suffering men are not confined to those who may have been in any one clime, but are extended to those of every nation. You have relieved the distressed, cheered the afflicted and visited the imprisoned, for which we thank you.

We remain, sir,

Your obedient servants,
The Imprisoned Debtors

To Dudley Persse, Esq.
Secretary, Society the
Friendly Sons of St. Patrick¹⁴⁴

The anniversary dinner of 1835 marked the end of an era and the beginning of a new one that was to be less prosperous for the Society. The year 1835 brought the most disastrous fire in the history of New York City, to be followed by one of those terrible economic depressions that have periodically affected this country. The anniversary dinner of 1836, at the Washington Hotel, was apparently sparsely attended by the members. The names of only seventeen of them were entered in the Minutes.¹⁴⁵ During the next few years the Society struggled for its very existence, and only the intense vitality of the friendly spirit of charity that inspired it could account for its continued life in the evil days to come.

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¹⁴³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁴ *Commercial Advertiser*, March 20, 1835; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, pp. 90-91.

¹⁴⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Meeting March 17, 1836.

CHARITY AND FINANCE



WHEN the Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick in the City of New York was organized in 1784, the primary purpose of its existence was to assist the poor and distressed natives of Ireland who were residing there. Even in the early days New York could be a very frightening experience to the lonely and bewildered immigrant who found himself in a land of strangers and strange customs. As one immigrant put it, if he should die, there would be none to mourn him.¹ It was "so natural for persons in reduced circumstances, or who may have fallen into misfortune or distress, in a part of the world remote from the place of their nativity, to apply for aid to those who are originally from the same country; that the expedient of national associations or societies, readily suggested itself, as a prompt and effective means of affording the desired relief."² Before the Revolution Scotsmen had founded the St. Andrew's Society, and the English their Sons of St. George;³ Irishmen could not be remiss in coming to the aid of their countrymen. The German Society was founded in the same year as the Friendly Sons. All these societies were social clubs with limited resources but while New York was small, immigrants few, and organized charity practically nonexistent, they did splendid work. As immigration grew heavier in the 'thirties and 'forties the overtaxed benevolent societies were no longer able to meet the demands upon them, so that New York City and later New York State had to organize for the care of immigrants. For many years, however, immigrants of all nations had to depend for what aid they needed on private organizations of their own countrymen. It is interesting to note that the first organization devoid of social functions and devoted entirely to immigrant aid, the Emigrant Assistance Society, was formed in 1826 under the leadership of Dr. William James Macneven, a prominent member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.⁴

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¹ Robert Ernst, *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825-1863*, New York, 1929, p. 37.

² By-Laws of the Society (Revised), 1832, "Preamble."

³ Barck, Oscar T. Jr., Flick, A.C. ed., *New York State History*, Vol. IV, p. 64; Harrington, Virginia D. *The New York Merchant on the Eve of the Revolution*, p. 36. Both Barck and Harrington are under the erroneous impression that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick was founded before the Revolution.

⁴ Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 34.

In the early days of the St. Patrick Society various rules and regulations were adopted for its government, which were enlarged and altered from time to time, as circumstances and expediency required, "always having in view the laudable and important object of relieving the deserving and distressed Irish." All other aims of the Society such as the promotion of "friendly and social feelings" among the natives, and descendants of natives, of Ireland, and the celebration of the anniversary of Ireland's titular Saint, were always subordinated to its primary purpose. So true was this that when in the 'forties the objectives of the organization could not be expanded to meet the needs of Irish immigrants, as some of its members saw them, it seemed for a time that the Society would be disbanded entirely. Only the loyalty of a small core of members, George McBride, Jr., Dudley Persse, Arthur Finnigan, Samuel S. Sloane, Robert Hogan, Charles M. Nanry, Samuel Osborne, Michael Crotty, and Charles H. Birney saved the Friendly Sons from absorption in the Irish Emigrant Society. It is noteworthy that Dr. Robert Hogan, himself founder of the Irish Emigrant Society, led the fight to prevent the dissolution of the older organization.⁵

From the earliest days of the Society its entire income from dues and fees was placed in the Charity Fund to be disbursed therefrom by the Treasurer. An initiation fee of three dollars, payable on election, and annual dues of five dollars were required of each member.⁶ The Original Rules provided for a system of fines; eight shillings for failure to appear with medal on the 17th of March, and five shillings for absence at any other meeting.⁷ This practice may have been a carryover from the system of fines used by the New York Chamber of Commerce, of which Daniel McCormick, Robert Ross Waddell, and other founders of the Friendly Sons had been members. Minutes of the Chamber of Commerce show that the system proved very lucrative for this business association;⁸ but apparently such fines could not be collected easily from members of a charitable and social organization which met only four times a year. At any rate the practice fell into abeyance before 1805. There is no record of fines collected after that date. Donations could be made from the Charity Fund by the Treasurer to "natives of Ireland, or their descendants, in the first and second degrees."⁹ No more than five dollars could be granted to any

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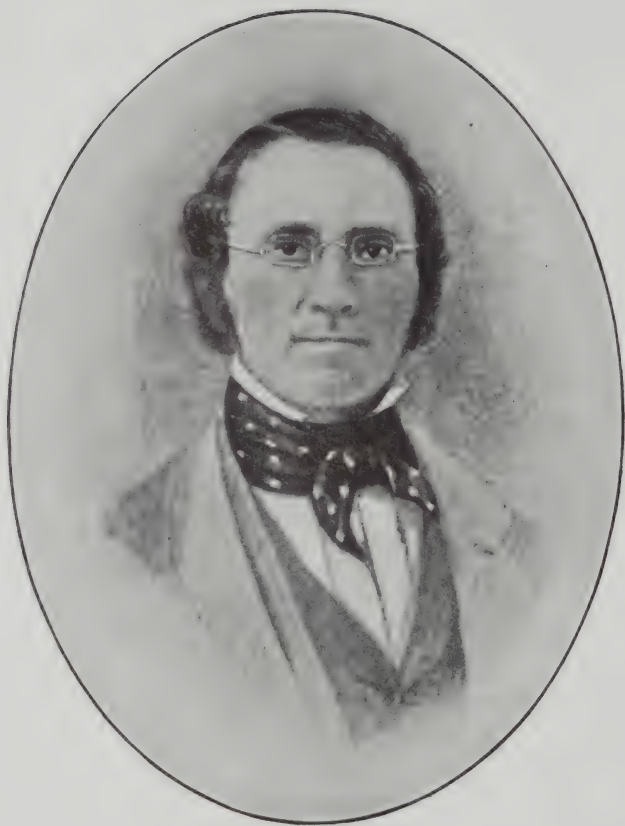
⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes of Meeting, March 6, 1851.

⁶ *By-Laws of the Society* (Revised), 1832, Article II, Sect. 4. A member proposing a candidate was responsible for his initiation fee and first year's dues. *Ibid.*, Art. II, Sect. 3.

⁷ *Original Rules of the Society*, Sec. 4.

⁸ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, *passim*. Fines for lateness as well as absence were assessed.

⁹ *By-Laws of the Society* (Revised) 1832, Art. XI, Sec. 1.



DR. ROBERT HOGAN

one family, for any one half year.¹⁰ This sum seems small but in those days it was equivalent to a good week's wages. In 1785 a skilled artisan received about fifty-five cents a day.¹¹ Although conditions improved a little, in 1805 eighty cents a day was the prevailing wage for a mechanic.¹² The Society had no desire to encourage pauperism so that in 1785 a regular system of investigation was established under the supervision of a Charitable Committee of two members. After 1831 a new office, that of Almoner, was created with the Treasurer making payments at his written order,¹³ on recommendation of the Committee of Charity which now was to consist of five members, together with the President and Almoner.¹⁴ The change doubtless reflects the increased size of the city which in 1790 had a population of only 33,131 but by 1835 had expanded to 268,089.¹⁵ All recommendations for charitable disbursements had to be made in writing, directed to the Almoner and signed by some member of the Charitable Committee, specifying the names of the persons in whose favor they were granted. In actual practice, however, the Treasurer sometimes turned over to the Almoner lump sums from which that official made the disbursements.¹⁶

Very early in the Society's history the custom was established of setting aside from surplus dues or from legacies and bequests what came to be known as the Permanent Fund. Money so marked was invested and could not in ordinary circumstances be used for charity, since appropriations for charity from the Permanent Fund could be made only "by resolution of the Society, adopted at a regular meeting, at which were present at least twenty-one members, three-fourths of whom shall vote in the affirmative on such resolution."¹⁷ As previously noted, when the Bank of New York was established in 1784, Daniel McCormick and Thomas Randall were elected to its first Board of Directors.¹⁸ Merchant members of the Friendly Sons invested enthusiastically in the new venture.¹⁹ It was, therefore, quite natural that the initial investment of the Society should have been stock in the Bank of New York, which for the first fifteen years of its existence was the only state bank in the City, and with which members of the Friendly Sons were so intimately connected. A single share of stock par value \$500 was acquired in 1786, to be retained by the Society for the next fifty years. During this period the Bank never passed a dividend.²⁰

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Art. XI, sec. 2.

¹¹ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 148; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 216.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹³ *By-Laws of the Society* (Revised), 1832, Art. IV, Sec. 4.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Art. IX, Sec. 1.

¹⁵ Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 191.

¹⁶ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Accounts, 1834, 1835.

¹⁷ *By-Laws of the Society* (Revised), 1832, Art. XII, Sec. 4.

¹⁸ Domett, *Bank of New York*, p. 9. Nevins, *Bank of New York*, p. 4.

¹⁹ *Vide Supra*.

²⁰ Domett, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

| Charitable Donations by P. Police & Society | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|
| Date | Donor | Sum | Date | Donor | Sum |
| 1806 | Prof. James | 11/25 | 1816 | Brought over | 181/75 |
| May 22 | J. F. F. F. F. | 1.50 | July | Ann Fitzgerald | 1.00 |
| " | Widow Bryan | 1.50 | 28 | Robt. Dean | 5.00 |
| " | Widow McGuire | 1.50 | charged on last | 181/75 | |
| "24 | Mary Bryan | 1.50 | Sept 7 | Mr. P. F. F. | 2.00 |
| "25 | Mr. Hayes etc. | 2.50 | "15 | Mr. Savage | 2.00 |
| "26 | James D. Doran | 1.50 | "17 | Mr. Davis | 2.00 |
| "28 | W. H. H. H. | 3.00 | "18 | Mary Solby | 1.50 |
| "30 | Pat. H. H. H. | 1.00 | "19 | James Bradley | 4.00 |
| July 7 | W. H. H. H. | 3.00 | " | Henry Davis | 3.00 |
| " | H. H. H. | 5.00 | " | Widow M. Callan | 3.00 |
| " | Mag. M. H. | 2.50 | "21 | C. H. H. | 1.50 |
| "11 | Edw. H. H. | 3.00 | "22 | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 |
| "12 | John Gordon | 2.50 | "31 | Mary B. B. | 3.00 |
| "14 | Mag. H. H. | 1.50 | April 1 | Widow B. B. | 1.50 |
| "15 | W. H. H. | 1.50 | "3 | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 |
| " | Widow H. H. | 1.50 | "8 | Widow M. Callan | 1.50 |
| " | James H. H. | 1.50 | "12 | W. H. H. | 1.50 |
| " | P. H. H. | 2.00 | "15 | Widow H. H. | 1.50 |
| " | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 | " | C. H. H. | 1.50 |
| "17 | Wm. H. H. | 2.00 | "14 | John H. H. | 5.00 |
| "18 | Wm. H. H. | 1.00 | "16 | Robt. H. H. | 3.00 |
| " | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 | "18 | Widow H. H. | 2.00 |
| "20 | J. H. H. | 1.50 | " | Wm. H. H. | 2.00 |
| " | Wm. H. H. | 2.00 | "20 | W. H. H. | 1.50 |
| " | Wm. H. H. | 2.00 | "22 | Mary H. H. | 1.50 |
| "21 | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 | " | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 |
| "22 | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 | " | Wm. H. H. | 2.00 |
| " | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 | "24 | Widow M. Callan | 1.50 |
| "23 | Widow M. H. | 1.50 | " | Wm. H. H. | 1.00 |
| "25 | Mag. H. H. | 2.00 | "30 | Wm. H. H. | 5.00 |
| "26 | Wm. H. H. | 4.00 | "24 | W. H. H. | 3.00 |
| "28 | Wm. H. H. | 1.50 | "29 | Wm. H. H. | 2.00 |
| | Brought over | 181/75 | | Brought over | 63/50 |

Amounts varying from 3½ per cent to 5 per cent were entered in the Treasurer's Book, semiannually, usually in May and November. Before 1832 dividends were credited to the Charity Fund, after that year to the Permanent Fund for reinvestment.²¹ For much of this time, members of the Society remained closely connected with the management of the Bank. Daniel McCormick retained his directorship until 1799; Thomas Randall until 1792. William Constable was a director from 1787 to 1792; William Edgar, 1789 to 1793; John McVickar, 1793 to 1796; John Murray, 1789 to 1794.²²

The first Treasurer of the Society was the famous Hugh Gaine, printer at the sign of the Bible and Crown in Hanover Square. He served from 1784 to 1797, and was succeeded by William Hill who held office until 1805. The detailed records for this period unfortunately have been lost, probably destroyed in the disastrous New York fire of 1835. The old Treasurer's Book of the Society opens in 1805 with the account current of John Caldwell who was elected Treasurer in that year. The first entry, May 31, 1805, shows cash received from William Hill, "late treasurer," \$171.44.²³ For the next one hundred years the Treasurer's Book contains a detailed account of the Society's finances together with itemized lists of all donations for charity, as well as the names and signatures of many of the early members. During the first twenty years the customs and practices, illustrated in the Treasurer's Book after 1805, were established. New York was still small, its population only 40,489 in 1800,²⁴ immigrants were few, averaging 4000 a year, not all of whom were Irish, so that the Society seems to have been quite able to meet the demands upon it. Its officers were all men of wealth and, when the drain on the Society's resources demanded replenishment of its funds, they apparently contributed generously to the treasury.

In a special measure, the wants of the widows and orphans of the Irish soldiers who had lost their lives in the Revolution were attended to by the charitable committees, and throughout the harsh winters of 1785 and 1786 many a family was indebted to the bounty of the Friendly Sons for the wherewithal to keep body and soul alive. Food, rents, clothing, blankets, fuel and medicine were provided. Employment was found for poor mechanics and the tools and implements of their trade were bought, as well as furniture and domestic utensils. Social and friendly intercourse was promoted and

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²¹ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, "Permanent Fund," 1833, 1834, 1835, 1836.

²² Domett, *Bank of New York*, p. 117.

²³ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, a/c John Caldwell, Treas., 1805-6.

²⁴ Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 191.

maintained among the natives of Ireland and their kinsmen and descendants, and there were cases where the committee furnished the funds to pay for the passage of poor persons who decided that it was best for them to return to their native land.²⁵

During the first seven years after the Revolution the city of New York was remarkably free from serious epidemics; but in the 'nineties the scourge of yellow fever struck again and again, straining the resources of private charity. Mild outbreaks in 1789 and 1791 were followed by a very severe epidemic in 1793, which, however, could not compare with the disasters that followed. In July of 1795 yellow fever struck again. When the pestilence was at its height business in the city was at an absolute standstill; half the population fled. By November deaths had totaled 732, mostly among the poor Irish immigrants.²⁶ Despite frantic efforts on the part of the city authorities, by filling up swamps and marshes, improving the water supply and cleaning up the city, to prevent the spread of yellow fever the year 1798 brought by far the worst plague experienced up to that time in New York. Breaking out in July the epidemic raged until November. Two thousand and eighty-six died in a city of less than 40,000 people.²⁷ During the pestilence the St. Patrick's Society and its members doubtless did all they could to relieve distress especially among their poor countrymen, as they did in later epidemics, but unfortunately records no longer exist. All the endeavors of the city authorities to prevent the return of the scourge, whose causes were not understood, were without avail. It was to return again and again in years to come.

Very little is known of William Hill, second treasurer of the Society from 1797 to 1804, except that he was a merchant with a warehouse in Broad Street and a home in Cortlandt Street. Walter Barrett clearly identifies this William Hill as "treasurer of the St. Patrick's Society for some years," and also states that he was a vestryman of Trinity Church from 1812 to 1818.²⁸ He may have been the same William Hill of "William Hill & Company, merchants in Maiden Lane," at a later period.²⁹ Hill was probably a member as early as 1784 and he served on the Society's Council in 1793, 1795, 1796, and 1800. He was present at the quarterly meeting of March 3, 1806, but we have no record of him thereafter.³⁰ John Caldwell who succeeded Hill as treasurer, serving in that capacity from 1805 to 1809, was very active

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²⁵ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

²⁶ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 342.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 346; Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 449.

²⁸ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 251; Berrian, *Trinity Church*, p. 363.

²⁹ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 373.

³⁰ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, March 3, 1806.

in the affairs of the Society for many years. He was one of the incorporators in 1828. A member of the firm of John and Richard Caldwell, merchants at 91-93 Water Street, he imported southern staples, cotton, tobacco, and fruits.³¹ There is a tradition in the Society that he had originally been a clerk in the counting house of Daniel McCormick. Minutes of the meetings of the Society after 1835 and accounts of the anniversary dinners show the great interest he took in the affairs of the Friendly Sons. His last payment of dues is recorded in 1844, and he probably died in that year.³²

The accounts of John Caldwell in the old Treasurer's Book contain some interesting notations. When Hugh Gaine retired as treasurer in 1796, at the age of seventy, his affairs like those of most merchants were not in a very liquid condition. He turned over to William Hill sixty pounds in cash and gave his note for 127 pounds, eight shillings, six pence.³³ The note was paid in cash by Dr. John Kemp, Gaine's son-in-law, on November 22, 1805. When the account was settled it was found that the former treasurer had actually given his note for fifty-three pounds, five shillings, four pence more than he had received in dues from Waddell, the secretary. Notations in the cash book also record dividends from "New York Bank" of ninety-nine pounds for the period between 1786 and May 1, 1801 and ninety pounds from 1801 to November 1805.³⁴ The payments of dividends in pounds illustrate the fact that in the early days of the Republic the dollar was only a theoretical unit of value. It is also noteworthy that in the accounts of Caldwell for 1805-6 the \$ (dollar sign) is already in use. In the books of the Bank of New York for the early days the word "dollar" is always written out. It was not until the eighteen-twenties that the sign customarily displaced this written word.³⁵ But on the books of the Friendly Sons the dollar sign was in general use from 1805 on.

The decade of 1796 to 1806 was a most prosperous one for the city of New York. During these years nearly one-fourth of the total exports of the United States went out from its port.³⁶ By 1800 the city had surpassed its closest rival, Philadelphia, both in the value of its export and import trade, and in the volume of its foreign and coastwise shipping. In the three years previous to 1808 the exports of New York averaged \$23,869,250 per annum.³⁷ Immigration was small; the annual total for the country did not exceed four thousand. During this period the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick had no trouble meeting the demands

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³¹ Barrett, *op. cit.*, V, 277.

³² *Records of the Society*, Minutes of Feb. 19, 1844; *Membership Book*, 1841-1844.

³³ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, A/C John Caldwell, 1805-6.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Nevins, *Bank of New York*, p. 17.

³⁶ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 336.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 158-159.

upon it for charity from current dues. Total disbursements for that purpose amounted to \$187.75 in 1805, \$250.12 in 1806, and \$288.50 in 1807.³⁸ Funds were accumulating in the treasury so that on March 5, 1808 the Society purchased eight shares of stock in the Manhattan Company, for which it paid \$452.³⁹ It is interesting to note that the brokerage fee on this sale was \$1.13.

The Manhattan Company, chartered in 1799 as a private water company to supply the city with pure water as a safeguard against future yellow fever epidemics, had immediately established, under the terms of its very liberal charter, a bank at 40 Wall Street, known as the Bank of Manhattan Company. The conventional account of the founding of this bank, commonly held by historians down into the twentieth century, has been seriously questioned by recent research.⁴⁰ The story was that the arch-conspirator Aaron Burr, who sponsored the Manhattan charter in the legislature, had fraudulently concealed his purpose of founding a bank under the guise of a water company, thus deceiving the Federalist dominated legislature and Council of Revision into approving his plan, the real object of which was to establish a Republican bank as a rival to the Federalist Bank of New York.⁴¹

It became customary to ignore or even to deny the fact that the Company actually did supply water to the city.⁴² This story is based upon apparently false accusations hurled against Burr by the Federalists in the next election.⁴³ In truth the Senate Committee, which approved the bill, clearly understood all the possibilities of the proposed charter which granted such broad powers in order to encourage investment.⁴⁴ The actual bill was introduced in the Assembly, not by Burr but by James Fairlie, a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.⁴⁵ Far from being a Republican conspiracy the principal backers of the project, John B. Church and John Murray, Gulian Verplanck, Alexander Hamilton, John Watts, and John B. Coles were all Federalists, and responsibility for the passage of the charter through the legislature clearly rests upon the Federalist party.⁴⁶ Indeed, the only serious opposition to the bill came from Republican Judge John Lansing of

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³⁸ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, A/C John Caldwell, 1806, 1807, 1808.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, May 5, 1808.

⁴⁰ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 187-192; Nathan Schachner, *Aaron Burr, a Biography*, New York, 1937, pp. 159-166; cf. Beatrice G. Reubens, "Burr, Hamilton and the Manhattan Company," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXXII, No. 4, December, 1957, pp. 578-607.

⁴¹ Alexander, *Political History*, I, 187.

⁴² Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 393; Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 191; Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, p. 393.

⁴⁴ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 189.

⁴⁵ Reubens, *loc. cit.*, p. 599.

⁴⁶ Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, pp. 188, 191.

the Council of Revision.⁴⁷ It may be true that Burr succeeded in packing the board of directors with Republicans, since nine of the twelve-man board are listed as members of that party.⁴⁸ Yet even here there is some doubt. Six of the nine were affluent merchants, original subscribers to the Tontine Association, and some of them had definitely been Federalists in the past. For instance it seems a little early to include as an active Republican in 1799 the rich merchant William Edgar, one of the most prominent members of the Friendly Sons. If any conspiracy existed it lay in the fact that men of the investor class were willing to take advantage of a genuine civic movement to turn it into a profit making opportunity for themselves. In this Federalists were just as guilty as Republicans.⁴⁹

Aaron Burr, who in 1799 was one of the leading Republican politicians of the country, for a brief time was very influential on the Board of Directors of the Manhattan Company. Soon after his break with Jefferson, Burr was forced from his office as director by De Witt Clinton, Mayor of New York, 1803-1807, who was rapidly becoming the state leader of the Republican Party.⁵⁰ The new predominance of Clinton in the affairs of the Bank may have influenced the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick to invest their surplus funds in the Manhattan Company since Clinton was a prominent member of the Society at this time. He was also one of the largest stockholders in the bank, owning 1,000 shares.⁵¹

Political events of the next few years are clearly reflected in the books of the Society. The passage of the Embargo Act, December 22, 1807, brought a sudden halt to the city's recent prosperity. Annual exports from the port of New York between 1808 and 1812 dropped to an average of \$14,030,035, compared with an average for the three previous years of \$23,869,250.⁵² The acute business depression which followed the Embargo Act shows up immediately in the treasurer's accounts of the Friendly Sons. Disbursements for charity doubled in 1808, reaching \$562.95, and continued high in the following year when they total \$541.51.⁵³ In January, February, and March of 1809 the

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⁴⁷ A. B. Street, *The Council of Revision*, Albany, 1859, p. 423; Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 189; Reubens, *loc. cit.*, pp. 605-6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 595.

⁴⁹ The Manhattan Company actually delivered water to the city, but never an adequate supply. Citizens unaffiliated with either party were inclined to hold the establishment of the new bank as an "awful swindle" and to link Alexander Hamilton with Aaron Burr as equally culpable in using a water company project to obtain a bank charter by fraud." Barrett, *Old Merchants*, V, pp. 71-73.

⁵⁰ Alexander, *Political History*, I, 119.

⁵¹ Reubens, *loc. cit.*, p. 596.

⁵² Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 336.

⁵³ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, A/C William Bryar, 1809, 1810.

usual donation of \$2.00 had to be cut to \$1.50.⁵⁴ The treasurer, William Bryar, an Irishman of French Huguenot descent who was engaged in the tobacco business at 104 Water Street, was toward the end of the year making payments from his own private funds because the income from dues was exhausted. On October 27, 1809 the Society found it necessary to sell four shares of Bank of Manhattan stock to meet the continued drain upon its resources.⁵⁵ The repeal of the Embargo Act and the substitution of Non-Intercourse in 1809 apparently brought some relief, for expenditures dropped the next year to \$255.87.⁵⁶ That the city enjoyed better times during the next few years is evident from the disbursements for charity, which however, begin to rise again in the last two years of the war with England. The declaration of peace seems to have brought a sharp decline in charitable donations from 1815 to 1817 although the figures are not complete.⁵⁷ Apparently a new disbursement ledger was opened in these years only to return again to the old Treasurer's Book.

In the fiscal year March 1819 to March 1820 donations for charity once more are doubled.⁵⁸ There is another sharp rise in 1822, perhaps the worst yellow fever year in the history of the city, although disbursements do not rise as high as one might expect, possibly owing to the fact that the town was almost deserted during the height of the epidemic.⁵⁹ After this year things seem to have returned to normal. The winter of 1824 and 1825 must have been hard, judging from the donations for charity, and in the latter year the practice of buying wood at low prices during the summer for distribution during the cold winter months was inaugurated. In March, 1825 Alexander Charters was elected secretary of the Society and during his two years of office proved most energetic. Charters was born in Cahir, County Tipperary, in the year 1780. He was descended from Huguenot refugees who had fled from France in the reign of Louis XIV. The original name of the family was de Charteris. Alexander had come to New York in 1805 when he became a clerk in the importing house of Robert Ross Waddell. He was now in business for himself at 64 Pine Street, where he imported Irish linens and other Irish merchandise such as hams, bacon, and whiskey.⁶⁰ Between December 1826 and March 1827 Charters collected \$675.90 in dues. Much of this was arrears as there

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⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1809.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1809.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, A/C John Chambers, Treas., March 4, 1811.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, A/C John Woodward, Treas. Consolidated for March 1815 to March 1817.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, A/C James Magee, 1819-1820.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, A/C M. Muldon, 1821-22.

⁶⁰ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, sketch of Alexander Charters, based on "Memoir of the Charters Family," New York Historical Society; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 346; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, V, 276.

is no evidence of any substantial increase in membership.⁶¹ On January 12, 1827 the Society bought seven shares of Manhattan stock, for which it paid \$393, and on July 25 of the same year it purchased two more for \$115.25.⁶² In March of 1829 four more shares of this stock were added at a cost of \$237, while in the following year a purchase of three shares at \$177.75 brought the total holdings of the Society in Manhattan Stock to twenty.⁶³

According to the treasurer's accounts for 1829 thirty-nine members and eleven guests attended the anniversary dinner in that year. The bill from the Bank Coffee House amounted to \$200.⁶⁴ Charity disbursements indicate that the winters of 'thirty-one and two and of 'thirty-two and three were very hard. Blankets were distributed by the society in those years. In accordance with the revised By-Laws, recently adopted, dividends from bank-stock were now being credited to the Permanent Fund and were not used for charitable donations. On March 29, 1832 ten shares of National Bank Stock were purchased for \$531.32.⁶⁵ This was not the Bank of the United States but the National Bank of New York whose presidency had just been accepted by Albert Gallatin, former Secretary of the Treasury and one of the peace commissioners at Ghent.⁶⁶ John Jacob Astor was a heavy stock-holder. The institution later became known as the Gallatin National Bank. The Society's new practice of removing dividends from the charity fund had unfortunate results in the very first year. In the early months of 1833 the treasurer, John Moorehead, was compelled to borrow \$150 from members and to pay out \$170.82 of his personal funds.⁶⁷ In 1834 and 1835 conditions grew better in New York and disbursements from the Charity Fund returned to normal.

The Society continued its practice of crediting bank dividends to the Permanent Fund. In November of 1833 such dividends amounted to \$135.75, of which \$111.50 was spent for two more shares of National Bank Stock.⁶⁸ At the end of its first fifty years of existence the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick owned one share of Bank of New York at a par value of \$500; twenty shares of Manhattan Company par value \$50 per share; and twelve shares of National Bank stock, par value \$50 per share. In March of 1836, for reasons not known, the Society sold its single share of Bank of New York stock for \$642.50, and its twelve

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⁶¹ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, A/C John B. Montgomery, 1826-1828.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, J. B. Montgomery, 1828-1829, 1829, 1830.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, J. B. Montgomery, March 19, 1829.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, A/C John Moorehead, March 29, 1832.

⁶⁶ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 349.

⁶⁷ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, A/C John Moorehead, January and March 1833.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Permanent Fund, A/C Geo. S. Corbitt, Dec. 4, 1833.

shares of National Bank stock for \$702.50.⁶⁹ All of the proceeds, plus accumulated dividends, were invested in Manhattan Company stock, twenty-seven shares costing \$1718.⁷⁰ When the panic of 1837 took place the Society had all of its eggs in one basket.

During these years individual members of the St. Patrick's Society were personally active in all New York's charitable endeavors and their names are constantly to be met whenever a crisis in the affairs of the city called for contributions of money or personal services. In the yellow fever crisis of 1798 when John B. Coles took up a collection for the relief of the distressed, John McVickar, a councillor of the Friendly Sons, gave \$100. None gave more except John Murray, Jr., the great Quaker philanthropist, whose gift of \$10,000 in September of that year was outstanding in the early history of New York. It is interesting to note that on this occasion Dominick Lynch of the Society gave "one ox, two pigs, two lambs, eighty chickens, and sixteen bushels of potatoes."⁷¹ When the Asiatic cholera visited New York for the first time in 1832, making its appearance in a house on Cherry Street, on June 25, Dr. William James Macneven, of the Friendly Sons, was appointed a member of the seven-man special Medical Council to devise proper measures in the emergency.⁷² Within a week four large public hospitals and later a fifth were organized. During the next nine weeks these treated 2030 cholera victims of whom 852 died. Medical stations were set up in each ward. The total cases in the city were 5,835, with deaths reaching 2,996, a very high mortality rate in a city of about 260,000, when we consider that thousands left town.⁷³

Space will not permit mention of all the members of the Society who were conspicuous for their charity during this period but two names are so outstanding among the philanthropists of their day that their work can hardly be passed over. One of these is Cornelius Heeney, a member of the Society from 1784 to 1842, during many of which years he served on the charity committee. Heeney, an extraordinary character, has been described as "New York and Brooklyn's greatest Catholic philanthropist,"⁷⁴ and "one of the leading Irishmen

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⁶⁹ By this time it seems that members of the Society had ceased to be directors of the Bank of New York. Thomas Eddy, who received a state appointment to its board in 1820, had died in 1827. Charles McEvers, who was a bank director from 1816 to 1840, although the son of a founder of the Friendly Sons, never seems to have joined the Society. On the other hand, James McBride, Thomas Suffern and James Brown had become directors of the Bank of the Manhattan Company in 1827. Wilson, *Memorial History*, II, 347.

⁷⁰ *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, "Permanent Fund" 1836.

⁷¹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 71.

⁷² Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 338.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 339.

⁷⁴ William Harper Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York*, New York, 1909, p. 453.

in New York"⁷⁵ in the twenties, yet outside of a few brief sketches no biography of him exists. It is estimated that his benefactions to church and charitable institutions in the early days of New York diocese amounted to more than \$60,000, "a great fortune in those days."⁷⁶ In 1845 he founded the Brooklyn Benevolent Society to which he left the bulk of his real estate, valued at the time at over \$110,000.⁷⁷ Since its incorporation this Society has expended nearly two million dollars in accordance with its donor's intentions for the benefit of the poor and orphans of Brooklyn.

Cornelius Heeney was born in King's County, Ireland, about the year 1754. He came to America in 1784, landing penniless in Philadelphia, since he had lost all his possessions when shipwrecked off the Delaware Capes.⁷⁸ After working for three months for a Quaker merchant named Mead in Philadelphia, Heeney came to New York where he was employed as a bookkeeper by a furrier, William Backhouse, in 40 Little Dock Street. A fellow employee, said to have been a porter or "beater" of skins, was John Jacob Astor, founder of the wealthy New York family of that name. Backhouse, an English Quaker, soon returned to England and is said to have left his business to Heeney and Astor.⁷⁹ The truth of this bequest is not certain; but Astor's close connection with Backhouse is proved by the fact that his second son, born September 19, 1792, was baptized William Backhouse Astor.⁸⁰ Anna Backhouse, William's widow, was a sponsor. Heeney was also close to Backhouse and, when the latter died suddenly, August 25, 1792, Heeney was appointed his executor.⁸¹ Whether or not Backhouse left his business to them, there is no question that Astor and Heeney were partners for several years.⁸² The partnership began in July 20, 1792, and terminated July 20, 1795.⁸³ While the partnership was active Astor spent most of his time in Europe. When he returned to this country, Astor and Heeney quarreled. The partnership was broken up with Astor continuing in business at 40 Water Street while Heeney moved to 82 Water Street where he set up in the fur business for himself. From this point Astor went on to become the richest man in New York, while Heeney became wealthy in his own right.

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⁷⁵ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 111.

⁷⁶ Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 453.

⁷⁷ W. H. Bennett, "Cornelius Heeney," *Journal of American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 221.

⁷⁸ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, sketch by R. C. Murphy, based upon Thomas F. Meehan, *Some Pioneer Catholic Laymen in New York*, and notes left by the Rev. D. A. Merrick, S.J.

⁷⁹ Thomas F. Meehan, "Cornelius Heeney," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VII, 190.

⁸⁰ K. W. Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1931, I, 54.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 54; *Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 4, 1792.

⁸² Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 54, 365-367.

⁸³ *New York Gazette and General Advertiser*, Sept. 24, 1795.

There is no evidence that either ever regretted the break. For the rest of his life Heeney devoted as much time to civic affairs and to charity as he did to business, without in any way sacrificing his material prosperity.

As previously noted Heeney served several terms in the State Assembly, from 1816 to 1822, during which he was very active.⁸⁴ When Rufus King was proposed for United States Senator Heeney refused to vote for him, persisting in his refusal despite the importunities of Martin Van Buren his friend, who tried to get Heeney to change his mind.⁸⁵ His reason was Rufus King's opposition, while Minister to England, to the immigration to America of Thomas Addis Emmet, William James MacNeven, and William Sampson, leaders of the Irish rising in 1798. All of these gentlemen were by this time colleagues of Heeney in the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Heeney was one of the founders and trustees of St. Peter's Church in Barclay Street, to which he gave the gallery and pews.⁸⁶ He gave \$18,000 and some land for the establishment of an orphanage in Prince Street, and journeyed to Emmitsburg, Maryland, in 1812 to persuade his friend Mother Seton to send her Sisters of Charity to care for the orphans.⁸⁷ Heeney is said to have supported the band of Sisters for their first year in New York. He built a free school for girls for old St. Patrick's Church in New York, and gave several lots to enlarge its cemetery. He and Andrew Morris, a fellow member of the Friendly Sons, took title to the property on Fifth Avenue, now occupied by St. Patrick's Cathedral.⁸⁸ It was purchased for a cemetery on November 5, 1828, at a price of \$5,500. The land was conveyed to the trustees of St. Peter's Church and later to St. Patrick's. At that time the property was known as "Mr. Dennis Doyle's place on the Middle Road." Doyle was also a member of the St. Patrick's Society.⁸⁹

Heeney is described as something of a scholar, sociable, good humored, and witty — in appearance resembling Benjamin Franklin. His face was clean shaven with a high forehead, an aquiline nose, and at the top of his head was bald. What was left of his hair he wore long and tied at the back with a ribbon. A confirmed bachelor, he lived with two cronies, Francis Cooper and John George Gottsberger, in the three-story brick house at 82 Water Street. Cooper was of an old Pennsylvania Catholic family, and as we have seen was the first

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⁸⁴ *Vide supra*, Chap. VI; Werner, *Civil List*, pp. 331-5; Meehan, *loc. cit.*, p. 190.

⁸⁵ "Cornelius Heeney," *Journal of American-Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XVII, p. 218.

⁸⁶ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, sketch of Heeney; Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps*, p. 543.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 543; Bennett, *Journal of American-Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 218.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 358; *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1838-44.

Roman Catholic to take a seat in the New York State Assembly. Gottsberger was an Austrian immigrant. All three were parishioners of St. Peter's Church which Heeney loved so well that when he gave the land for St. Paul's Church and school in Brooklyn, he stipulated that the architecture conform to that of St. Peter's. It must have been a shock to the old man when the original church in Barclay Street was taken down in 1836 to be replaced by what one historian described as the "present massive structure."⁹⁰ Heeney had attended Mass in the old church from November 4, 1786 to August 28, 1836, a period of almost fifty years.

Cornelius Heeney was active in many other charitable organizations in addition to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. He was a member of the standing committee of the Hibernian Provident Society, as were Dennis H. Doyle and John Craig also of the Friendly Sons.⁹¹ It was said of Heeney that "the deserving poor never appealed to him in vain and many an orphan child owed its success in life to his assistance."⁹² The first American Cardinal, John McCloskey, was Heeney's protégé and legal ward.⁹³ Heeney was also an intimate friend of Archbishop John Hughes who was elected President of his Brooklyn Benevolent Society in 1845.⁹⁴ But the devout Irish Catholic's relations with ecclesiastical authorities had not always been harmonious. A firm believer in the rights of lay trustees, he felt that he should have a voice in how his money was to be spent. When the New York diocesan seminary at Nyack was burned in 1833, Heeney offered Bishop Du Bois land for a new seminary on Congress Street, Brooklyn. The excavation was already completed when the Bishop and Heeney disagreed, so that title to the property was never passed.⁹⁵ The land was later given by Heeney as the site for St. Paul's Church. The old man retired from business soon after 1835 when his Water Street building was burned during the great fire of that year. Heeney removed to Brooklyn, where he already had considerable properties, and on the other side of the river began, in a sense, a new career which made him before his death almost a legendary figure, renowned for his charity.

Conspicuous among all the philanthropists of the city, during the early years of the St. Patrick Society was the Irish Quaker, Thomas Eddy, whose outstanding work for prison reform and for the New York Hospital has been noted in a previous chapter. Not a very

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⁹⁰ Stephen Byrne, *Irish Immigration in the United States*, New York, 1873, p. 77.

⁹¹ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 358; *New York Directory*, 1808.

⁹² Bennett, "Cornelius Heeney," *Journal of American-Irish Historical Society*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 221.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 221; John McCloskey's father had been a clerk in the firm of H. B. Pierrepont and Company. R. P. Purcell "John McCloskey," *D.A.B.*, XI, pp. 591-2.

⁹⁴ Bennett, *loc. cit.*, p. 222.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 221; Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps*, p. 454.

wealthy man — he was taxed on \$8,000 personal property in 1815.⁹⁶ — Eddy gave unstintingly of his time and energy to every conceivable type of humanitarian movement. He wrote voluminously on many subjects and was one of the most successful lobbyists for every cause of reform that New York State has ever seen. To his colleague in the Friendly Sons, Robert Murray, goes the credit for founding the African Free School Society in 1787,⁹⁷ but to Thomas Eddy and his bosom friend, John Murray, Jr., is due the incorporation of the Free School Society, eventually known as the Public School Society, to which the present public school system of the state owes so much.⁹⁸ The original membership list shows thirty-seven names. The membership fee was \$8.00, although many gave more, including De Witt Clinton whose subscription was \$200.⁹⁹ With state aid this society took over the African Free School, conducted a school for youthful inmates of the Almshouse, and another for poor girls. De Witt Clinton, of the Friendly Sons, was president of the Public School Society from 1805 to 1828, during which time its work expanded rapidly.¹⁰⁰ It was not until 1853 that the Society's schools were placed under the New York Board of Education.

Throughout his life Eddy was deeply interested in the welfare of the Indians of New York State. As early as 1792, with John Murray, Jr., he visited the Brotherton, Stockbridge, Oneida, and Onondaga Indians.¹⁰¹ Western New York was still a wilderness at this time when Utica had only three houses. Eddy struggled desperately to save the Indians and his biography contains many pages of his correspondence with the tribal chieftains who seem to have appreciated his efforts deeply.¹⁰² Eddy was a governor of the New York Hospital from 1793 to 1827 and during most of these years he was either vice-president or president of the board, resigning from the latter office in 1823 four years before his death.¹⁰³ Chancellor James Kent, an intimate friend, says that his services as governor were of inestimable value.¹⁰⁴ Eddy was appointed first commissioner and superintendent of the new Almshouse and Bridewell, at a salary of \$1,500 annually, but soon resigned and accepted an unsalaried post as third commissioner.¹⁰⁵ In 1819 Eddy and John Pintard of the New York Historical Society organized the first Savings Bank in New York City, which opened in the base-

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⁹⁶ Guernsey, *New York City during the War of 1812*, II, 514-526, note 3.

⁹⁷ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 383.

⁹⁸ Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 161; Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

⁹⁹ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 516.

¹⁰⁰ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 429.

¹⁰¹ Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 99.

¹⁰² Knapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-148; Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 18, n.

¹⁰³ Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

¹⁰⁴ Letter of James Kent to Dr. David Hosack, May 11, 1833, Knapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-15.

¹⁰⁵ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 336-7.

ment of the New York Institution, once the Almshouse, in Chambers Street. William Bayard was its first president and Eddy was for many years a trustee.¹⁰⁶

One of the projects dearest to Eddy's heart was the care of the insane. He carried on a lengthy correspondence to this end with authorities at home and abroad, including Lindley Murray, William Roscoe, Thomas Jefferson, De Witt Clinton, and Doctor David Hosack. He and De Witt Clinton, a fellow member of the Friendly Sons, were chiefly responsible for projecting and organizing the Bloomingdale Asylum for the insane.¹⁰⁷ Eddy was on intimate terms with most of the great men of New York in his time. General Philip Schuyler, Governor John Jay, Chancellor James Kent, Edward Livingston, De Witt Clinton and others were among the close friends whose interest he aroused for the cause of humanitarian reform. He was active in civic affairs almost to the very end. In the summer of 1826, about a year before his death, with Chancellor Kent he visited John Jay at Bedford, stopping off on the way to see Sing Sing Prison, then, "quite unfinished." Kent writes that Jay, then eighty-one years of age, was suffering from the ravages of time and "at first he did not appear to recollect me." He had, apparently, no such difficulty with Eddy, for as Kent remarks they "had been intimate friends."¹⁰⁸

When Eddy died on September 16, 1827, many newspapers eulogized him, including the *Freeman's Journal*, *Commercial Advertiser*, *New York Daily Advertiser*, and the *National Gazette* of Philadelphia. Governor De Witt Clinton wrote a touching letter to Mrs. Eddy from Albany, September 18, 1827 — "Permit me to mingle my tears with yours over the loss of my invaluable friend."¹⁰⁹ Within a few months Clinton followed his friend to the grave, leaving to the other Sons of St. Patrick the task of carrying on the Society's charitable work.

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¹⁰⁶ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 710; Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 682.

¹⁰⁷ Francis, *Old New York*, pp. 80-81; Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 98.

¹⁰⁸ Kent to Hosack, Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

CHAPTER X

THE SOCIETY IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY



IN the first decade of the nineteenth century New York was still an overgrown village with a population of only 75,770 in 1805. The city had lost the state capital to Albany in 1797, but had passed Philadelphia in total imports and exports in that year to hold first place ever since with two brief exceptions.¹ This lead, however, was quite insecure until after 1815. By the close of 1799 New York had 657,142 tons of shipping in the foreign trade.² Old residents would not find much change in the town since the late eighties. Alexander Macomb's mansion on Broadway was still the largest and most expensive private house in the city, valued at \$25,000 in 1798, while that of the Constable family at No. 6 Wall Street had an estimated worth of \$15,000.³ Values began to rise rather sharply thereafter. In 1800 there were only seventeen persons in the city who kept private carriages.⁴ There were no public hacks on the streets, and if one needed a carriage it must be hired from a livery stable. Many of the wealthy, however, kept riding-horses. Well stocked shops were just beginning to crowd the mansions of the rich off certain sections of Broadway, but in the vicinity of the Battery and for some distance up the main thoroughfare were still the private houses of the principal merchants and gentry of the city.⁵ Business hours were still early and most merchants could be found in their shops and counting houses by eight o'clock in the morning. Shops usually closed down for the noon hour since both merchants and clerks went home for lunch or rather dinner which was served in the middle of the day. One might take "tea" about three o'clock and a hearty supper in the evening at eight.⁶ The burned-out areas of the old town had all been rebuilt, and new structures were gradually

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¹ Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 8.

² Richard C. McKay, *South Street*, New York, 1934, p. 53.

³ Philip G. Hubert, Jr., *The Merchant's National Bank, 1803-1903*, New York, 1903, p. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday*, New York, 1953, p. 3; Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 70.

⁶ Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday*, p. 8.

filling in the vacant lots at the rate of 700 per year.

The city had expanded northward much less than might be expected. The great majority of the population lived below Cortlandt Street and Maiden Lane.⁷ In 1803 the town practically ended at Reade Street just above the site of the new City Hall whose cornerstone was laid on May 26, 1803 by Mayor Edward Livingston with colorful ceremonies.⁸ The building was designed by Joseph F. Mangin and John McComb, Jr., but the latter was the architect in sole charge of the actual construction.⁹ McComb was a son of John McComb, an early member of the Friendly Sons who had been appointed City Surveyor in 1784. The older McComb had designed the Brick Presbyterian Church in 1767, the North Dutch Church in 1769 and the New York Hospital, on the west side of Broadway just north of Duane Street, the cornerstone of which was laid in 1773. The senior McComb lived long enough to see his son's work on the new City Hall practically finished in 1811. The building was ready for occupancy in 1812, but was not finally completed and dedicated until 1815. The Common Council for economy reasons decided to finish the north or rear part of the edifice in red stone instead of marble, "inasmuch as it was most unlikely to attract attention of inhabitants who might reside above Chambers Street."¹⁰ The building had been erected on the site of the old Almshouse, between the Bridewell and the Jail. It faced south on the Fields, now City Hall Park. The white marble structure, distinguished for its grace and symmetry, was considered "the most superb building in the United States" by Timothy Dwight, president of Yale College, who visited New York in 1811.¹¹

The smaller houses of the city in 1803 were usually built of wood, brick being used only for the more expensive residences.¹² Colonial laws, revived after the Revolution, which forbade wooden houses below the Fresh Water Pond proved impossible to enforce.¹³ Of the 16,000 homes estimated to be standing in the city in 1812 most were still of wood, except in the lowermost business section where the large ones were built of red brick with slate roofs.¹⁴ The tin roofs, so popular in the city later on, were then unknown. The City Hotel, built on Broadway in the summer and autumn of 1794, was "the first house in the city and America to have a slate roof."¹⁵

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⁷ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 13.

⁸ Hubert, *Merchant's Bank*, p. 12; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 236.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 236; T. F. Hamlin, "John McComb," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XI, 599.

¹⁰ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 15.

¹¹ Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, 4 vols., New Haven, 1821, III, 451.

¹² Hubert, *Merchant's Bank*, p. 12.

¹³ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 232-3.

¹⁴ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 17.

¹⁵ G. Thorburn, *Fifty Years Reminiscences of New York*, p. 209.

The streets of the lower part of the town were narrow, ill paved and frequently crooked. Some of them were to be widened and straightened in later years. Many street names had been or were soon to be changed, and systematic numbering of houses was introduced in 1793.¹⁶ By 1812 Pearl Street was still the busiest street in the city, but Water, Front, and South Streets were extensively occupied by warehouses. Nevertheless South, Front, Water, Pearl, Pine and Beekman Streets still contained many family residences.¹⁷ Substantial business men frequently lived over their shops or warehouses. Greenwich Street and Broadway below Leonard Street were each a favorite locality for private residences; but in Wall Street and State Street there were still many residences of prominent families. Broadway until some time after the War of 1812 was of secondary importance as a business street. In 1803 a few streets had red brick sidewalks, and even brick gutters. This was especially true in the newer southwest side of town. Even in 1814 the pavement on Broadway ended at Anthony, now Worth Street, and sidewalks came only to Leonard Street.¹⁸

What illumination there was on the streets of the city on dark nights was furnished by whale-oil lamps; but these were never lighted when there was a moon. Householders for the most part still depended upon candlelight, but by 1807, so the traveller John Lambert tells us, oil lamps were in use.¹⁹ There was no gas light until 1825, when Samuel Liggett first lighted his house at No. 7 Cherry Street by the new method, and had to pay increased insurance, since gas was considered dangerous.²⁰ Liggett, naturally enough, was the first president of the New York Gas Company. Most people still depended for water upon wells, the city pumps or rain water from the eaves gathered in cisterns.²¹ Pure water was at a premium, as the quality of the water supplied by the Manhattan Company from the old City wells and springs steadily deteriorated. This water was sent underground through bored wooden logs from the company's reservoir in Chambers Street, thence to wells or pumps located in the middle of the street up until 1807.²² Thereafter they were moved to the sidewalk in the most crowded streets.

The famous Collect or Fresh Water Pond, located where the Criminal Courts building and Tombs Prison later stood, had become badly contaminated since the Revolution. Indeed, complaints of the noxious vapors from the brackish contents of the Pond and its sur-

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¹⁶ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 276.

¹⁷ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 33.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 36.

¹⁹ Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 69.

²⁰ Hubert, *Merchant's Bank*, p. 12.

²¹ Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 22.

²² Guernsey, *New York City During the War of 1812*, I, 48.

rounding marshes had come from annoyed and alarmed New Yorkers as early as 1732.²³ Nothing was done by the city fathers until 1805 when a canal was begun through what is now Canal Street to drain the stagnant waters.²⁴ The pond was gradually filled in by the city between 1800 and 1828,²⁵ much to the dismay of William A. Duer, who had skated there in his youth and who claimed that it supplied the famous Tea Water Pump in Chatham Street.²⁶ The Pond, once thought bottomless, had been the scene of the trial of Fitch's experimental steamboat in 1796.²⁷ The water situation in the city grew steadily worse. That supplied by the Manhattan Company was never adequate, and in May of 1812 it failed utterly for five weeks.²⁸ It was not until 1837 that actual work was begun to bring water from the Croton River.²⁹

Sanitary conditions in the city were still very primitive, especially the methods of sewage disposal. What sewers existed were solely for the purpose of carrying off surplus water. Every house had a pit or "Backyard latrine" whose contents were occasionally cleaned out by negro slaves to be dumped at night into the river from the nearest wharf.³⁰ This practice endured although it was contrary to a city ordinance. Street dirt and garbage were supposed to be carried away twice a week by employees of the Street Commission or the superintendent of scavengers.³¹ Every effort to rid the city streets of hogs which fed upon and scattered the garbage, proved a failure. As late as 1817 a writer in *Blunt's Guide to New York* complained bitterly of the number of swine that roamed the city streets. After 1802 the city corporation appropriated money for the daily washing of the streets with water supplied by the Manhattan Company.³² Conditions improved somewhat thereafter.

In 1803 the city had two parks, unless one counts the Bowling Green which was laid out in 1733 and has been celebrated as New York's "first public park."³³ The first park, at the tip of Manhattan Island on the site of the old Battery and land filled in behind a bulkhead which extended from Battery Place to Whitehall Street, was early known as "The Battery." In the first decades of the century New York was very proud of this park, where citizens and visitors could stroll on its "pleasant promenade" to enjoy fresh breezes and a grand view

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²³ Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Wilderness*, p. 399.

²⁴ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 424.

²⁵ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 580; Hubert, *Merchant's Bank*, p. 75.

²⁶ Duer, *New York As It Was*, p. 15.

²⁷ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 424.

²⁸ Guernsey, *New York City During War of 1812*, I, 49.

²⁹ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 285.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 277.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 276.

³³ George W. Edwards, *New York as an Eighteenth Century Municipality, 1731-1776*, New York, 1917, p. 171.

of the Bay.³⁴ Washington Irving, then in his twenties, described the Battery as it was in 1804, referring to its "renowned promenade" as "the pride of the lovely island of Mannahata."³⁵ About a mile north of the Battery lay the city common, known in colonial days as the Fields or to some of the older inhabitants as the "Flat." In 1785 the Common Council decided to plant the fields and fence it in as a park. In 1807 its four acres, though of no great extent, had become one of the show places of the city, planted with elms, planes, willows, and catalpas. It served to display to better advantage the surrounding buildings, and as "a relief to the confined appearance of the streets in general."³⁶ At the southeast side of the Park was the famous Park Theatre, a large building that could seat about two thousand, begun in 1794 and costing over \$130,000.³⁷ In 1806 its outside was still unfinished but its interior was very "handsomely decorated," comparing favorably with London theatres.³⁸ Just to the north on Chatham Street, now Park Row, but facing on Beaver Street, stood the old Brick Presbyterian Church, of which Daniel McCormick was trustee. About 1800 it acquired a new spire, designed by John McComb, Jr. whose father had been the original architect of the church. The new City Hotel on Broadway, at this time the largest hostelry in the city, was said to have resembled the "London Tavern in Bishop Gate Street,"³⁹ but the New York hotel had already inaugurated the practice of turning its ground floor into shops. Broadway and the Bowery Road were described in 1807 as the two finest avenues in the city. About two miles out on the Bowery Road was the famous Vauxhall Gardens, with its equestrian statue of George Washington and a small theatre where summer shows were offered. But Broadway itself in 1803 ended at present Astor Place, where the wall of the Randall farm barred further progress to the north.⁴⁰ This wall was not taken down until 1806.

Captain Thomas Randall, one of the founders of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and his son, Robert Richard Randall, a famous privateersman in the Revolution, had bought up in the years following the war a number of pieces of land in different parts of New York City, the best known of which was the Minto farm which was purchased in 1790 from Charles Hans Bruno Poelnits, a German baron.⁴¹ The purchase included a part of the original farm of Peter Stuyvesant, last Dutch Governor, and extended from the Bowery west to "Minute

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³⁴ *Daily Advertiser*, April 3, 1802.

³⁵ Rodman, *The Battery*, p. 128.

³⁶ John Lambert, "Travels"; Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 70.

³⁷ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, pp. 478-9.

³⁸ Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 70.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Hubert, *Merchant's Bank*, p. 82.

⁴¹ New York County *Conveyances*, Lib. 46, p. 212, cited by W. Baur, "Robert R. Randall" *Dictionary of American Biography*, XV, 348, 9.

Water" and approximately from what is now East Tenth Street to Waverly Place.⁴² Since Robert Randall had no children Thomas early decided to leave his property for the benefit of worn-out and decrepit seamen. Randall had been, as will be remembered, one of the founders of the Marine Society of New York. The father died on October 27, 1797, aged 74, and was interred in the churchyard of Trinity of which he had been a vestryman. In the elder Randall's will his property was treated as a bequest to his son, Robert Richard, who continued to live on the Minto farm until his death about June 5, 1801. When Robert's will was probated on July 10, it was found that he had left, after certain small bequests to relatives and friends, all his landed property as well as stocks, bonds, and cash in trust for the establishment of an asylum and hospital for aged, decrepit, and worn-out seamen to be known as Sailors' Snug Harbor. Attempts to break the will by Randall's relatives failed. So it was actually Robert Richard Randall, rather than his father, who founded the famous seamen's trust; but the plan and fortune which made it possible is usually credited to Captain Thomas Randall.⁴³ Sailors' Snug Harbor in Staten Island remains to this day a monument to the charity of one of the founders of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

As the St. Patrick's Society neared the end of its first twenty years of existence, many of the founders were still living and continued to be prominent in its affairs. As they looked around them at their City and State there would perhaps have been very little evidence of change. George Clinton, who was governor of the State when the Society was founded in 1784, once more occupied that position in Albany. He will be elected Vice-President of the United States in November 1804. Clinton had been faithful in his attendance at the banquets until the removal of the capital to Albany in 1797; but there is no record of his presence at meetings after that date. James Duane, mayor of New York in 1784, who was noted for his loyalty to the Society, had died in his Duanesburg home in 1797;⁴⁴ but another member of the Friendly Sons had just accepted an appointment as mayor. This was De Witt Clinton who in the years that followed, 1803-1807, 1808-1810, 1811-1827, proved to be one of the best mayors that New York City ever had. What Benjamin Franklin did for Philadelphia, Clinton is said to have done for New York. A leader in every civic and educational project in the City and State, he was a Regent of the State University from February 11, 1808 to his resignation in June 12, 1825.⁴⁵ On November 20, 1804, in Clinton's office at the City Hall on Wall

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⁴² *Ibid.*

⁴³ Booth, *History of the City of New York*, p. 629.

⁴⁴ Alexander, *James Duane*, pp. 187-235.

⁴⁵ Warner, *Civil List*, p. 192.

Street, he with John Pintard and nine others founded the famous New York Historical Society.⁴⁶ Established on "less than a shoestring" this organization occupied a rent-free room in the City Hall from December 1804 to August 1809.⁴⁷ Clinton was president of the Historical Society from 1817 to 1819. Many other members of the Friendly Sons have been active in this distinguished society down through the years, notably in the early days John Glover, the "incomparable Billy Niblo," and Thomas Eddy, who was a member of its standing committee, 1820 to 1821.⁴⁸ Eddy's son-in-law, Doctor David Hosack, was president of the New York Historical Society from 1820-1827.

In 1803 Daniel McCormick, founder of the Friendly Sons, was president of the St. Patrick's Society. He still seems to have been active in business and was one of the substantial merchants in the city. Though most of his wealth was in lands, both in the city and especially in upstate New York, he apparently had considerable liquid capital. He was taxed on a \$40,000 personal estate in 1815.⁴⁹ As late as 1822 McCormick's house at 57 Wall Street was valued at \$10,000 for tax purposes, probably considerably under its market value, and his property in stocks and bonds was taxed at \$35,000.⁵⁰

By this time McCormick had resigned as a director of the Bank of New York but was now director of the United States Insurance Company at 49 Wall Street, as were his neighbors, Thomas Buchanan, 41 Wall and Thomas Pearsall, 43 Wall.⁵¹ Daniel's friend and colleague in the Friendly Sons, John McVickar, was also elected director of the United States Insurance Company in 1795, a position which he held until 1809.⁵² McCormick's great friends during this period were William Bell, Captain Frederick Phillips, and William Steuben Smith. Bell was William Constable's old supercargo in the far eastern trade. Captain Phillips, a half-pay British officer, lived in "the splendid mansion corner of Pine and William Streets."⁵³ Billy Niblo, a member of the Society, took it over after Phillips' death as the Bank Coffee House. The Friendly Sons held its anniversary dinners there from 1818 to 1832. Phillips had an only daughter who married Samuel Gouverneur. Their son Samuel L. Gouverneur married a daughter of James Monroe, President of the United States.⁵⁴ Colonel William S. Smith, a very old friend of McCormick was the son-in-law of John

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⁴⁶ Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday*, pp. 19-23.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 480, 132, 133, 481.

⁴⁹ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 120; Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, II, 514-526.

⁵⁰ Lanier, *op. cit.* p. 120.

⁵¹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 252.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 282.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

Adams who, when president, had appointed him surveyor of the Port of New York.⁵⁵ Jefferson allowed him to remain in office but later removed him for supposed complicity in the famous Miranda filibustering expedition.⁵⁶ General Francisco Miranda sailed from New York in February of 1806 with a band of American adventurers in the ship *Leander* to start a revolution in the Spanish province of Caracas, now Venezuela.⁵⁷ The expedition failed. All three men, Bell, Phillips, and Smith, famous in the New York of their time, could be found in the middle of the day, sitting on the stoop of Daniel McCormick's residence at 57 Wall Street, probably waiting for the master to return from his counting house.⁵⁸

About 1800 McCormick seems to have associated with himself in business a young relative from Ireland who is referred to as his "nephew."⁵⁹ Walter Barrett does not seem to have known his name, but writes that McCormick intended to make him his heir. There is a letter from Governor George Clinton to Daniel McCormick, Jr., dated August 30, 1801, in which the governor apologizes for his failure to secure him an appointment as an auctioneer. He blamed this on the fact that the Council had determined upon most of their appointments before they came together in August.⁶⁰ The governor, at this time, was engaged in a political battle with the Council of Appointment in which he was finally successful, but at this time the Council was controlled by the Federalist holdovers from the Jay regime. Clinton's use of the name Daniel McCormick Junior may have been a natural error or else indicative of the older Daniel's intention to adopt his "nephew" who was assuming his uncle's name, a rather common occurrence in those days. Whatever the explanation may be, young McCormick's real name seems to have been Samuel, and he was the son of Daniel's cousin Edward, rather than a nephew.⁶¹ However, Samuel's sister, Helen, is usually spoken of as McCormick's "Favorite Niece." At any rate the association of the two McCormicks did not last very long. Barrett tells us that "they did not agree. One was raw and uncouth, and the other, old Daniel, was one of the most polished gentlemen in the city."⁶² The nephew soon went back to Ireland where he rose to high rank in the legal profession. "Lord Advocate, or something of the sort," Barrett thinks. According to the family in England, Samuel did become High Sheriff of Bute.⁶³

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⁵⁵ McBain, *De Witt Clinton and . . . the Spoils System*, p. 60.

⁵⁶ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 252.

⁵⁷ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VI, 196.

⁵⁸ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, pp. 248-251.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

⁶⁰ George Clinton, *Public Papers of*, XXVI, 6870.

⁶¹ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, "Family Tree of the McCormicks."

⁶² Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 249.

⁶³ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, "Family Tree of the McCormicks."

From the records, Daniel McCormick had two brothers, Edward and Hugh, neither of whom seems to have married. Edward, a ship captain in the East India trade, was in New York many times during his brother's lifetime. He died here in 1805. Hugh also came to New York, but little is known of him. He may have been the Hugh McCormick who was taxed on \$5,000 personal property in 1815 and again in 1820.⁶⁴ There is a tradition in the family that Hugh, at his brother's request, sent the Gilbert Stuart portrait of Daniel McCormick to his cousin William from whom it descended to Gerald Piers Dumas. It is at present the possession of the latter's widow. The Society of the Friendly Sons has tried to buy the picture but without success.

The treasurer of the Society in 1803 was William Hill who had succeeded Hugh Gaine in 1797.⁶⁵ Robert Ross Waddell was still secretary. Hugh Gaine died on April 27, 1807 and in his will appointed his son-in-law, John Kemp and his "friends Daniel McCormick and Richard Harison," as executors with instructions to sell and dispose of his real estate in order to pay his debts, provide an annuity for his wife, and divide the residue among his children.⁶⁶ Kemp, a professor in Columbia College, appears to have become a man of property for he was taxed on \$20,000 personal estate in 1815.⁶⁷ He was a director of the Washington Insurance Society in 1822.⁶⁸

In 1803 the Friendly Sons mourned the loss of their second president William Constable, who died on May 22 of that year while on a visit to his estates in northern New York. The learned jurist, the Honorable Ogden Edwards, eulogized him as follows:

William Constable was truly one of nature's noblemen. He was a man of sound comprehension and fruitful mind, of high-toned feelings and vivid imagination. He saw clearly, felt keenly and expressed himself pungently. He . . . was, in truth, the most eloquent man in conversation I ever heard. . . . Such were his powers, and such the charms of his conversation, that wherever he went he was the king of the company. I first saw him in 1796, at a dinner party. Among the distinguished persons present were General Hamilton, Colonel Burr, and Count de Volney. Yet even in such company, all eyes and ears were turned to him, and he appeared to be the master spirit.⁶⁹

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⁶⁴ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, pp. 514-26.

⁶⁵ *Vide supra*, Chapter VIII.

⁶⁶ Ford, *Journals of Hugh Gaine*, I, 69.

⁶⁷ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, pp. 514-26. Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 115.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 115.

⁶⁹ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

Constable's old friend, Alexander Macomb, the third president of the Friendly Sons, was still living in New York in 1803, and was active in the affairs of the Society. He was present at a meeting as late as March, 1806, and perhaps on later occasions.

In the following year New York lost one of her greatest sons and the leaders of the Friendly Sons one of their closest associates when Alexander Hamilton died at the home of William Bayard in Jane Street from a bullet wound received in a duel fought with Aaron Burr on Weehawken Heights, July 11, 1804.⁷⁰ Hamilton had been the attorney for Constable and McCormick in their great land ventures in upstate New York and oddly enough Burr also had been involved in the great Macomb Purchase. As Attorney-General of the State he had been accused of complicity in what the Federalists chose to consider an illegal land sale.⁷¹ Up to that time Alexander Macomb had been perhaps Burr's most important legal client. Three days before the duel Hamilton had been merely one of New York's best-known lawyers, the all but repudiated leader of a dying political party.⁷² Almost overnight he became the hero of all New Yorkers who insisted upon viewing his killing as an assassination, not a duel.⁷³ Hamilton's death ruined for all time Burr's political prospects, and cleared the way for De Witt Clinton to undisputed leadership of the Republican Party in both city and State. A monument to Alexander Hamilton was erected on Weehawken Heights, on December 1, 1806,⁷⁴ where by some strange quirk of human psychology it became the fashionable scene of many future duels. Regarded as a public nuisance because of complaints by the citizens of Hoboken the monument was torn down in 1820.⁷⁵

At this time there were only four banks in the city, including the branch Bank of the United States.⁷⁶ More than a year before his death, Alexander Hamilton had drawn up "Articles of Association of the Merchant's Bank in the City of New York," with Oliver Wolcott as president and Lynde Catlin, Cashier.⁷⁷ The Merchant's Bank opened for business April 7, 1803, at 25 Wall Street in property for which it paid \$30,000.⁷⁸ When the new bank sought a charter from the state in 1804 it met with the same opposition that had faced its predecessors, the Bank of New York and the Manhattan Company. James Cheetham's *American Citizen* was the principal newspaper

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⁷⁰ Schachner, *Alexander Hamilton*, pp. 429-30.

⁷¹ Alexander, *Political History*, I, 55.

⁷² Schachner, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

⁷³ Spaulding, *George Clinton*, p. 275.

⁷⁴ *Commercial Advertiser*, December 3, 1806.

⁷⁵ Morrison, *St. Andrew's Society*, p. 12.

⁷⁶ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 11

⁷⁷ Hubert, *Merchant's Bank*, pp. 2-3.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53.

opponent of the proposed charter, claiming that the applicants were "Federalist Tories," and that the bank was operating illegally in doing business without a charter.⁷⁹ Leading Republicans of the city including De Witt Clinton and directors of the Manhattan Company seem to have come to its support. A petition of 148 names "many of no note whatsoever" was drawn up against the charter, while 600 names "infinitely more respectable" were signed to a similar document in support.⁸⁰ The *Citizen* has a list of resolutions and the names of a committee appointed to oppose the charter which include Thomas Pearsall, Daniel McCormick's Wall Street neighbor, William Edgar, a prominent member of the Friendly Sons, Herman Le Roy of Le Roy, Bayard and McEvers, John B. Church, Hamilton's brother-in-law, and other prominent citizens.⁸¹ Many of these, but not William Edgar, denied being at the meeting or having been consulted on the use of their names. The bank received its charter but the battle reflects the political animosities of the times.

Data illustrative of the wage and salary situation in New York City at this time can be found in the records of the bank. The first president received a salary of only \$3,000, per year, while the cashier got \$2,500 and the right to live in rooms over the bank. Various clerks received from \$500 to \$750 per year. The salaries of the chief officers were actually reduced during the hard times that followed the embargo of 1808, and it was not until 1832 that general salary increases were put through because "the cost of living had grown."⁸² It is interesting to note that when the bank opened its doors in 1803, the "runner" William H. Jepson, later a successful merchant and member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, was paid a salary of \$700 per year.⁸³ Wages of a skilled artisan at this time were seventy-five cents a day, so evidently a bank "runner" was considered worth three times as much. In reality the position was one of considerable trust and also required not a little physical strength. In those days a "runner" was actually a collector of notes, and since payments were made in cash this usually meant the carrying of considerable amounts of coin.⁸⁴

It was noted above that the name "Federalist" was linked with "Tory" during the bank controversy. Cheetham of the *American Citizen* was a radical Republican and a bitter vituperative writer. However, even kindly Dr. John Francis of New York Historical Society is almost as bitter against ultraconservatives in his memoirs covering

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⁷⁹ James Cheetham, *American Citizen*.

⁸⁰ *New York Evening Post*, March 15, 1804.

⁸¹ *American Citizen*, March 16, 1804.

⁸² Hubert, *Merchant's Bank*, pp. 14, 112-113.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 197.

⁸⁴ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 97.

this period.⁸⁵ He explained that the city, which was occupied by the British during the war, still retained a "vast number of Tories" who, although willing to be participators of the benefits of freedom," still writhed under the mortification of defeat and found their principal relief in yielding a listening ear to any narrative that might asperse the purity of American devotion to the patriotic cause of liberty." Any account of the wrongs endured by patriots, as cited in the Declaration of Independence, was deemed by "the defeated and disaffected" to be cruel and unwise. "Here and there measures were in agitation and suggestions hinted the object of which was to prevent the public reading of the Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July."⁸⁶ Even as late as 1804 a turmoil arose upon the occasion of the expressed patriotic sentiments of the orator of the day, John W. Mulligan, son of that old "Liberty Boy," Hercules Mulligan.

The reminiscences of Dr. Francis undoubtedly reflect the growing bitterness between conservative Federalists and the democratic elements which were gradually taking over the Republican party of George Clinton and Thomas Jefferson. The first Democratic Society in the city and one of the earliest in the nation was established about 1794, with Colonel Henry Rutgers, an old Liberty Boy, as president.⁸⁷ The new organization seems to have drawn some of its members from the Tammany Society of which William Mooney of the Friendly Sons was grand sachem. The Tammany Society or Columbian Order had been established as a rather conservative social club, "one hundred per cent American" and indeed rather hostile to foreigners.⁸⁸ In its early days it had been rather unsympathetic to such national organizations as the St. George's Society, St. Andrew's Society and the Friendly Sons. It was not until 1817 that the Irish began to invade Tammany in great numbers, partly in anger because the leaders had refused to support Thomas Addis Emmet, of the Friendly Sons, for Congress and partly because it was rumored that Tammany was about to adopt a new constitution that would "exclude the foreign born" from holding any office in the organization.⁸⁹ The Tammany Society itself tried for some years to keep out of politics, but the influence of Republican and Democratic elements in its membership caused the gradual resignation of Federalists until in 1797 the order fell under the dominance of Aaron Burr.⁹⁰ From that time on Tammany was in politics to stay. The Democratic Society, the Mechanic's Society, and Tammany took the lead in the city's celebrations of the Fourth of

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⁸⁵ Francis, *Old New York*, pp. 108-109.

⁸⁶ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 109.

⁸⁷ Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 16.

⁸⁸ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 107.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

⁹⁰ Schachner, *Aaron Burr*, p. 175.

July,⁹¹ and advocated liberal changes in the city's charter, extension of the suffrage, popular election of the mayor, and other democratic reforms against the bitter opposition of the Federalists. The democratic societies and the Clintonian Republicans appealed to the ideals of the American Revolution and the Declaration of Independence to justify their political program which probably accounts for the so-called "Tory" reaction against these principles.⁹²

Unquestionably the naturalization of the new Irish immigrants tended to strengthen the Republican Party in New York and to build up its influence in a city which at the time of the adoption of the Constitution had been almost solidly Federalist. The Republican mayor, Edward Livingston, was accused by Federalists on the eve of the State election of 1802 of having arranged the naturalization of no less than two hundred Irishmen, but recently arrived in America.⁹³ The undoubted fact that immigration was changing the political complexion of the city began to arouse some prejudice among the older inhabitants. To this was added an economic motive, since skilled workers from abroad and those with business connections naturally set up in competition with the native sons, so arousing opposition to foreigners in general, as newspapers of the day make clear.⁹⁴ It also seems to have been true that, although the really poor Irish did not begin to come to America until after 1815, in a time of rising living costs the poorer Irish and German immigrants tended to flock together in sections of the city which rapidly became, if they had not already been, slums.⁹⁵ More important perhaps than any of these reasons was the religious change in the immigration of the period. Although Protestant Irish did not stop coming to America after 1798 the majority of immigrants from Ireland seem to have been Catholics, a fact that aroused the deep-seated "Anglo-Saxon" fear and hatred of Rome. In later years New York became a hot bed of the "nativist" movement, which used both political and religious arguments in its opposition to immigration.⁹⁶

As has been mentioned in previous chapters Roman Catholics in New York before the Revolution were very few in number and for years thereafter the Catholic community was small enough to be served adequately by a single church, St. Peter's in Barclay Street, which was built in 1786.⁹⁷ Colonial prejudices against Catholics were,

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⁹¹ *Weekly Chronicle*, July 9, 1795.

⁹² Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 146.

⁹³ *New York Evening Post*, Apr. 28, 1802; *Gazette*, Apr. 29, 1802.

⁹⁴ Pomerantz, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁹⁵ Adams, *Ireland and Irish Immigration*, p. 111; Pomerantz, *New York: An American City*, p. 209.

⁹⁶ Lewis Dow Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State*, New York, 1901, p. 17.

⁹⁷ Booth, *History of City of New York*, p. 655.

therefore, largely theoretical or even academic, based upon English traditions which gave to most New Yorkers a heritage of fear and hatred for Rome.⁹⁸ These feelings were manifested to some extent in the debates at the State Convention of 1777 but, as already has been noted, did not result in any openly anti-Catholic clauses in the Constitution adopted at that time.⁹⁹ However, official oaths were then put into force which served for a time to bar conscientious Catholics from a public office.¹⁰⁰ By 1815 the number of Catholics in the city was sufficiently large to justify the opening of a second church, St. Patrick's Cathedral, on the corner of Mott and Prince Streets which for many years was the largest church in the city.¹⁰¹ By 1829 there were five Catholic churches in New York and Brooklyn and more than 25,000 Catholics most of whom were Irish.¹⁰²

The earliest notable manifestation of native hostility to this new foreign element took place on Christmas Eve, in the year 1806, when a hostile crowd gathered in front of St. Peter's Church with the intention of interrupting the services, only to find that none were in progress. The news spread and by Christmas night a crowd of Irish immigrants had rallied in defense of their church. A street fight ensued and when the city watchmen intervened one of their number was killed by a knife-thrust said to have been delivered by an Irishman.¹⁰³ Only the personal interference of Mayor De Witt Clinton is said to have prevented the destruction of Irish homes by the mob. From this time on the nativist movement grew steadily in New York and the opposition to foreigners undoubtedly came to center around antipathy to Irish Catholics. The nativists not only claimed that no person of foreign birth was fitted for citizenship "until time had obliterated his active interest in the motherland from whence he came," but went so far as to declare that any Roman Catholic was permanently unfitted for citizenship because he was obedient to an extra-territorial ruler — the Pope.¹⁰⁴ The Federalists found it advantageous to put so-called "American" tickets in the field as did the Whigs at a later date. On the other hand the Republicans made direct appeals to the Irish for support against the Federalists.

Newspapers and individual writers encouraged the onslaught against the detested Irish. Grant Thorburn, a voluminous and vitriolic writer on any and every subject under the pseudonym "Laurie Todd," hated

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⁹⁸ Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

⁹⁹ *Vide supra.*

¹⁰⁰ John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, 2 vols., New York, 1888, 1890, II, 158.

¹⁰¹ Booth, *History of City of New York*, p. 655.

¹⁰² Shea, *History of the Catholic Church*, II, 196.

¹⁰³ Scisco, *Political Nativism*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁴ Scisco, *Political Nativism*, p. 16.

any thing that smacked of democracy, but he reserved his bitterest shafts for the Irish. He lamented that there was no monument in New York to any of the heroes of '76, except the Irish Montgomery.

We can find money for buying of fuel to keep the Irish *Repeal* pot boiling, and to help King O'Connel (sic) to live sumptuously every day, with the crimson cloak and scarlet crown, squeezing the last herring from the peasant's child, and compelling them to live on salt and potatoes;¹⁰⁵ but can we find no money for a monument to Washington?

Thorburn's particular *bête noir* was the English radical William Cobbett, at that time living in New York, although it can be suspected that his animosity is partly explained by the fact that Cobbett after the turn of the century was conducting a seed business in competition with Thorburn's own seed shop. It was Thorburn's custom to blame the riot which welcomed the news of Jay's Treaty in New York on the Irish and Frenchmen of the city. In later years he inveighed against what he called "the unremitting efforts of the Romanists to banish the Bible from the schools." Should this be accomplished "before another century there will be no schools . . . then we must kiss the Pope's toe or be lost."¹⁰⁶ Thorburn, of course, was an extremist, but Philip Hone, celebrated diarist and Mayor of New York, 1825-26, no doubt reflected the opinions of many New Yorkers of wealth and social position when he wrote in his Diary; "Irishmen are the most ignorant, and consequently the most obstinate white men in the world, and I have seen enough to satisfy me that, with few exceptions, ignorance and vice go together. . . . These Irishmen, strangers among us . . . decide the elections in the city of New York."¹⁰⁷ Hone had started his business career as a clerk in the counting house of John McVickar, Councillor of the Friendly Sons in 1794 and 1795.

Time and the new immigration soon began to make changes in the membership of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Christopher Colles, cherished friend of De Witt Clinton, was still one of the Society's Council in 1805, but in that year and after new names begin to appear taking the place of the McVickars, Pollocks, Edgars, Lynches, Hills, Glovers, Maunsells, and Shaws of earlier years. Between 1805 and 1812 we find many new names among the officers of the Society; James McConnell, in business in De Peyster Street, John N. Macomb, a mer-

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¹⁰⁵ Grant Thorburn, *Fifty Years Reminiscences of New York or Flowers from the Garden of Laurie Todd*, New York, 1845, p. 264.

¹⁰⁶ Thorburn, *Reminiscences of New York*, pp. 26, 37.

¹⁰⁷ Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 229, n. 26; Allan Nevins, ed., *Diary of Philip Hone*, New York, 1936, Vol. I, p. 190.

chant in Duane Street, who is believed to have been the son of Alexander Macomb, Guilian McEvers, an importer, possibly a relative of the founder Charles McEvers, William Bailey who is recorded as a member of the firm of Bailey and Bayley, merchants in Water Street, William Wallace, head of a mercantile house in Pearl Street, John Phelan of the wholesale grocery firm of D. & J. Phelan, in Front Street, Charles and Dennis McCarthy, merchants in business in Chambers, Cherry and Maple Streets, and Thomas Suffern, described as "a respectable Irish gentleman, nephew of the venerable Judge Suffern of Rockland County."¹⁰⁸ After 1805 the leaders of the unsuccessful United Irishmen rising of '98 had come to New York, Thomas Addis Emmet, William James Macneven, Michael Hogan, William Sampson, and Thomas O'Connor. All of them but the last named became members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and later became officers of the Society. Thomas O'Connor so far as is known never became a member of the Society, but his son Charles, was the Vice-President of the Friendly Sons in 1844.¹⁰⁹ All of these men became the dynamic leaders of the new Irish Community in New York City and the infusion of new blood was exceptionally good for the St. Patrick Society. It will be remembered that at the time of the Copenhagen Jackson controversy in 1810, members of the Friendly Sons were accused by later Irish immigrants of having become too aristocratic, even "Tory" in their attitude.

New York's hard won prosperity of the first years of the century ended abruptly in 1808, with the passage of Jefferson's Embargo Act. The British traveler, John Lambert, who had found New York City bustling with all kinds of activity in November of 1807, returned in April of the next year to a city filled with gloom and melancholy, business at a standstill, the Tontine Coffee House, seat of the Merchants' Exchange, almost empty.¹¹⁰ New York's commerce, which had continued to grow despite Napoleon's Berlin and Milan decrees and the British Orders in Council, was now nonexistent. Another British traveler, returning in 1808, counted 500 vessels idle in the port.¹¹¹ In April of 1808, New Yorkers expressed their displeasure by electing a Federalist legislature. De Witt Clinton, Mayor of New York, doubtless reflecting majority opinion in a city whose very life's blood depended upon commerce, issued a manifesto against the Embargo, but

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¹⁰⁸ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹⁰⁹ Charles O'Connor was attorney for the petitioners in the celebrated case of *Miss. v. Johnson* (4 Wall 475, 1867). J. T. Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, 5 vols. New York, 1940, III, 425. He was nominated for President by the "Straight Out" Democratic Convention, Sept. 3, 1872. Thomas H. McKee, *The National Conventions and Platforms of all Political Parties*, Baltimore, Md., 1901, p. 147.

¹¹⁰ Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, pp. 74-75.

¹¹¹ Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 8.

had to reverse himself when Governor Daniel D. Tompkins came to the support of the administration.¹¹²

Merchant members of the Friendly Sons, like others in the city, must have been indignant when John Jacob Astor by "a stroke of ingenious trickery" got President Jefferson to suspend the embargo in his favor.¹¹³ Under pretext of returning to his home a distinguished Chinese "Mandarin," stranded in this country, Jefferson gave special permission in the interest of "international Comity" for Astor's ship, the *Beaver*, to clear from New York for Canton.¹¹⁴ Astor's petition had been supported by Senator Samuel Latham Mitchell of New York and James Madison, Secretary of State.¹¹⁵ Warned by the suspicious Albert Callatin, by the protests of Philadelphia Merchants who claimed that the "mandarin" was an impostor, and perhaps by newspaper reports that Astor's mandarin was a "Chinaman picked up in the park," "a common Chinese dock loafer," Jefferson ordered the ship held on August 23, only to find that she had sailed August 17.¹¹⁶ The Federalists of course jeered at the administration. The *Beaver* returned to New York, June 1, 1809 with a cargo of tea, silks, and nankeens consigned to J. J. Astor, who is said to have made a profit of \$200,000 on the voyage.¹¹⁷

The repeal of the Embargo Act brought some relief to the businessmen of New York, but real prosperity did not return until 1825.¹¹⁸ As war with England grew imminent, all the newspapers of the city were unanimous in their opposition to America's entrance into the conflict. Members of the Friendly Sons doubtless agreed with the majority of commercial minded New Yorkers. As the national election of 1812 approached De Witt Clinton was the candidate of the peace wing of the Republican party; but the Congressional caucus, by a unanimous vote of eighty-two nominated James Madison, May 12, 1818.¹¹⁹ The Republican members of the New York State Legislature nominated Clinton for president on the ground that he would prosecute the war more efficiently than Madison. Clinton's nomination was endorsed by a "convention" of Federalist leaders, held in New York City in September, 1812, apparently in the belief that he would bring the war to an end.¹²⁰ He thus became the first but not the last member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick to be nominated for

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¹¹² Flick, *New York State History*, V, 222.

¹¹³ Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, I, 144.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 145; Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 197.

¹¹⁵ Porter, *John Jacob Astor, Business Man*, I, 144.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 148.

¹¹⁷ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, III, 9-11; Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 197.

¹¹⁸ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 336.

¹¹⁹ McKee, *National Conventions*, p. 14.

¹²⁰ McKee, *National Conventions*, p. 15.

President of the United States. In the election of November 3, 1812, Madison received 128 electoral votes to Clinton's eighty-nine.¹²¹ Clinton carried New York and seven other states. Had Pennsylvania with its large commercial city, Philadelphia, supported him he would have won the election.

The population of New York City in 1812 was estimated at 98,000. The last federal census of June, 1810, had shown a population of 96,373, of whom 1,686 were slaves. However, a careful census taken in 1814 shows only 95,519 persons, less than in 1810. The city census of 1813, under Jury Law, was 2,825 less than the federal census of 1810. Longworth's *City Directory* for June, 1812 listed 17,700 names, but two years later had only 14,508.¹²² It is evident that the population of the city had declined somewhat because of the war. The city census of 1816 shows the beginning of recovery, listing 100,233 inhabitants. Aliens were so few that the federal census of 1810 and the state census of 1814 ignore them, but the city census of 1813 and 1816 listed 3,495 and 6,989 aliens respectively.¹²³ The latter figure evidently indicates the resumption of immigration after peace was declared. Slavery is clearly shown to be on its way out in the city. The census of 1813 shows 976 and that of 1816 only 617 slaves as compared with 1,686 in 1810. Federal statistics for 1810 prove that New York City was absolutely dependent upon commerce for existence. Philadelphia, the second commercial city in the country, far surpassed New York in manufacturing. Indeed manufacturing in New York was practically nonexistent in this period. Onondaga County, New York, with a population of only 26,000 had 1,016 looms producing 107,470 yards of woolens and 197,016 yards of linen, compared with New York City's three looms which made only 2,540 yards of woolens and 217 yards of linen. The upstate county had more than three times as many tanneries, more than twice as many distilleries, and twice as many hat factories as had New York; in only one category did the city surpass the county, that of breweries, by fifteen to two.¹²⁴ The fact that New York was so utterly dependent upon commerce accounts for the attitude of most New Yorkers, Republicans as well as Federalists, towards the war. Many of the prominent mercantile houses in New York in 1812 were run by Irishmen. They included James McBride, John Flack, Wm. & Samuel Craig, McVickar and Stewart, Alex. Cranston & Co., Abraham Bell & Co., Major & Gillespie, William Bailey, James Magee, Robert Dickie, James & William Sterling, David Sullivan, John Morrison, Robert Kelly and others. Practically all of these were mem-

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¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² Longworth's *New York City Directory*, June, 1812, June, 1814.

¹²³ Statistics are from Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 29, 417-419.

¹²⁴ Guernsey, *op. cit.*, I, 30-31.

bers of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and can be expected to have opposed entrance into the war. Two days before Congress, on April 4, 1812, passed the ninety-day embargo that preceded entrance into the conflict the news that it was imminent was published in New York.¹²⁵ As one newspaper put it, "had the city been enveloped in flames, property could not have been moved off with greater expedition. From the morning of the 2nd April until the evening of the 4th, forty-eight vessels cleared from the port of New York," to beat the embargo.¹²⁶ Many of them carried supplies for the British army in Spain. If war had to come New Yorkers preferred that it be with France rather than with England. The *New York Evening Post* reminded its readers how Napoleon had maltreated American sailors.¹²⁷ As late as June 15, 1812, after a declaration of war had passed the House, and was being considered in the Senate, Senator Smith of New York presented a petition signed by most of the large mercantile houses and many of the wealthy and influential citizens of New York City, begging that the embargo be continued but that there be no war.¹²⁸ The petition had fifty-eight signers, headed by John Jacob Astor, of whom forty-two were Federalists and sixteen Democrats, some even members of the Tammany Society, which was the strongest supporter of the administration in the city.

News that war against Great Britain had been declared on June 18, reached New York on the morning of the twentieth, and found the city ill prepared to resist a possible attack by the enemy.¹²⁹ De Witt Clinton, of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, had once again accepted appointment as Mayor of New York. Although he had belonged to the peace wing of his party before the war he threw himself heart and soul into the conflict and worked vigorously for the defense of the city.¹³⁰ It cannot be said that he received very enthusiastic support from perhaps a majority of its inhabitants except for a brief time in 1814 when the city itself was threatened with attack. The Republican Party in the city was disunited, broken up into anti-Madisonian and pro-Madisonian factions.¹³¹ The former were never more than lukewarm in their support of the administration, and while the latter, in which the Tammany Society took the lead, were enthusiastic for vigorous prosecution of the war they met with considerable opposition especially in the opening years. The Federalists, who had been successful in the state elections of 1812, polling more votes in the city than

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¹²⁵ *New York Evening Post*, April 2, 1812.

¹²⁶ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, p. 16.

¹²⁷ *New York Evening Post*, July 12, 1809.

¹²⁸ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, p. 17.

¹²⁹ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 242; Guernsey, *op. cit.*, I, 1.

¹³⁰ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 288.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

both sections of the Republicans together, were outspoken in their opposition to the war from the beginning and remained a peace party throughout the conflict.¹³² They called themselves the "Friends of Peace, Liberty and Commerce." The Irish in New York, however, led by the Macombs and Mulligans, as well as by Thomas Addis Emmet, William James Mcneven, Dominick Lynch, and other prominent members of the Friendly Sons were generally supporters of the war, motivated no doubt as much by their hatred for England as by their patriotic devotion to their adopted country.¹³³

When the war broke out the Democratic General Committee, representing the Madisonian wing of the party, called a public meeting in City Hall Park under the chairmanship of Colonel Henry Rutgers with ex-Mayor Colonel Marinus Willet as secretary. This meeting, held June 24, 1812 about twelve o'clock, was poorly attended; according to the *Commercial Advertiser* only between 700 and 1,500 persons were present.¹³⁴ A proclamation was issued approving the war measure; but the names of those responsible for it, with the exception of the two mentioned above, were not even published. Indeed there was no further comment in the newspapers on what took place at the meeting. Gouverneur Morris, in the annual address to the New York Historical Society of which he was first vice-president, bewailed losses to the commerce of New York due to the war.¹³⁵ This meeting was held, December 6, 1812, in the Supreme Court room in the second story of the new City Hall, although the Society had regular quarters at Government House, opposite Bowling Green. At this time De Witt Clinton was second vice-president, Dr. John W. Francis, librarian, and John Pintard, recording secretary, of the Historical Society.

As the war progressed feeling between Republicans and Federalists grew very bitter. The former called the Federalists "Tories" while the latter called the Republicans "Democrats," which was apparently considered an equally opprobrious term. Since the Tammany Society was one of the few organizations in the city that was heart and soul in favor of the war, the Federalists turned their guns on Tammany. As the fourth of July, 1813 approached, in the celebration of which Tammany had always taken a leading role, the Federalist newspapers, especially the *Evening Post*, began to criticize the Tammany Society for its use of Indian garb and regalia in the coming procession. Threats were made that if members of Tammany insisted upon wearing this traditional Indian garb other organizations in the city would refuse to take part in the parade. The basis of these attacks was the indigna-

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¹³² Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 15, 188, 259, 260.

¹³³ *The Shamrock*, Jan. 18, 1812; Guernsey, *op. cit.*, II, 308.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 10-15.

¹³⁵ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 188-9.

tion aroused in New York by the British use of Indian allies in Canada, which had resulted in massacres along the border. At the anniversary meeting of the Society, May 12, 1813, it was decided to suspend use of Indian garb. William Mooney, founder of Tammany and still grand sachem, who was also a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, resigned in protest at the decision. So did many of the thirteen sachems and other officers. New sachems in favor of reform had to be elected May 17.¹³⁶

As the celebration approached two Federalist organizations, the Washington Benevolent and the Hamilton Society, decided to hold their own celebration independent of any other organization or body of citizens. On the fourth of July there were two rival processions, that led by Tammany containing only one-half the numbers in the one led by the Washington and Hamilton societies.¹³⁷ The Veteran Corps of New York Artillery, first outfit to volunteer in this war, marched in uniform with Tammany.¹³⁸ It is noteworthy that many of the most prominent societies and associations of the day, of undoubted patriotism, refused to march with either procession, evidently feeling that the occasion had degenerated into a political demonstration. Among these were the St. Patrick's Society, Marine Society, St. Andrew's Society, German Society, Mechanic's Society, and the Society of the Cincinnati.¹³⁹ Indeed, the orator of the day, Gouverneur Morris, used the occasion to make a Federalist political speech. At the dinner of the Washington Benevolent Society on the next day, a formal toast was offered to the "Minority in Congress," that was opposed to the war.

At the time war was declared there were six American ships of war in New York Harbor: *President*, 44 guns, Commodore Rodgers; *Essex*, 32 guns, Captain Porter; *Hornet*, 18 guns, Captain Lawrence; *United States*, 44 guns, Captain Decatur; *Congress*, 38 guns, Captain Peter Smith, and *Argus*, 16 guns, Captain Crane.¹⁴⁰ All except the *Essex*, which was not ready, immediately put to sea in search of British ships that had been practically blockading American ports for the past few years. New York commercial houses immediately rushed into commission a number of privateers. By September 1, nineteen of them had been fitted out with eleven at sea, and by October 15, 1812, there were twenty-six ships at sea from the port of New York alone, carrying 212 guns, and 2,279 men. During the whole war 120 privateers sailed from New York, carrying from one to twenty-two guns each, with crews totaling 5,852 men. New York privateers took 275 prizes,

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¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 238.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 242-247.

¹³⁸ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 134.

¹³⁹ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 261.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

forty-eight of which were brought into New York Harbor.¹⁴¹ These figures do not include enemy ships sunk or destroyed by New York vessels. Most of this activity took place before December 31, 1813. Up to that time, although the British kept a squadron off Sandy Hook, they had not blockaded New England. Hence Long Island Sound was open for privateers and to some extent for trade.¹⁴² Indeed there was a great deal of smuggling and trading with the enemy, both from New York and New England ports, and across the border to Canada. *Niles' Register* says that in the month of November, 1813 on a single day 17,000 barrels of flour reached Halifax from the United States. There were two hundred Americans in Halifax engaged in smuggling.¹⁴³ Congress found it necessary to put an embargo on all shipments of food, military, and naval stores on December 17, 1813.¹⁴⁴ This embargo affected even foreign ships, which had frequently been employed to take cargoes to the British. The British blockade plus the embargo laws now effectively closed the port of New York. The embargo laws were very unpopular among all classes of people in the city. The Federalists in particular attributed all the ills usual to war to the Republican laws rather than to the war itself.¹⁴⁵ Although modification of the nonimportation laws in 1814 was hailed with delight in New York City and other seaport towns, it seems to have brought little relief to New York merchants.

During the entire war the United States Navy was exceptionally popular with all New Yorkers, Republicans and Federalists alike, but the Army was viewed almost with disdain. In fact, the Common Council was officially very cordial to the Navy but ignored the Army as far as possible.¹⁴⁶ When General William Henry Harrison stopped off in the city on his way to Washington in 1813 he not only received no invitations from the city authorities but the Common Council actually refused to take any official action to honor him.¹⁴⁷ The Council was controlled by the Federalists in the first year of the war with a majority of two. The election of November, 1813, was very close with the Federalists and Republicans evenly divided. This was the first charter election in which written or printed tickets were issued.¹⁴⁸ Tammany Hall gave General Harrison a dinner in 1813 at which Mayor De Witt Clinton was not present.¹⁴⁹ It is not known if he had

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¹⁴¹ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 243; Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 123; II, pp. 527-30.

¹⁴² Flick, *op. cit.*, V, 243.

¹⁴³ Guernsey, *op. cit.*, I, 408.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁵ Guernsey, *op. cit.*, I, 49.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 359.

¹⁴⁷ *New York Columbian*, October 23, 1813.

¹⁴⁸ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 363.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

been formally invited. Had he been present he would have found no friends or congenial spirits. Tammany had been his bitter enemy since the days of Aaron Burr. The merchants of the city gave a great naval dinner in honor of Commodore Stephen Decatur, Captain Isaac Hull, and Captain Jacob Jones on December 18, 1812. Dominic Lynch, of the St. Patrick Society, was named to a committee of fifteen to arrange the affair.¹⁵⁰ Five hundred guests sat down to a dinner at which Mayor De Witt Clinton presided.

On September 8, 1812, the New York Common Council voted the "freedom of the City" to Isaac Hull after his victory in the *Constitution* over the *Guerriere*.¹⁵¹ This was the greatest honor that could be conferred by the city on any individual. The donee was allowed to vote at charter elections for city officials. Prior to the adoption of the State constitution of 1777, a "freeman" of New York could vote for any Province Officer. By the constitution of 1777 only "freemen" of the city created before October 14, 1775, were entitled to vote for members of the assembly, and thus under the United States Constitution could vote for members of Congress. One of the few surviving "freemen" thus honored was Daniel McCormick, President of the Friendly Sons. When Commodore Stephen Decatur returned to New York, January 1, 1813, after his frigate the *United States* had captured the *Macedonian*, he too was honored with "freedom of the city."¹⁵² The Federalists gave a subscription dinner to Commodore William Bainbridge on December 8, 1813, at Washington Hall. Governor Daniel Tompkins and Mayor Clinton were present among 150 guests. The Tammany Society gave a dinner, January 11, 1814 at Tammany Hall to Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of Lake Erie. Major James Fairlie, a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and a former Republican assemblyman, presided over the Tammany Dinner which 350 persons attended.¹⁵³

Captain James Lawrence of the *Cheasapeake* was a great favorite in New York, especially of the Federalists who claimed that he was transferred to Boston simply to spite them.¹⁵⁴ After his death, June 6, 1813, his remains were conveyed to New York where the City Corporation gave him a public funeral. The Tammany Society, the Washington Benevolent Society, the Columbian Society, the Hamilton Society, and other equally discordant bodies marched to his interment in Trinity Churchyard.¹⁵⁵

The Irish in New York served loyally in the War of 1812. Early in

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¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 148.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁵² Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, III, 33.

¹⁵³ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 372-4.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 210.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

1812 they raised a New York City regiment called the "Republican Greens" better known in the city as the "Irish Greens" because of the nationality of its commander and its members and from the color of its uniforms. On June 20, 1812 this regiment and Captain Stryker's Riflemen from Brooklyn, who also wore green coats, were consolidated by Governor Daniel Tompkins as the First New York Regiment of Riflemen with Major Francis McClure as commander. That part of the regiment called the "Republican Greens" expressed the desire to aid in the conquest of Canada so on September 23, 1812 they were sent to the Niagara Frontier. Under the command of McClure, now Lieutenant-Colonel, they served in General Alexander Smyth's unsuccessful attempt to conquer Upper Canada in November, 1812. The failure of this campaign was blamed by the New York volunteers on the cowardice of the commanding general.¹⁵⁶ McClure commanded the regiment at the capture of York (Toronto) in April, 1813, and also as a part of General Boyd's brigade at the capture of Fort George, May 27, 1813.

Perhaps the most distinguished record of any New York Irishman in the war was that of General Alexander Macomb, Jr., son of the third president of the Friendly Sons. His five brothers also served in the war, one of them, Robert, as an aide-de-camp of Governor Tompkins, "General and commander-in-chief of the State Militia." Robert Macomb's signature is found on most of Governor Tompkins' military orders. Alexander, Jr. had enrolled in the New York City Militia at the age of sixteen, and during the undeclared war with France his father's friend Alexander Hamilton had obtained for him a commission in the regular army.¹⁵⁷ He later served among the Indians in the Southwest. Early in 1812, Major Alexander Macomb of the Corps of Engineers came to New York City as superintendent of the recruiting district. While stationed in the city he lived with his father at 67 Greenwich Street.¹⁵⁸ At this time, about thirty years old, Macomb went on to become one of the most famous heroes of the war. Transferring to the artillery in order to obtain active service he commanded at Sackett Harbor during the winter of 1812. In the spring of the following year he took part in the capture of Fort George on the Niagara River. In the fall of 1813 he had a share in Wilkinson's St. Lawrence campaign. Raised to brigadier-general in January 1814, he commanded the little American Army at Plattsburgh which skillfully repulsed the invasion of New York by fifteen hundred British veterans under Sir George Prevost, in September of that year. He was honored by Con-

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¹⁵⁶ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VI, 62. Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 91, 93; Flick, *New York State History*, V, 232.

¹⁵⁷ J. W. Pratt, "Alexander Macomb," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 155.

¹⁵⁸ Guernsey, *op. cit.*, I, 98.

gress and by the state and city of New York for his exploits. After the war for a short time he remained in New York in command of the third military district. In 1828 he was made senior major-general and general-in-chief of the United States Army, a position which he held until his death on June 25, 1841.¹⁵⁹

There is a tradition in the Society that Alexander Macomb, Jr., like his father, was a member of the Friendly Sons. It has not been possible to verify this tradition by any factual evidence. General Macomb, since his youth, had been in New York City too infrequently and for too brief periods to be identified with the Society in the writings of contemporaries. His brother, John Navarre Macomb, was a member of the Friendly Sons before 1805 serving on the Society's Council in 1805 and 1806. John N. Macomb was present with his father, Alexander Senior, at the quarterly meeting of March, 1806.¹⁶⁰ Longworth's *City Directory* lists him as a merchant at 9 Duane Street in 1801.¹⁶¹ He married Christine Livingston, daughter of Philip, signer of the Declaration of Independence.¹⁶²

John Fleming, son of Sampson Fleming, a member of the St. Patrick's Society for many years, was appointed Captain of the 3rd Company of the New York Third Regiment in July, 1812.¹⁶³ John himself became a member of the Society in later years and was one of its Council in 1833. His father, Sampson Fleming, a native of Cookstown, County Tyrone, had come to this country in the year 1720 at the age of twenty-five, settling at Amwell, Huntington County, N. J., where he opened an inn. In 1756 he purchased a considerable tract of land in Raritan Township and there, with the assistance of his son-in-law, Thomas Lowrey, laid out the town of Flemington. The County Historian states that "Fleming was a devoted patriot of the Revolution," and that in 1780, when the American Army was in dire need of financial assistance, the Lowreys and Flemings collected the sum of \$15,408 and presented it to General Washington. Sampson Fleming came to New York after the Revolution and began importing merchandise, chiefly Irish linens and woolen goods. His place of business was in Burlington Slip. He was aided in this enterprise by his friend, Daniel McCormick, who extended him financial backing. He was also engaged for a time in the fur business with William Edgar, a colleague in the Friendly Sons, in 1789 and 1790. He died in 1794, and his remains were interred in Flemington, N. J.¹⁶⁴

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¹⁵⁹ Account is based upon Pratt, *loc. cit.*, pp. 155-7; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VI, 62-63.

¹⁶⁰ *Records of the Society*, A/C of John Caldwell, treas. March, 1806.

¹⁶¹ Longworth's *American Almanac*, *New York Register*, and *City Directory*, 1801.

¹⁶² *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, sketch of Alexander Macomb.

¹⁶³ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 439.

¹⁶⁴ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, note of R. C. Murphy, based on Snell's *History of Huntington County*, N. J.; *Memoirs of the Fleming Family*, New York Historical Society; *Fleming and Edgar Papers*, New York Public Library.

The John Woodward, who was appointed a lieutenant of the 1st Regiment of New York Artillery, June 5, 1812, and assigned to an artillery battalion under Major Robert Swartwout, was probably not the Woodward who was treasurer of the St. Patrick Society in 1815-16.¹⁶⁵ He would seem to have been too old for such a position, although men of his age did accept commissions during the war. Thomas Addis Emmet of the Friendly Sons was a Captain in the State Militia but his services were more of a civic than military nature.¹⁶⁶ Robert Emmet, his son, already making his name as a lawyer in the city, enlisted in the war as lieutenant in the 82nd Regiment. He was present at a famous court-martial of Captain William Hawley, who was tried for his order "impeaching and impugning the motives and conduct of the government."¹⁶⁷ Emmet was later made Captain of the 82nd Regiment, of the 3rd Brigade of New York Infantry, as noted in Brigade Orders, New York, September 1, 1814. A Captain William Craig, whose father and uncle, Samuel and William Craig, had been early members of the Society, raised an independent troop of cavalry, called the New York "Hussars."¹⁶⁸ John W. Mulligan, graduate of Columbia College and already a well known New York lawyer, joined the First Division of New York detached militia. Division orders, dated New York, September 5, 1814, appointed Mulligan as aide to Major-General Stevens in command of the West Battery, that had been built on a rocky base about fifty yards off Battery Park by Jonathan Williams, grandnephew of Benjamin Franklin.¹⁶⁹ West Battery was renamed Castle Clinton after the war in honor of the mayor. Williams' own name is perpetuated in the fort which he designed and built on Governor's Island, still called Castle Williams.¹⁷⁰ During the war the West Battery, or Castle Clinton as it came to be called, was the headquarters of the military commander of the New York District.

De Witt Clinton was appointed by the Council of Appointment a major-general of New York State Militia in August, 1812. He held this commission throughout the war, but Governor Tompkins never assigned him to military duty nor permitted him to exercise any military authority.¹⁷¹ We cannot of course trace here all the military contributions of members of the Friendly Sons during the war but Christopher Colles, veteran drill-master of the Revolution, should not be overlooked. Although he was in his seventy-fourth year when the war broke out, he designed, built, and operated a semaphoric telegraph

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¹⁶⁵ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 436.

¹⁶⁶ *American-Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 14.

¹⁶⁷ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, II, 557.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 304.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 311; Wilson, *Memorial History*, IV, 278.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 93.

on Castle Clinton, which communicated directly with a station at Signal Hill on Staten Island in the rear of Fort Richmond, which in turn was in touch with a station on Telegraph Hill — now the Highland in the rear of Sandy Hook.¹⁷²

As the war dragged on and the outlook for successful outcome looked black, many New Yorkers were spurred on to increased efforts. A spirited address to Irishmen, signed by William James Macneven and William Sampson of the Friendly Sons, appeared in some New York newspapers urging their countrymen to organize a corps for three months service to defend the city from the attack that seemed imminent. The following is an extract from the address:

Our appeal is to the constant, our call is to the brave!
Such only are invited whose hearts can answer to the call;
Broken like the rest in fortune,
We have neither bribe nor patronage to offer,
Nor anything to show but the dangers of the field
Nor shall we solicit or cajole.
Zeal and Affection must be the common stock;
With these qualities the poor is rich enough,
Without them, the rich is too poor.
We have no interest but the safety of our (adopted) country;
No ambition but to march with its defenders.
Thrice happy if in doing so we avenge the wrongs of our dear
native land.¹⁷³

As the third year of the war got under way the prospects of victory and peace seemed more remote than ever. When news reached New York in June, 1814, that Napoleon had fallen and gone into exile to Elba, only the Federalists rejoiced.¹⁷⁴ They arranged a celebration on June 29, at which Gouverneur Morris delivered a long oration full of praises for the Bourbons and legitimate monarchs in general. Morris as Ambassador to France during the French Revolution had been a staunch and incautious supporter of the old regime. At a public dinner that followed, the crowned heads of all nations that had combined to overthrow the usurper were toasted by the Federalists from which list the King of Great Britain must have been excluded only by "a painful effort."¹⁷⁵

During the previous year the enemy naval forces on the Atlantic

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¹⁷² Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 108; Carman, *loc. cit.*, IV, 302; Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 77-178; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 349.

¹⁷³ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, Vol. II, p. 308.

¹⁷⁴ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 244.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

Coast had been small and there had been no fear of attack on New York. In July, 1814, British ships appeared in considerable force off Sandy Hook; it was probable that New York would be attacked.¹⁷⁶ Danger from invasion of the northern and western part of the state was even more real, but New Yorkers feared pillage and destruction of their city or else a heavy ransom. Appeals were made for enlistments "for the defense of New York."¹⁷⁷ Plans were made for building earthworks on the heights overlooking the Harlem River and in Brooklyn to command Hell Gate. Citizens committees were formed to supply volunteer workers to build them.¹⁷⁸ In this emergency Thomas Addis Emmet, William J. Macneven and William Sampson of the Friendly Sons are recorded to have rendered splendid service.¹⁷⁹ The following notice appeared in New York newspapers:

The undersigned respectfully invite their patriotic Irish Country-men to meet this evening at eight o'clock at Sager's, corner of Nassau and George Streets, to complete a general arrangement for contributing their services to the works now constructing for the defense of the city. Saturday has been assigned for this purpose by the Committee of Defense: A. Morris, Wm. J. Macneven, Wm. Sampson, Dennis H. Doyle, T. A. Emmet, D. MacCarty, James Mather, Patrick McKay, J. O'Connor.¹⁸⁰

Thomas O'Connor, the old hero of 'ninety-eight, announced through his newspaper, on August 20, 1814, that "this day has been assigned for receiving the services of the patriotic sons of Erin."¹⁸¹ They numbered 1,500 and we are told that "their appearance was animated and orderly," and that "each division had a standard, two of which bore the names of Washington and Montgomery."¹⁸²

It must not be thought that New York City, despite the opposition of Federalists and most merchants to the war, was entirely devoid of patriotic effort except when its own well being was threatened. New York State contributed 77,896 volunteers to the American Forces, and late in 1814 there were 17,650 state troops in service in New York, mostly from the city and its vicinity.¹⁸³ While Governor in 1818, De Witt Clinton estimated that the state had spent for military purposes

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¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

¹⁷⁷ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, II, 32-35.

¹⁷⁸ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 245.

¹⁷⁹ *American-Irish Historical Society Journal* Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 14; Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 284.

¹⁸⁰ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹⁸¹ *The Shamrock or Hibernian Chronicle*, Aug. 20, 1814.

¹⁸² *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy.

¹⁸³ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 225, 246.

\$846,350.83 and in addition had contributed in direct taxes to the federal government for war purposes \$1,115,526.25 more.¹⁸⁴ New Yorkers did their share in subscribing to government loans, and Irish merchants were not remiss. The merchants of New York took \$2,400,000 of the federal loan of February 8, 1813. Jacob Barker, the Republican merchant, handled the subscription list, after prominent Federalists such as Oliver Wolcott, President of the New Bank of America and Augustus H. Lawrence had refused.¹⁸⁵ The firm of John Kelly and John Morrison, both members of the Friendly Sons, subscribed \$20,000; James McBride, later president of the Society, took \$10,000; Thompson and Edgar, \$10,000; Austin & Andrews, with David Andrews of the St. Patrick Society as partner, took \$20,000.¹⁸⁶ New York Banks, especially those considered Republican, did their share. The Bank of the Manhattan Company among whose directors in 1813 were the Friendly Sons William Edgar, De Witt Clinton, and James Fairlie, subscribed to \$600,000 of U. S. six per cent stock, and \$1,000,000 in United States notes.¹⁸⁷ Owing to the expense of war New York City paid its first state tax in 1815, \$163,372.08, and has continued to share in state expenses ever since.¹⁸⁸

As the war continued prices of merchandise, even the very necessities of life, went skyhigh in the city, causing considerable distress among the poor. The Federalists blamed high prices on the Madison Administration, issuing statements to farmers pointing out that they must exchange ten barrels of superfine flour for a 100 pound bag of coffee, nine barrels for 100 pounds of brown sugar and the like.¹⁸⁹ Though these figures were doubtless exaggerated, there is no question but that the prices of coffee, tea, brown sugar, molasses, and even salt were very high in the city.¹⁹⁰ The resources of private charitable organizations like the Washington Benevolent Society, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and others were severely strained. On December 22, 1813 a citizens' committee, meeting in City Hall, formed a Fuel Association with a member from each ward to collect subscriptions and donations of wood. Jeremiah Johnson of the Friendly Sons was Committeeman for the First Ward, and John Adams, President of the Fulton Bank, for many years before and after the war a member of the Society, served in the Second Ward. Between December and March the Association collected \$4,566.57 as well as contributions of wood, and distributed 1,315 loads of wood to about 3,000 homes. The Com-

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¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, V, 251.

¹⁸⁵ Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, I, 348.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Barrett, *Old Merchants*, I, 331.

¹⁸⁷ Guernsey, *op cit.*, I, 346, 512.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 354.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 2-3.

¹⁹⁰ Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 9.

mon Council appropriated \$2,000 for distribution among the ten wards. Fortunately the winter of that year was mild.¹⁹¹

Despite their own needs New Yorkers were exceptionally generous in coming to the rescue of sufferers elsewhere in the country. When Portsmouth, New Hampshire, was practically destroyed by fire in December, 1813, a committee meeting at the Tontine Coffee House was organized to receive contributions. They raised \$4,064.20, mostly from church collections. The Episcopal Churches gave \$1,406.40; six Presbyterian churches, \$1,364.50; and St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church gave \$645.50.¹⁹² The Common Council of the City appropriated \$3,000 to relieve sufferers on the Niagara frontier in January, 1814.¹⁹³ Despite depressed business conditions and distress at home New Yorkers did not fail to give of their charity to others during the war.

News of peace was received in New York City on Saturday evening, February 11, 1815. In less than an hour the glad tidings were probably known to every individual in the city. No one asked what were the terms of the treaty, it was sufficient that peace had come. Most of the houses were illuminated; cannons were fired from the forts, the bells of Trinity rang out. The principal streets of the city were thronged with men and women from eight o'clock until midnight in spite of severe weather and a snowfall.¹⁹⁴ The treaty was ratified by the Senate, February 17, and President Madison's proclamation of peace was published in the *National Intelligencer*, on Saturday, February 18. News reached New York that night, and the proclamation was published in a special night edition of the *Commercial Advertiser*, sold on the streets of the city by 12:30 Sunday afternoon. Peace was now official, and the Common Council selected February 22 for its official celebration. Unfortunately the day selected was a Federalist anniversary and "many refused to honor that day in celebrating the peace." Inclement weather gave the Common Council an excuse to postpone the celebration to Monday, February 27.¹⁹⁵ The war had left scars that would not heal, and a bitterness that soon would mean the complete disruption of the Federalist Party.

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¹⁹¹ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 243-4; this account is based almost entirely on Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, II, 5-12. We would know practically nothing about New York City in the War of 1812 were it not for R. S. Guernsey's two volume, semi-official history.

¹⁹² Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, II, 11.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁹⁴ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 249; Guernsey, *New York During the War of 1812*, II, 459; Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 77.

¹⁹⁵ Flick, *op. cit.*, V, 249; Guernsey, *op. cit.*, II, 473.

THE END OF AN ERA



WITH the return of peace to New York in 1815 immigration from Ireland, which had been temporarily curtailed by the difficulties of transportation during the Napoleonic Wars, and which had been brought almost to a complete halt by the War of 1812, was once again renewed on a large scale to inaugurate a new and important chapter in the history of the city. Up to this time and for several years thereafter Irish immigration had been mostly of the better class — farmers, weavers, servants, and city workers generally. Indeed, members of the vast “cotter” class — wretched, poor, ignorant, illiterate, landless — did not begin to come to America in any great numbers until after 1818.¹ Although conditions in Ireland about 1815 and in previous years were such as would leave a very gloomy impression with an American student of economic affairs, to the great mass of the Irish people there was nothing very alarming in the situation. Farmers in Ireland, as elsewhere, always hoped for better crops and better prices; Irish weavers looked for an improvement in market conditions.² There was nothing at that time of the general air of complete helplessness and hopelessness such as followed the potato famine of 1847, and which was to drive the poorest Irish by the hundreds of thousands to the new world. That there was sufficient discontent at all times to account for a considerable emigration is true; but as W. F. Adams points out, the unquestioned evils “bore with exceptional severity on enterprising spirits who attempted to improve their lot, and this drove out of Ireland many of its best citizens.”³

England did not encourage immigration to the United States from Ireland during this period. The first rush in 1815 and especially 1816 did come to New York and other American ports; but the British Passenger Acts of July 1, 1816 and March 17, 1817 served to change the course of Irish immigration to Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia.⁴ Passage there was so much cheaper, because of favorable government regulations, that only the wealthiest immigrants could come

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¹ Adams, *Ireland and Irish Immigration*, p. 111.

² *Ibid.*, p. 66.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 87, 89.

direct to New York. The first rush of immigrants after the war had overstocked the labor market in the city, especially since business recovery was much less rapid and thorough than New Yorkers hoped. The hard times that followed enabled James Buchanan, British Consul at New York, whose regular presence at Friendly Sons' Anniversary Dinners had been noted in a previous chapter, to take advantage of the situation in order to induce immigrants in New York to go on to Canada. He obtained authority from the British government to spend up to ten dollars a person to send distressed immigrants overland to upper Canada and between 1816 and May 1, 1819, he forwarded 3,566 immigrants there from New York.⁵ Most of these, but not all, were Irish. Many of the immigrants resented Buchanan's activities as their letters home, published in the Irish press, make clear.⁶

All efforts on the part of England to divert Irish immigration to Canada and the other British provinces between 1816 and 1827 were doomed to failure. The newer immigration from the South of Ireland, like the older from Ulster, was definitely and wilfully bound for the United States. Most of them had more than their fill of British rule. The majority of immigrants that landed in New Brunswick ports eventually wound up in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. There the poorer classes, frequently unable to obtain immediate employment and often robbed and exploited even by men of their own national origin, proved a continual drain upon the private charitable associations. The same was true of immigrants from England, Scotland, and Germany during the same period. As early as 1817 New York City had to give public aid to the foreign poor who stayed there or merely passed through the city.⁷ By the decade of the thirties, when 650,000 immigrants came to America but not of course all to New York,⁸ it was evident that the resources of such groups as the Friendly Sons, St. George's Society, St. Andrew's and German Societies were quite inadequate to meet the demands upon them. Nor could the municipal corporation cope with the myriad problems arising from the hordes of immigrants that yearly made the port of New York a gateway to the new world. It was not, however, until the forties that the State government at last took action. It established in 1847 a Board of Emigration for the care and protection of immigrants of all nations.⁹ That this was finally accomplished was due in large part to the sustained efforts of such members of the Friendly Sons as Jacob Harvey, Charles O'Connor, and Andrew Carrigan.¹⁰

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⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁶ Letter in *Dublin Evening Post*, Oct. 16, 1817.

⁷ Scisco, *Political Nativism*, p. 20.

⁸ Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. 23.

⁹ Kapp, *Immigration and Commissioners of Emigration*, p. 95.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 92; *vide infra*.

In 1816 Daniel McCormick was still president of the Friendly Sons. Now in the seventy-third year of his life, he had apparently retired from business, but still retained his active interest in the affairs of upstate New York and his directorship in many corporations. His dinners, followed by a table or two at whist, were already creating a legend in the city.¹¹ Robert Ross Waddell, secretary of the society from its inception in 1784 to 1811, had retired from office in the latter year. There is evidence in the books of the society that he had been in delicate health during his last two years as secretary and had no longer been able to carry on his duties with his customary efficiency.¹² This fine old Irish merchant remained in the importing and shipowning business for many years after the Revolution. He had been, as we noticed in previous chapters, a charter member of the New York Chamber of Commerce of which he was treasurer from 1780 to 1784. Honored by all for "his strict honesty, integrity, and charity," the society grieved when he died in his home at 45 Pine Street, January 25, 1819, in the eighty-fifth year of his life.¹³

Waddell was succeeded as Secretary of the Society by Nathan McVickar, younger brother of John McVickar, who had been closely associated with the Constables, Pierreponts and McCormick in their land ventures in northern New York. Nathan was a man of large property in his own right and was much respected in the city. Rather late in life he married Catherine Buchnor, daughter of a West Indian gentleman, who came to New York before the Revolution, when he married a daughter of Peter Goelet, of a well known Huguenot family.¹⁴ Goelet's sons married the daughters of the merchant Thomas Buchanan, Daniel McCormick's friend and neighbor in Wall Street, who had been in business in New York as early as 1776. Thus, Nathan connected himself with some of the oldest and best families in the country, as had his brother John with the Moores, Constables, and Jays. The Nathan McVickars lived at 52 Walker Street, where Nathan died in 1827. His widow continued to live in the old house. She was still living in 1862 when Walter Barrett was writing. Nathan was survived by several children but they all died young except William who married a daughter of Thaddeus Phelps, who was noted for her beauty. Thaddeus Phelps was one of the founders of early packet lines sailing from New York, and was a great shipper of cotton in his day. The immigrant Sons of St. Patrick were thus carrying on in the nineteenth century the custom inaugurated earlier of intermarrying with

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¹¹ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 253.

¹² *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, notation by Robert Dickey in Treasurer's Account, 1811-1812.

¹³ *New York Evening Post*, Jan. 26, 1819.

¹⁴ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 289.

the distinguished families of their adopted country. Nathan was buried in Trinity Churchyard near the grave of his brother John.¹⁵

The treasurer of the Society in 1816 was John Woodward, a native of County Limerick, Ireland, who had come to New York in 1774, when he opened a small grocery and wine store in Queen Street. Woodward had been nominated for membership in the Colonial Chamber of Commerce at one of its last meetings; but apparently was never elected.¹⁶ After the Revolution he became closely associated with the Pollocks, who were also members of the Society. George Pollock was, as we have seen, fourth president of the Society in 1796. A detailed map of New York in 1803 shows Pollock's Dock as the southern-most named wharf on the North River.¹⁷ John Woodward became a substantial merchant. He lived at 21 Wall Street, and a plan of the street as it was in 1822 shows him still living there.¹⁸ He was taxed at \$5,000 personal property in 1815, and his Wall Street home was valued at \$9,000 in 1822.¹⁹ Woodward had been a councillor of the Society as early as 1787. He seems to have been a friend of the famous merchant John Murray, who proposed him for membership in the Chamber of Commerce in 1784. John's son, Augustus Brevoort Woodward, a lawyer of distinction, who graduated from Columbia College in 1797, practiced in Georgetown, D. C., where he associated with Thomas Jefferson.²⁰ It was Augustus who presented the claims of Oliver Pollock, financier of the Revolution, to Congress. In 1800 he was appointed by Jefferson Federal Judge in the territory of Michigan. Together with Rev. John Monteith and Rev. Gabriel Richards, he founded the University of Michigan.²¹ Augustus never returned to New York, where his father died in 1827.²²

Still a member of the Society's Council in 1816 was Christopher Colles, whose associates in that year were James Magee and the two veterans of the Irish rising of 'ninety-eight, Thomas Addis Emmet and William James Macneven. All four served the Society as Councillors from 1813 to 1820. Emmet and Macneven were beyond question the outstanding leaders of the Irish community in the city during the second and third decades of the century. So romantic was their history, so remarkable their talents, so noble their characters, and so lovable their personalities that they escaped most of the jealousies, frictions,

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¹⁵ Account is based on Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 289-91; *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, notes of Richard C. Murphy.

¹⁶ Stevens, *Chamber of Commerce*, p. 297, Minutes Meeting, January 20, 1784.

¹⁷ Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday*, p. 13.

¹⁸ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, Appendix fol. p. 335.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

²⁰ William L. Jenks, "Augustus Brevoort Woodward," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 506-7.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 507.

²² *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, note of R. C. Murphy.

and bigotry that bedeviled lesser men. When they died their Irish countrymen by popular subscription erected two fine monuments to their memories in St. Paul's Churchyard, where all who pass down Broadway may view them to this day. The monument to Macneven stands north of the portico of the church, and that to Emmet is located on the south side.²³ Neither Macneven nor Emmet are buried there.²⁴ Dr. Macneven was a Roman Catholic, and Emmet, an Episcopalian, was interred in a vault under St. Mark's Church, which belonged to his friend Chancellor Samuel Jones, the distinguished lawyer.²⁵ As far as is known Emmet's remains, for reasons that are not clear, were never removed to the family vault in the Marble Cemetery on Second Street.²⁶ These two great men, so distinguished in their time, deserve more extensive treatment than we are able to give to most members of the Friendly Sons of this period.

Thomas Addis Emmet, born in Cork, Ireland, on April 24, 1764, was a son of Dr. Robert Emmet, an eminent physician of Dublin. He had two brothers, Christopher Temple, who died in 1789, and Robert, a name known to every man of Irish blood, who was executed on September 20, 1803, for participating in an uprising in Dublin.²⁷ Thomas Addis himself became a physician; but upon the death of his brother, Christopher Temple, then prominent at the Dublin bar, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1790. He had already shown great professional promise when he was arrested and imprisoned as a leader of the United Irishmen movement in 1798. After four years of imprisonment at Fort George, Scotland, he was released on condition that he leave the Empire. He spent two years at Brussels and Paris as a secret agent of the Revolutionary Party in Ireland. There he met Robert Fulton, inventor and portrait painter, also of Irish descent, and the two became lifelong friends. Emmet's *Diary*, written in Paris, shows that Fulton at one time expected to join an expedition to Ireland for the purpose of using his recently invented torpedo against the English. After the failure of the movement in Ireland, Emmet came to New York with his family, landing here November 11, 1804.

At first in very modest circumstances, Emmet lived at 43 Water Street, later moving to the corner of Pine and Nassau Streets.²⁸ He planned to resume the practice of medicine, but was persuaded by Governor George Clinton and others not to forsake the law.²⁹ Against

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²³ Wilson, *Memorial History*, IV, 209.

²⁴ Frederick C. Hicks, "Thomas Addis Emmet," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VI, 146, is mistaken on this point.

²⁵ Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, New York, and London, 1911, p. 64. Dr. Emmet was the grandson of the Irish Patriot.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

²⁷ Hicks, *loc. cit.*, 145; Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

the opposition of Federalist lawyers he was admitted to the bar by a special act of the New York State Legislature. He soon developed a very profitable clientele and became, according to Judge Joseph Story of the United States Supreme Court, "the favorite counsellor of New York."³⁰ Emmet's second son, Dr. John Patten Emmet, came to America a few years after his father, brought by Thomas Jefferson to fill the chair of Natural History at the new University of Virginia. He married Mary Byrd Farley Tucker, a descendant of the first governor of Bermuda and also of the famous Byrd family of Westover on the James River.³¹ Another son of the elder Emmet, Robert, also a member of the Friendly Sons, served as an officer in the War of 1812, was a member of the State Assembly in 1825, and was made Judge of the Superior Court of New York City in 1852.³² After his father's death Robert Emmet was recognized as one of the principal leaders of the Irish community of New York and was first president of the Repeal Movement in this country organized in sympathy with the efforts of Daniel O'Connell to bring about a repeal of the "Union" with England.³³ Emmet's other son, Thomas Addis, Jr., lived for many years in New York, respected by all and famed for his hospitality at his country seat, Mount Vernon, on the old Boston Post Road, where he lived from 1823 to 1863. In later years the gate or lodge was between Sixtieth and Sixty-first Streets on Third Avenue. The estate covered ten or twelve city blocks, and its gardens and greenhouses were noted for their excellence.³⁴

In 1812 the elder Emmet was persuaded to accept an appointment as Attorney-General of the State of New York, the only office he ever held. At that time the office paid only \$1,000 per year. It has been said that he resigned within a year to return to private practice; but from another source it is reported that he was removed by the Council of Appointment when it came under the control of the Federalist Party in the election of that year.³⁵ Emmet appeared as attorney in many famous cases. He was one of the counsel for James De Peyster Ogden in the case of Miranda's "Leander" Expedition.³⁶ During the War of 1812 he argued four prize cases before the United States Supreme Court, with the celebrated William Pinckney on the opposite side. Undoubtedly, the most famous case in which Emmet ever took

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³⁰ Hicks, *loc. cit.*, p. 146.

³¹ Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 2.

³² Werner, *Civil List*, pp. 339, 360.

³³ Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 128. He was chairman, pro tem, of the first Republican National Convention, at Philadelphia, June 17, 1856. McKee, *National Conventions*, p. 96.

³⁴ Edward J. Maguire, "A Memoir of John D. Crimmins," *American-Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XVII, 1918, p. 12.

³⁵ Hicks, *loc. cit.*, p. 145; cf. Alexander, *Political History of New York*, I, 213.

³⁶ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 209.

part was that of *Gibbons v. Ogden*, in which he and Thomas J. Oakley were matched with the great Daniel Webster and the equally great William Wirt.³⁷ Emmet's close friend, Robert Fulton and his Livingston backers were, as is well known, involved in this case, in which John Marshall handed down one of his most important and far-reaching decisions. Emmet lost the case; but as Albert Beveridge remarks, "Not even Pinckney at his best ever was more thorough than was Emmet in his superb argument."³⁸

Thomas Addis Emmet was recognized as one of the most eloquent orators of his day. Dr. John W. Francis of the New York Historical Society, who had heard all the gifted speakers at home and in England, considered him without equal.³⁹ He was undoubtedly one of the most famous New Yorkers of the first half of the nineteenth century. When young Ralph Waldo Emerson visited New York in June, 1827, he found only five objects worth mentioning in his diary — Broadway, The Battery, the City Hall, Martin Van Buren, and Thomas Addis Emmet.⁴⁰ The Emmets, like other members of the Friendly Sons, intermarried with well known American families. One of his daughters married Bache McEvers, of the well-known Irish colonial family. Another daughter, Elizabeth, who married William H. Le Roy of the mercantile house of Le Roy, Bayard and McEvers, was a pupil of Robert Fulton. She painted a portrait of her father and also one of Robert Fulton; the latter is at present in the possession of the New York Historical Society.⁴¹ Emmet's grandson, Thomas Addis Emmet, 3rd, was one of the most distinguished members of the medical profession in New York, during the second half of the century. A writer of considerable ability, he was deeply interested in history.⁴² The younger Emmet was also renowned for his service to the cause of Irish freedom, and was president of the Irish Federation of America during the term of its existence. A convert to Catholicism, he was created Knight-Commander of the Order of St. Gregory the Great.⁴³

It is interesting to note that the Emmets were related by marriage to William James, the American psychologist, and Henry James, the novelist.⁴⁴ Two of Emmet's grandsons, Richard Stockton Emmet and Christopher Temple Emmet, married cousins of the James brothers,

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³⁷ 9 *Wheaton*, 1, 1824.

³⁸ Albert J. Beveridge, *Life of John Marshall*, 4 vols., Boston, 1916-19, IV, 427.

³⁹ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 358.

⁴⁰ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 157.

⁴¹ Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 122.

⁴² The *Emmet Collection*, New York Public Library, contains some 10,800 items.

⁴³ A great grandson of the founder of the family, William Temple Emmet, New York State Superintendent of Insurance, 1912-14, became president of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1909-10. His brother, Grenville Temple Emmet was United States Minister to Austria. *American-Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXXII, 1941, pp. 111-13.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

who were descended from a William James who came from Cavan, Ireland to Albany in 1793. The original William was a client of Thomas Addis Emmet, Senior. Another William James, nephew of the Albany settler, emigrated to New York in the second quarter of the century, and became a member of the Friendly Sons in 1835.⁴⁵

Dr. William James Macneven, although less spectacular than Emmet, was equally talented in his field and, if possible, even more beloved by the Irish community in New York. In addition to his prominence as a physician and surgeon he was an accomplished scholar and writer.⁴⁶ Born near Aughrim, County Galway, March 21, 1763, of Catholic parents, James and Rosa Dolphin Macneven, he was necessarily educated abroad owing to the restrictions on Catholic education. His uncle, William O'Kelly Macneven, had gone to Austria where he was physician to Empress Maria Theresa.⁴⁷ William James studied medicine at Prague and Vienna, where he received his degree in 1784. He practiced in Dublin until 1802, when he was banished for complicity in the United Irishmen uprising of 1798. He first went to Switzerland and then to France, where he served for two years in the Irish Brigade under Napoleon.⁴⁸ Having failed to persuade Napoleon to come to the aid of Ireland, Macneven sailed for America, arriving in New York on July 4, 1805.⁴⁹ Two years later he was lecturing on clinical medicine at the college of Physicians and Surgeons, and in 1808 he became Professor of Obstetrics there.⁵⁰ In 1826 with Valentine Mott, David Hosack and John W. Francis, he founded a rival medical school affiliated with Rutgers College in New Jersey. Legal difficulties caused its discontinuance four years later.

In 1810 Macneven married Jane Margaret, widowed daughter of Samuel Riker. His stepdaughter married Thomas Addis Emmet, Jr., son of his old friend and compatriot. Macneven was a member of the Friendly Sons until his death in 1841. His last recorded payment of dues was for the fiscal year March 17, 1840 to March 17, 1841.⁵¹ According to an old membership book his address in 1838 was 45 William Street; but Edward Preble tells us that owing to ill health he retired in 1839, residing thereafter with his daughter, Mrs. Thomas Addis Emmet, Jr., in the Emmet country seat at Mount Vernon, on the Boston Post Road.⁵² An ardent Democrat all his life, he broke with Andrew Jackson over the withdrawal of federal funds from the Second

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⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

⁴⁶ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 583.

⁴⁷ Edward Preble, "William James Macneven," *Dictionary of American Biography*, VII, 153.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴⁹ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 77; Preble, *loc. cit.*, p. 154.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 154; Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 77.

⁵¹ *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1838-1841.

⁵² Preble, *loc. cit.*, p. 154.

Bank of the United States.⁵³ Before he died he helped Dr. Robert Hogan, President of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, to found the Irish Emigrant Society.⁵⁴ Macneven died July 12, 1841, after receiving the last rites of the Church from Bishop John Hughes.⁵⁵

Like other veterans of the rising of 'ninety-eight Macneven throughout his lifetime was a staunch friend of Irish freedom, and at the same time did all in his power to ease the lot of his fellow Irishmen in the new world. He was president of the "Friends of Ireland" in 1828, and about the same time founded and was first president of the "Association for Civil and Religious Liberty."⁵⁶ Like other Irish-American leaders he realized that it would be advisable for his countrymen to leave the crowded cities and if possible move west into the farming country; but efforts to that end throughout the century were crowned with little success. In March 1811, the New York *Shamrock*, earliest Irish newspaper in the city, founded by Thomas O'Connor in 1810, was offering a free booklet to those who wanted to buy land, and was willing to act without commission to help them purchase it.⁵⁷ In 1817, Macneven, with Thomas Addis Emmet and Michael Hogan, established the Irish Emigrant Association of New York which petitioned Congress to set aside land in the west for immigrants.⁵⁸ The project failed when the House of Representatives rejected a bill to that effect by a vote of eighty-three to seventy-two, chiefly due to southern opposition.

Closely allied with Macneven and Emmet during these years was another member of the Friendly Sons, William Sampson, patriot and lawyer. Son of a Protestant clergyman, he was educated at the Trinity College, Dublin, and studied law at Lincoln's Inn, London. Exiled for "treason" in 1799, he had to go to Portugal because John Adams' administration refused him admission to the United States. He eventually reached America in 1806, when Thomas Jefferson adopted a more liberal policy towards Irish exiles. Here he soon gained a reputation as a lawyer, famed for his eloquence and vigorous advocacy of personal rights. He is perhaps even better known as a Court Reporter. In 1810 Sampson took part in one of the first cases involving organized labor when he defended journeymen cordwainers, accused of conspiracy to raise their wages by means of a closed shop. Although a Protestant he interposed in 1813 as *amicus curiae* to prevent a Catholic priest, the Reverend Anthony Kohlmann, S.J., from being required to disclose the secrets of confession. A man of broad tolerance with

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⁵³ Richard R. Madden, *The United Irishmen*, 7 vols., London, 1860, II, 233.

⁵⁴ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 21.

⁵⁵ *American-Irish Historical Society Journal*, Vol. XXXII, 1927, p. 99.

⁵⁶ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 63; Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. 77.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.* Daniel McCormick was vice-president of this society. O'Brien, *Hercules Mulligan*, p. 161.

no trace of bigotry he helped prosecute Orangemen who attacked Catholic Irishmen in Greenwich Village in 1824.⁵⁹ A voluminous writer on legal subjects, Sampson published his *Memoirs* and also, in 1833, a two volume *History of Ireland*.⁶⁰

In 1824, the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick having been in existence for forty years, its members decided to incorporate and obtain a charter from the State. Accordingly the officers were instructed to petition the Legislature for such a charter. After the usual delays attending an act of incorporation in the early days of New York State the charter was issued, February 13, 1827, to John Chambers, James McBride, James Magee, Alexander Charters, John Montgomery, and Daniel McCormick, creating a body politic and corporate by name "The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York."⁶¹ The names of the incorporators are familiar with the possible exceptions of James Magee and John Montgomery. It may be noted in passing that the Legislature, having learned by experience from the Manhattan Company, specifically provided that "the said corporation shall not engage in any banking business."⁶² Having guided the Society successfully to its incorporation Daniel McCormick retired from the presidency in 1828, making way for John Chambers who thus became the sixth member to head the Society.

James Magee, of the incorporators, had been very active in the Society. For many years a member of its Council he had been treasurer from 1817 to 1821. His name is often spelled McGee. He was head of the firm of James Magee & Co., grocers at 72 South Street, and was taxed on personal property worth \$20,000 in 1815, \$15,000 in 1816, and \$7,500 in 1822. In the last year he became one of the original directors of The Farmers Fire Insurance and Loan Company which developed into the Farmers Loan and Trust Company.⁶³ He was faithful in attendance at meetings until 1837, and was present at the Anniversary Dinner at the Washington Hotel, March 17, 1836.⁶⁴ He was elected a member of the Charity Committee on March 7, 1837 but was not present at this meeting. Thereafter he returned to Ireland, and it is not clear that he ever came back to New York. Membership books for 1838 to 1847 list him as "abroad" "nonresident," and finally "dead," but he apparently paid dues after 1837 for the minutes of a meeting March 2, 1844 show him in arrears for only two years. Just when he died is not clear.⁶⁵ Beach's *Wealth and Biography* for 1845,

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⁵⁹ *Vide infra*.

⁶⁰ Account based on E. C. Smith, "William Sampson," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XVI, 231.

⁶¹ *New York State Laws*, chap. 42, 1827.

⁶² *Vide infra*, Appendix C.

⁶³ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 121.

⁶⁴ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1836.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Membership Books, 1838-41, 1841-47; Minutes, March 2, 1844.

the forerunner of Dun and Bradstreet, rates him at \$200,000 and states that he "resides in Ireland, his native country."⁶⁶ Another source, probably quite inaccurate, says that he died in 1828 and was buried in Trinity Churchyard. These details are given solely for the purpose of showing how difficult it is to get an accurate picture of some of the early members of the Society.

The John Montgomery listed as an incorporator is John Burnet Montgomery, treasurer of the Society from 1826 to 1829. He is sometimes confused with J. Montgomery who appears in the newspapers and directories of the day as secretary of the Society from 1817 to 1820.⁶⁷ It is clear, however, from the treasurer's accounts that the secretary's name was James. John Burnet Montgomery was born in Ballyleck, County Monahan, Ireland, attended Trinity College but never received his degree. He came to New York before the Revolution, and worked for a time in the firm of George Pollock, later president of the Friendly Sons. When George Pollock removed to New Orleans, Montgomery formed a partnership with Hugh Pollock, as representatives of the New Orleans house. Lanier lists him as owning a house at 78 and 80 Maiden Lane in 1822, valued at \$5,000, with personal estate taxed at the same amount.⁶⁸ He is described as a man of jovial and pleasant disposition, with many graceful accomplishments and a native Irish wit, which made him one of the most popular New Yorkers of his time. A *Bon Vivant*, openhanded, generous, he was a frequent visitor at the home of Daniel McCormick. Hale and hearty in his old age, he too decided to return to his native land, but while there he contracted pneumonia and died. His remains lie buried at Ballyleck, Ireland. Montgomery is said to have been a first cousin of General Richard Montgomery.⁶⁹

In the ten years after 1815, New York expanded rapidly. As we have already seen, by 1797 the port had pushed ahead of its rivals in volume of commerce, but at the end of the War of 1812 Boston and Philadelphia were still close enough astern to threaten the city's supremacy. By 1825, however, other ports on the Atlantic coast were hopelessly outdistanced. The development of Atlantic packets, Fulton's new steamboats, the canal era, and other well-timed and imaginative devices had sent New York far ahead of her rivals. By means of the coastal trade New York had diverted to her own advantage most of the commerce between Europe and the cotton ports so that cotton became New York's most important article of export. Although some

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⁶⁶ Beach, *Wealth and Biography*, p. 19.

⁶⁷ E.g., *New York Gazette*, Feb. 28, 1818.

⁶⁸ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 122.

⁶⁹ *Records of the Society*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy, based on "History of Montgomery Family," New York Historical Society, and Barrett, *Old Merchants*, V, 276.

ships still brought cotton direct from Southern ports to Europe, they usually returned to New York with general cargoes or immigrants, going South with freight or in ballast.⁷⁰ Even more vital, however, to the prosperity of the city was the fact that two sides of the triangle gradually eliminated the normal direct trade between New Orleans or Charleston and Liverpool, so that most of the cotton was carried to Europe by way of Sandy Hook and the wharves of South Street.⁷¹

Robert Greenhalgh Albion, historian of the Port of New York, gives a great deal of credit for the increase in the city's prosperity during these years to a change in New York State's laws governing auctioneers, which came in 1817. The vendue business or auctioneering in the city had always been a monopoly limited to those licensed by the State government which received a commission on all sales of 3%. Licenses granted by the Council of Appointment had been limited to thirty-six New York houses, of which Daniel McCormick had been one. In 1817 when the city had been glutted by British dumping of manufactured goods that failed to move, the State, fearing the business would shift to Philadelphia or Boston, cut its commissions from the previous 3% to 2% on wines and liquors, 1% on East India goods, and 1½% on all other imports including textiles.⁷² In addition all goods offered at auction must be sold at the highest bid no matter how low that might be. Nothing could be withdrawn from sale. This change in the law stimulated sales tremendously. Between 1821 and 1830 New York auction sales of imported goods reached \$160,000,000, with a very few auction houses handling 44 per cent of the port's total imports and one-fifth of the imports of the whole nation.⁷³ For the next ten years the total was almost the same, but now equalled only twenty-one per cent of New York's imports and one-eighth of the nation's total. The monopoly ended in 1838.

During this period the great New York auctioneering houses were John Haggerty and David Austin, both of whose partners were members of the Friendly Sons, and John and Philip Hone. Four other firms divided a business that seldom approached either of the big two, and the rest of the auction firms did a negligible trade.⁷⁴ The principal customers of the auction rooms were the Pearl Street jobbers or wholesalers, who sold to country storekeepers. Merchants bought goods outright and sold again. John Haggerty made an enormous fortune in the auction business and was rated by Beach's *Wealth and Biography* at \$1,000,000 in 1845.⁷⁵ He was a member of the Friendly Sons for many

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⁷⁰ Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 95.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 278.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Beach, *Wealth and Biography*, p. 12.

years, on whose books his address is given as 169 Pearl Street.⁷⁶ His auction fortune enabled him to establish very comfortably three sons-in-law, including a son of De Witt Clinton.⁷⁷ After David Austin's retirement from the firm old John took in his sons, John A. and William, who became wealthy in their own right. Haggerty and Sons was dissolved in 1844, all three Haggertys retiring. John removed to his farm in Flushing, New York, where he was still living in the 'sixties, over ninety years of age.⁷⁸ John A. was rated at \$200,000 and William at the same figure in 1845.⁷⁹ Neither John A. nor William seem to have become members of the Friendly Sons, but a younger brother Ogden Haggerty was active in the Society in the 'thirties and 'forties.⁸⁰ He entered a new firm of Haggerty, Draper and Jones, auctioneers, at the corner of Pine and William Streets, but the books of the Society gave his home address as 8 Warren Street. Ogden was rated at \$150,000 in 1845.⁸¹

Other members of the Friendly Sons were equally prominent in New York after the War of 1812. Albion goes out of his way to remark that the "St. Patrick Society points with pride to John Flack . . . a prominent shipowner early in the period," and also to Dominick Lynch, "the debonair wine merchant."⁸² Lynch was undoubtedly one of the leading social lights of the period, "the acknowledged head of the fashionable festive board, a gentleman of the town, and a melodist of great powers and exquisite taste."⁸³ His son, Dominick, Jr., represented his father's interests as director of the North River Insurance Company and also of the Branch Bank of the United States.⁸⁴ It was through the influence of Dominick Lynch, Sr., that Italian Opera was first introduced in New York. He persuaded Stephen Price, manager of the Park Theater to make the attempt. On October 29, 1825, Rossini's "Barber of Seville" was sung with Garcia, his daughter Maria, and the basso, Angrisoni, in the leading roles.⁸⁵

Dominick Lynch kept a very large wine store in William Street, three doors from Wall, and opposite the Merchants Exchange. In 1829 he was burned out and a splendid stock of wines was destroyed. Walter Barrett writes, "I was at that fire and never did the firemen of New York enjoy such delicious wines as then."⁸⁶ Lynch was more energetic

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⁷⁶ *Records of the Society, Membership Books, 1838-41, 1841-1844.*

⁷⁷ Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 254.

⁷⁸ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, I, 115.

⁷⁹ Beach, *Wealth and Biography*, p. 12.

⁸⁰ *Records of the Society, Membership Book, 1838-1841, 1841-1844.*

⁸¹ Beach, *Wealth and Biography*, p. 12.

⁸² Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, pp. 238-9.

⁸³ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 61.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 61; Crimmins, *Irish Historical Miscellany*, p. 103.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 61, 120.

⁸⁶ Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, p. 71.

after the fire than before. In 1830 he introduced his famous "Chateau Margeau," and "a man was nobody in those days if he had not subscribed for a case of that wine almost inaccessible to anyone but Lynch."⁸⁷ New Yorkers were apparently consuming large amounts of distilled liquors in the second and third decades of the century although the "gentry" remained faithful to imported wines. As late as 1860 New York City imported wines valued at \$2,900,000 as compared with distilled liquors worth \$3,400,000.⁸⁸ The Port of New York was handling two-thirds of all the American liquor business. Twisted drinkers, however, were probably satisfied with the domestic product. In 1820 Pierrepont's gin, made across the river in Brooklyn by William Constable's son-in-law, was selling for sixty-five cents a gallon.⁸⁹ Bar whiskey cost three cents a glass; ale two or three cents, while imported Havana cigars of the best quality could be bought for three cents, or five for a shilling.⁹⁰ Young men carried cigars in their hats, as cigar cases were rare; but respectable merchants would not be seen smoking on the streets. Hard drinking, however, seems to have been accepted. A British traveler about this time found New York well stocked with "wet goods" at prices less than in London. But he remarks, "The continual use of ardent spirits from the cradle to the grave, on the part of the males, ruins the constitution, for at thirty nature becomes torpid."⁹¹ This no doubt is an exaggeration judging from the long lives of many members of the Friendly Sons, who seem to have made it a custom to live into the 'eighties and 'nineties.

Foreign visitors in general had little of good to say for New York in the decades following the War of 1812, although Americans, like John Pintard, James Fenimore Cooper, and Theodore Dwight were more kindly in their views and were inclined to marvel at the city's thriving trade and rapidly expanding population. Travelers from abroad were generally agreed that New York was dirty and noisy, its streets cluttered with cases and bales of merchandise which, when added to the inequalities and gaps in the sidewalks, made walking hazardous to life and limb. Foreigners objected to the bustling throngs that elbowed and jostled their way amid the "hurry-scurry" of Broadway, Wall or Pearl Streets in the 'thirties.⁹² Broadway was admired for its length and breadth — eighty feet wide, it was now built up for three miles from the Battery — but the lack of uniformity in type and height of its buildings was criticized. They ranged from a one-story wooden

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⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

⁹⁰ Chas. H. Haswell, *Reminiscences of New York by an Octogenarian, 1816-1860*, New York, 1896, p. 57.

⁹¹ Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

⁹² Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, pp. 79-80.

cottage to massive brick structures of five and six stories.⁹³ Public buildings were frowned upon. Aside from the white-marble City Hall there was scarcely a decent public building in the city. The Astor House, a truly "magnificent hotel," was not opened until May, 1836. Built on the west side of Broadway, overlooking City Hall Park, its six-story granite structure had six hundred rooms, far surpassing the largest hotels of which London and Paris could boast.

The City theatres flourished in the 'twenties and early 'thirties but foreign travelers marvelled at the large number of "common people" present at the performances and the almost completely male audiences. The Park Theater was remodeled to accommodate 2,500 in 1821 and still remained the fashionable house. The Bowery Theatre was opened in 1826 and in 1830 the "matchless and incomparable, Billy Niblo," proprietor of the Bank Coffee House, launched his famous Niblo's Gardens.⁹⁴ William and John Niblo were members of the Friendly Sons from about this time until 1842.⁹⁵ Niblo became a member of the New York Historical Society in 1852 and that society has a drawing of him which shows a round, bespectacled face with grizzled sideburns.⁹⁶ Niblo's Gardens or Opera House, located on the northeast corner of Broadway and Prince Street, could seat 3,000. The city tax list for 1822 rates his house at 47 Pine Street at \$2,400, 45 Pine Street at \$10,000 and personal property worth \$5,000. This was before he built Niblo's Gardens. In 1845 his total worth was estimated at \$150,000.⁹⁷

After 1822, when the Federal government deeded back Castle Clinton to the city, this building also was remodeled as a theatre.⁹⁸ Philip Hone, in his diary, describes it under its new name, Castle Garden, as the most splendid and the largest theatre that he ever saw, capable of seating comfortably from six to eight thousand people.⁹⁹ The pit or arena of the pavilion was provided with some hundred small white tables and movable chairs where groups could "take their ices" between acts. In front of the stage was a beautiful fountain which played when the performers did not. The arena was surmounted by circular benches.¹⁰⁰ The scene of many a gala evening in the period, Castle Garden lost its value as an amusement place when fashionable New York moved uptown after 1836.

In 1824 there took place one of those unfortunate incidents which tended to harm the reputation of Irish immigrants in the eyes of their

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⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

⁹⁴ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 406; Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 94.

⁹⁵ *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1838-1841, 1841-1844.

⁹⁶ Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday*, pp. 132-3.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 389.

⁹⁸ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 124; Beach, *Wealth and Biography*, p. 22.

⁹⁹ Haswell, *Reminiscences*, pp. 18-21.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

fellow citizens, but which also served to enhance tremendously the reverence in which Thomas Addis Emmet of the Friendly Sons was held by his Irish Catholic countrymen. As previously noted, after 1818 the poorer class of Irishmen, both from the South and North of Ireland, began to come to New York in ever increasing numbers. Although perhaps the majority of these were Roman Catholics, nevertheless Protestants continued to come in large numbers. Many of these were ignorant, illiterate men who allowed the animosities of the old world to become aggravated in the new. Education was practically unknown among cotters of any section. Even after the beginnings of national education in 1831, nearly half the Ulster Protestants could not write their own names.¹⁰¹ Whatever the reason may have been, on July 12, 1824, a procession of Orangemen marched out of New York City, with banners flying and a band playing "Croppies Lie Down" and other equally provocative ditties, to invade the little hamlet of Greenwich Village, then on the outskirts of the city. The Village at that time was almost exclusively settled by Irish Catholics, chiefly laboring men, who were, as Charles O'Connor of the Friendly Sons later explained, obliged to live together to a great extent for their own protection, as a large portion of the New Yorkers of that time were bitter and prejudiced against all those who differed with them in religious beliefs. In the fight that followed, no one was killed but the Orangemen received a sound thrashing and were driven into the city. Whereupon the sheriff swore out a special posse and arrested every man who could be found in Greenwich Village. The following morning a hundred or more Irishmen were arraigned on charge of rioting and disturbing the peace, and were almost certain of conviction.¹⁰²

In the September term of the Court of Sessions, the Judge was about to pass sentence when Thomas Addis Emmet, who lived in the country — on the Middle Road now Fifth Avenue, where Fifty-fourth Street crosses — and who had not heard of the difficulty, happened to come into the courtroom. He showed great indignation, for some of the men had been imprisoned for six weeks or more, and, throwing aside an important case which he was about to open, he defended them. He spoke freely of the "disgraceful state of intolerance which then existed in the city and of the great injustice suffered in consequence." When the Judge heard the facts he discharged the prisoners without reprimand.¹⁰³

Later a committee of Greenwich Village men came to Charles O'Connor, then a young man of twenty years just beginning the study of

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¹⁰¹ Adams, *Ireland and Irish Immigration*, p. 22.

¹⁰² Account taken from Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, pp. 256-7.

¹⁰³ Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 257; vide Charles G. Haines, *Memoir of Thomas Addis Emmet*, New York, 1929.

law but later a leader of the New York Bar, asking him to take charge of some money to purchase a testimonial to Emmet. A silver pitcher made in New York and presented to Emmet bore this testimonial.

Presented to Thomas Addis Emmet, Esq. as a slight testimonial of their respect and admiration for the patriotism and talents displayed by his gratuitous defense of his Exiled Countrymen from the assaults of Irish Orangemen in America, by the Irishmen of the Village of Greenwich, whose cause and principles he advocated on that occasion in the Court of Sessions of New York for September term, 1824.¹⁰⁴

On November 4, 1825, the citizens of New York, now 160,000 strong, turned out to rejoice at the completion of one of the greatest civic projects in the history of the State, the Erie Canal. The triumphal opening of the Canal was accompanied by a tremendous celebration which surpassed even the outburst of welcome given Lafayette upon his arrival in the city the year before. Campbell P. White of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick was appointed to a committee for the arrangement of this celebration,¹⁰⁵ which has been described too often to need repetition here. The dramatic event so captured public imagination and so impressed historians that they have perhaps tended to give the canal too much emphasis as the almost exclusive source of New York's commercial greatness.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps more important are other examples of New York initiative such as the opening of the Black Ball Packet regular sailings to Europe, the development of the triangular cotton trade, and the extension of steamboat service to New Haven, Providence, and the Raritan, without which, as Albion points out, "Clinton's Ditch" could not have alone made New York the great commercial emporium of America.¹⁰⁷ Yet the digging of a canal from Albany to Buffalo, a distance of 363 miles, was a stupendous undertaking for that day, and the Canal undoubtedly opened up New York City as a market for western flour and wheat which before it had gone to Philadelphia or Baltimore or else down the Mississippi to New Orleans. Before the completion of the Canal it had cost \$100 to bring a ton of wheat from the Great Lakes to New York; after 1825 it cost only nine or ten dollars.¹⁰⁸

To many men of course goes the credit for initiating and completing this great project; but it can hardly be denied that three members of

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¹⁰⁴ Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 257.

¹⁰⁵ Barrett, *Old Merchants*, II, 239-40, IV, 144.

¹⁰⁶ Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 228, n. 16.

¹⁰⁷ Albion, *Rise of New York Port*, pp. 13-15.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick played a major role perhaps surpassing that of all others. Christopher Colles, as has been mentioned above, was one of the first to suggest a canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and of those instrumental in putting the project into effect none stand out more conspicuously than Thomas Eddy, Senator Jonas Platt, and De Witt Clinton.¹⁰⁹ Colles, Eddy, and Clinton were all members of the Friendly Sons. It was Eddy and Platt who in 1810 persuaded De Witt Clinton, then leader of the dominant party in the legislature, to introduce a resolution establishing a state commission to explore the possibilities of a canal to Lake Erie.¹¹⁰ Eddy, Platt, Clinton, Gouverneur Morris, and Robert Fulton were members of a Commission which reported favorably on the project; but failure to obtain Federal funds and the approach of war with England held up action in the legislature.¹¹¹ As Eddy himself tells us, from 1810 on he devoted most of his time in endeavoring with De Witt Clinton and Robert Fulton to enlighten the public mind with respect to a canal by publishing pamphlets, essays in newspapers and the like.¹¹² After the war Eddy, Platt and Clinton revived the project in the legislature, and it soon became evident to politicians that the project had become popular. A public meeting called by Eddy sent to the legislature a petition drawn up by Clinton demanding immediate construction of a canal. The petition bore one hundred thousand signatures undoubtedly the result of efforts by Eddy, one of the master lobbyists of his time.¹¹³

The act to authorize construction passed the legislature April 15, 1817, only to be threatened with defeat in the Council of Revision. It is interesting to note that Chancellor Kent, a close friend of Thomas Eddy, cast the deciding vote in favor.¹¹⁴ After his retirement as governor in 1822 Clinton, as president of the Board of Canal Commissioners, devoted all of his time to driving through the great work. For years he crossed and recrossed the state watching the progress of the Canal without salary or reward. Apparently he was out of politics and no longer a candidate for office. His many enemies were determined on his downfall and in April, 1824, during the last day of the legislature they pushed through a resolution in the Senate for his removal as Canal Commissioner. The Assembly passed the resolution in the rush of adjournment to the stunned surprise of those present when they realized what had happened.¹¹⁵

The tremendous reaction of the people of New York City and State

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¹⁰⁹ Knapp, Thomas Eddy, p. 150; citing Dr. David Hosack, *Memoir of De Witt Clinton*.

¹¹⁰ Flick, *New York State History*, V, 308; Knapp, *Thomas Eddy*, p. 153.

¹¹¹ Flick, *op. cit.*, V, 309; Werner, *Civil List*, p. 172.

¹¹² Knapp, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

¹¹³ Flick, *op. cit.*, V, 311-312.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 315.

¹¹⁵ Lamb, *City of New York*, II, 688.

was equally stunning to Clinton's enemies. Meetings were held in every town, village, and city to denounce this set of political chicanery. On April 20, ten thousand of all races and political creeds gathered in front of New York's City Hall. Resolutions were adopted by acclamation denouncing Clinton's removal as a "disgrace to the State, a violation of justice, and an outrage on public opinion."¹¹⁶ A committee of thirty was appointed to communicate the resolutions to Clinton and to give them publicity throughout the State. Thomas Addis Emmet, Thomas Eddy, and Campbell P. White of the Friendly Sons were members of this committee.¹¹⁷ At a meeting of naturalized Irishmen sponsored by Thomas Addis Emmet, Dr. William James Macneven, William Sampson, and William Christian, all members of the Friendly Sons, similar resolutions were drawn up and presented to De Witt Clinton by a committee which waited upon him.¹¹⁸ This political error by his enemies undoubtedly helped to sweep De Witt Clinton back into the gubernatorial office in the election of that year. Thus, he was, as governor, able to take a leading role at the great celebration of the "Marriage of the Waters" in New York Bay, a celebration at which Lafayette, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, John Adams, and John Quincy Adams were among the invited guests.¹¹⁹

On November 14, 1827 the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and every Irishman in New York suffered loss when Thomas Addis Emmet was stricken with apoplexy while engaged in the trial of the Sailors' Snug Harbor case in the United States Circuit Court which was meeting in the City Hall Court Room.¹²⁰ He was attended by his old and devoted friend, Dr. Macneven, by Dr. David Hosack, and by Dr. John Francis, who was present in the courtroom on the occasion.¹²¹ He was taken to his home at 30 Beech Street facing St. John's Park.¹²² Stricken about noon, he never recovered consciousness but died ten hours later. Young Abram S. Hewitt, later Mayor of New York, who lived in the neighborhood with his father, a dealer in hard woods, was tremendously impressed by Emmet's death. As he recalled, there had never been a similar funeral in New York, or one in which so large a proportion of the inhabitants took part. For several hours the whole business of the city was suspended. "It was thought that everyone in the town knew him at least by sight, and probably no other citizen ever commanded the love, veneration, and respect of as large a proportion of the

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¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 689.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 347.

¹¹⁹ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 195; Flick, *New York State History*, V, 30.

¹²⁰ Francis, *Old New York*, p. 358.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 358.

¹²² Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 61.

people."¹²³ The Board of Aldermen passed resolutions of condolence and ordered all city offices closed during the time of the funeral. All city officials attended in a body. Federal officials in the city took similar action. The Courts all adjourned after the Judges eulogized the dead and the bar met to arrange for attending the funeral. The officials, professors, and students of Columbia College attended in a body as did all the physicians of the city and all the professors and students of the law and medical schools. Flags on every vessel in the harbor were at half mast and the bells of every church tolled during the funeral which took place from Grace Church, then a block above Trinity, and the procession proceeded to St. Mark's Church in the "Bowerie" where the body was deposited in a vault. It seemed that every able bodied man in the City took part, and at the time the body reached St. Mark's Church, the people were still falling in line below Grace Church.¹²⁴ John Chambers, vice-president of the Friendly Sons, was a pallbearer, as were Dr. Macneven, and De Witt Clinton, Chancellor James Kent, Judge Betts, Judge Thompson, Martin Van Buren, William Sampson, David B. Ogden and others. Every newspaper in the city eulogized the great Irishman, and William Cullen Bryant wrote an eloquent tribute in the *New York Evening Post*.¹²⁵

In the same year the Society lost Thomas Eddy, who passed to his reward, September 16, 1827. It must have been a great one, if a life devoted to charity has any meaning. Next year De Witt Clinton, who had been a member of the Society since 1790, died at his desk in Albany, February 11, 1828. Within six months the St. Patrick Society had lost three of its greatest sons. The Friendly Sons paid tribute to their memory at their anniversary dinner at the Bank Coffee House, March 17, 1828.¹²⁶

In 1831 the Society decided to amend and revise its By-Laws. It had been operating since its inception under the original rules as printed by Hugh Gaine in 1786, doubtless with modifications to meet the changing times. A committee was appointed at a meeting, December 1, 1831, consisting of Samuel Osborne, Jacob Harvey, Joseph Alexander, John T. Dolan and James McBride, and the event was considered of sufficient importance in the affairs of the city for Walter Barrett to mention it thirty years later in his reminiscences, at which time he is able to report four of the five named on the committee.¹²⁷ The names of the committee indicate the activity of many recent and

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¹²³ As told by Abram Hewitt to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, winter of 1897-1898, Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 310.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 310-311.

¹²⁵ *New York Evening Post*, November 21, 1827.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, March 18, 19, 1828.

¹²⁷ *Records of the Society*, Appendix C, Resolutions of Meeting, Dec. 1, 1831. Barrett, *Old Merchants*, V, 276.

probably younger men in the Friendly Sons at this time. Only one of them, James McBride, had been a member of the Society before 1820. Joseph Alexander was a member from 1825 on and he seems to have been very active, serving as secretary in 1827 and 1828.¹²⁸ His name frequently appears as such in the newspapers of the day.¹²⁹ According to the records of the Society he was born in New York in 1774 of Irish parents, Robert and Jane Willet Alexander. He seems to have entered the counting house of Daniel McCormick as a young man and in 1799 he represented McCormick and the Constables in Boston. Returning to New York in 1806, he opened a warehouse of his own in Pearl Street, where he became a successful merchant. He possibly failed in business during the great panic of 1837, for he resigned from the Friendly Sons in the following year and may have left the city.¹³⁰ He is said to have died in 1842, and was buried in Kingston, N. Y.¹³¹

Little is known of John T. Dolan, who apparently was one of the younger members, elected before 1830. He seems to have been engaged in the hardware trade at 282 Pearl Street. He, like Alexander, resigned from the Society in 1838, and we have no further record of him. Samuel Osborne, at this time an inconspicuous member of the Society, will be very active in later years, serving as treasurer of the Friendly Sons from 1835 to 1837, and maintaining membership down to 1845. Jacob Harvey, one of the forgotten heroes of the great fight to bring State regulation to the aid of the suffering millions who poured into New York in the decade of the 'forties, deserves more notice than this account can give him. A man of no great wealth he was tireless in his charitable efforts both within and without the Society. It will be he who will lead the Friendly Sons to the rescue of 320 sick Irish immigrants thrust ashore without shelter at Perth Amboy in 1837.¹³² He will be one of the founders of the Irish Emigrant Society in the 'forties, established by Dr. Robert Hogan and other leaders of the Friendly Sons to bring more active aid to immigrants than a social organization could find possible.¹³³ His noble work for immigrants was recognized in May, 1847, when the State legislature named him one of the six Commissioners of Emigration established by law in that year.¹³⁴ Appointed for a four-year term without pay, unfortunately he died May 10, 1848

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¹²⁸ *Records of the Society*, Appendix D, List of Officers, 1784-1835.

¹²⁹ *Evening Post*, Feb. 29, 1828, Mar. 2, 1828, Mar. 15, 1828, Mar. 2, 1829.

¹³⁰ *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1838-41.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, miscellaneous, notes of R. C. Murphy, based on *History of Alexander Family*, New York Historical Society, and Barrett, *Old Merchants*, V, 276.

¹³² *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Book, 1836-1838.

¹³³ Richard J. Purdell, "The Irish Emigrant Society of New York," *Studies*, Dublin, 1938, XXVII, 583-98.

¹³⁴ Werner, *Civil List*, p. 202; *Laws of New York*, 1847, chap. 195, May 5, 1847; Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration*, p. 99.

or perhaps his name would be better remembered.¹³⁵

Daniel McCormick, founder of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick and for nearly forty of its years president of the Society, died on January 31, 1834. The *New York Gazette*, February 1, 1834, carried the following item:

We have the painful task of announcing the death of the venerable Daniel McCormick, Esq., at his residence in Wall Street, yesterday afternoon. This amiable gentleman always stood high in the estimation of all that knew him. He was a true friend of the poor; and out of the abundance of his wealth, his gifts were bestowed liberally, and in the most graceful manner. The poor widow and the orphan, were among his earnest cares, and by them, and the community, his loss will be deplored. Mr. McCormick was a native of Ireland, and one of Erin's brightest sons. May his example, in all good works, be followed by those of his countrymen in proportion to their means.¹³⁶

In the *Gazette* of February 3, 1834, the following notices appeared:

Died on Friday afternoon, January 31, 1834, Daniel McCormick, in the 91st year of his age. The friends of the deceased are respectfully invited to attend his funeral from his late residence, No. 57 Wall St., this afternoon, at half past four o'clock, without further invitation.

The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick are requested to attend the funeral of their late respected member, Daniel McCormick, Esq., this afternoon at half past three o'clock precisely.¹³⁷

He was buried in Trinity Churchyard at the head of the Wall Street he loved so well.

The death of Daniel McCormick, whose lifetime fell but a few weeks short of spanning the first fifty years of the Society's existence, brought the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick to the end of an era — an era dominated by those great merchant princes, men of the Revolution, who formed part of the aristocracy of New York City in the first decades of the Republic. During this period the Society had given to

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¹³⁵ Not even Carl Wittke, distinguished historian of the Irish in America, mentions him by name.

¹³⁶ *New York Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1834.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1834.

the State two of its greatest governors in George Clinton and De Witt Clinton, and to the city two of its most distinguished mayors in James Duane and De Witt Clinton. Members of this close-knit little Irish-American society had cooperated as outstanding leaders in the settlement of northern New York, and had been foremost among those who inspired and made effective the greatest engineering project in the early history of the State — the Erie Canal. As wardens, vestrymen, and trustees of Trinity Church, the Brick Presbyterian Church, and old St. Peter's in Barclay Street, the Friendly Sons had been most conspicuous lay leaders in the religious life of the city. To no movement for civic reform, to no charitable project did they fail to contribute energetic leadership. As physicians, members of the Friendly Sons had been at the head of their profession during the entire period; as lawyers, they had given to the American Bar rivals to the Pinckneys, Websters, and Wirts of the day. But always the life of the Society had been dominated by the great merchant adventurers of the old school, wholesale importers and exporters, shipowners whose roots were deep in the colonial past. For fifty years, intermarried with the great provincial families of English, Dutch, and French extraction, they had formed the "cream of the cream" of New York society. Now the Constables, McEvers, Macombs, McVickars, Randalls, Pollocks, Edgars and McCormicks were all dead, and their like was not to be seen again. It was indeed the end of an era.

It was perhaps eminently fitting that the inauguration of the Society's second half-century should be marked in March, 1834, by the election as president of one of the few survivors of the old breed, James McBride, a truly great merchant in his own right. But the past could not be recovered. McBride served but one year, then turned the destinies of the Society over to a new generation of professional men — lawyers, doctors, jurists, statesmen, and politicians. They were to struggle desperately in the time of troubles before them to save the very existence of the organization that had come down to them from the past. How they succeeded will be told in later chapters. It is perhaps also fitting, though regrettable, that a great fire which swept the wholesale section of the city on August 12, 1835, destroying many buildings on Fulton, Ann and Nassau Streets, should also have wiped out almost all the original records of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York. Thus was left to future generations the difficult task of reconstructing the history of a generation of giants that should not be forgotten.

CHAPTER XII

DIFFICULT YEARS FOR THE SOCIETY



A SPECIAL meeting of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick was held at the Washington Hotel, No. 1 Broadway, on Tuesday evening, January 15, 1836. Present at this meeting were Campbell P. White, President, James Magee, Samuel Osborne, John Tait, Jr., James C. Brown, Dr. William Arnold, John Caldwell, James McBride, Robert J. Dillon, and Dudley Persse. The following report from the Secretary, Dudley Persse, was read and accepted.

The Secretary of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick feels it his duty on the present occasion to make a formal report of some occurrences which have transpired since the



Washington Hotel

last meeting of the Society, and which it may be necessary to enter in the minutes.

In the destructive fire which commenced in Fulton Street on the morning of the 12th August and extended with dreadful havoc across Ann St. to the Secretary's Store and Counting Room in Nassau St. the rapid progress of the flames was such that little could be saved, and the sec's trunk was most unfortunately so situated that it was not in his power to rescue it. It was destroyed. The Contents of this trunk embraced all the property of the Society in the possession of the Secretary, including of course the records and the Book of Minutes and the Constitution and Byelaws with the original signatures of the members. These of course are irreparable: but all important matters appertaining to our association may in a great measure be preserved by a republication of the Charter and byelaws, a copy of which is at hand. The other property of the Secretary may be replaced and most probably would have been renewed at this time without the intervention of the Fire as the badges (the most important part) were already much defaced and tarnished by long use.

In the present emergency the Secretary would recommend the appointment of a committee to provide new books of minutes, new badges, flags, etc. so as to restore the Insignia of the Society, as nearly as possible to their former situation and that this report be entered in the new Book of Minutes.

There is another matter which the Secretary feels himself reluctantly called upon in his official capacity to represent. It relates to the collections paid by him to the late treasurer. The balance due the Society from W. Corbitt appears to be about \$120 which the Sec. was directed at the last meeting to receive and hand over to Mr. Osborne the present Treas. After repeated and unsuccessful applications your Sec. is obliged to say that from circumstances beyond his controul [sic] he has not been able with all his exertions to get from W. Corbitt any part of the sum due from him and fears the same will be a total loss to the Society. If any directions or suggestions can be given to the Secretary in this case he will be happy to receive and execute them.

The winter having already set in with an unusual ferocity [sic] the Sec. thinks it his duty to call the attention of the Society to the numerous demands which will be made upon them and if possible to provide the means of relieving in some degree the poor and distressed objects which in a measure depend upon us.

There remains at the present time, a considerable amount

of arrearages which the Secretary cannot precisely ascertain in the absence of the book and minutes of the Society but he is persuaded every member will feel the obligation of calling them to his recollection and paying such as may be due him.¹

Dudley Persse

This report of Secretary Persse foreshadows to some extent the many problems, financial and otherwise, that were to vex the Society in the decades to come. The August fire, so destructive of the early records of the Friendly Sons, was followed by an even more devastating conflagration which swept the southeastern section of the city in the winter of the same year. This great fire broke out on December 16th, between eight and nine o'clock in the evening, at No. 25 Merchant (later Hanover) Street, and before it was brought under control had burned out fifty acres, bounded by South Street, Coenties Slip, Broad and Wall Streets. The area included some twenty blocks of buildings, among them, the Merchants Exchange, the Post Office, and the South Dutch Church. The fire spread rapidly and became quite unmanageable. Carts are said to have been purchased at unbelievable prices in an attempt to remove goods from the path of the flames. In most cases these were burned later or had to be moved again as the fire caught up with them. The always inadequate water supply of the city was practically useless as the temperature was ten degrees below zero, so that water froze in the hydrants. Efforts to draw a supply through hoses from the slips of the East River were frustrated by low water in the river, aggravated by the prevalence of Northwest winds. The fire raged for two nights and was not controlled until the third day, when dynamite was used to destroy buildings in the path of flames. Reflection of the fire in the sky was reported to have been seen as far away as New Haven and Philadelphia. On the second day 400 Philadelphia firemen came to relieve their fellow firemen of New York. About 693 houses and stores were destroyed, and losses were variously estimated at between eighteen and twenty millions of dollars.²

The great fire hit the members of the Friendly Sons very hard, as the area burned was occupied mostly by merchants from among whose numbers the Society was largely recruited. Among the stores destroyed were those of Campbell P. White, President of the Society, and of Cornelius Heeney, one of its most prominent members. Daniel McCormick's old home in Wall Street was burned. Most of the city's fire insurance companies, in which many of the Society were stock-

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¹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes of Special Meeting, Washington Hotel, Jan. 15, 1836.

² Description of the Great Fire is taken from Haswell, *Reminiscences*, pp. 305-307; Herbert, *Merchant's Bank*, p. 115; Barrett, *Old Merchants*, I, 51-53; Lamb, *New York City*, II, 725; Lossing, *New York City*, pp. 345-355.

holders and directors, went to the wall, although the Legislature authorized the City to advance loans of six million dollars on the securities held by the companies in order to facilitate speedy payment of the losses.³ Recovery in the city was at first quite rapid due, it was said, to "the enterprise, courage, and elastic temper" of its inhabitants. Then came a second great blow. The Panic of 1837 brought business almost to a standstill throughout the whole country. There followed a long depression which lasted into the mid-forties.

The Panic of 1837 was immediately reflected in the affairs of the Friendly Sons. Membership in 1835 had numbered about one hundred and twenty.⁴ Numbers now shrank very rapidly and income available for charity even more rapidly, just at a time when it was most needed. Many of the older members died; large numbers left the city. Some of those, like James Magee and Thomas Suffern, whose wealth withstood the panic, retired from business and returned to Ireland. Cornelius Heeney moved to Brooklyn where he already had large real estate investments. Although he seems to have paid his dues until 1842 he was never active in the Society after 1838. Some, like Luke Usher, a dealer in mineral waters in Fourth Street, and Dr. Robert Usher went West; others simply disappeared entirely. A few members resigned; but more just stopped paying their dues. Collection of dues by the Secretary became exceedingly difficult, so that it was found necessary to put the matter in the hands of bill collectors who were paid six percent for their services. On some occasions these collectors defaulted on the sums received. Efforts to build up membership for the sake of carrying forward the charitable objectives of the Society were only partly successful. Some of these added at this time gave valuable services in years to come; but too many soon dropped out.⁵

Disbursements for charity during this period show the situation clearly. During the ten years following 1835 the largest amount dispensed for relief was in 1837, the year in which the Society came to the rescue of the unfortunate immigrants landed destitute at Amboy.⁶ Of this amount, however, the bulk seems to have come from special donations and not from dues.⁷ In the following year only \$97.36 was disbursed for charity and of this, \$40.07 was advanced by the treasurer, Arthur Stewart. This is the year in which a collector absconded with the dues, later recovered by the Society.⁸ By 1839 it is evident from

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³ Haswell, *op. cit.*, p. 307.

⁴ The membership list for 1835, as published in the Society's Year Book for 1899 and again in 1909, is somewhat inaccurate as several names of members actually elected in 1838 and 1839 are included in this list.

⁵ *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1838-1841; Minutes 1837-1845, *passim*.

⁶ *Ibid. supra*.

⁷ *Records of the Society*, Old Cash Book, a/c 1837.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Washington Hotel, Feb. 2, 1839.

the books of the Secretary and Treasurer that the Friendly Sons had less than forty members in good standing, although three times that many names were carried on the rolls. Efforts to build up the Charity Fund by amending the By-Laws so as to make income from investments available for relief purposes proved a failure. Meetings called for that purpose lacked a quorum to transact business. In general the quarterly meetings during the next few years, even the important meetings for election of officers, were poorly attended. It seems, too, that during this period only a sparse number of members were present at the Anniversary Dinners of the Friendly Sons on St. Patrick's Day.⁹

The unhealthy state of the Society is shown by the Minutes. In March, 1837 John Wilson, First Vice-President, and Edward Eccleston, Second Vice-President, tried to resign from their offices. Both had formerly been very active. The Society refused to dispense with their services at this time; but Eccleston resigned from the association, altogether after 1838, when he seems to have left the city, and John Wilson, a former Treasurer, died in 1845 at the age of 62.¹⁰ There was some discussion at meetings of reducing the number of a quorum required for the transaction of business and also of relaxing the rules in order to broaden the membership.¹¹ Nothing, however, came of these proposals. A committee appointed to revise the By-Laws reported, March 5, 1840, but no action was taken.¹² In March of 1838 the President, Campbell P. White, tried to relinquish his office; but the members insisted upon reelecting him for the ensuing year.¹³ The meeting of March 7, 1839 was very poorly attended. Neither the President, First Vice-President, nor the Secretary were present. James Reyburn, Second Vice-President, presided. On this occasion the members were compelled reluctantly to accept the resignation of President White, owing to a death in his family; but they insisted on reelecting Arthur Stewart, Treasurer, who also tried to resign. At this meeting Jacob Harvey, the distinguished Irish Quaker philanthropist, was elected President of the Friendly Sons.¹⁴ He had for many years been one of the most faithful and active members of the Society. Now, unfortunately, "in consequence of the delicate state of his health" Jacob Harvey was reluctantly obliged to decline the honor conferred upon him.¹⁵ At the meeting of March 18, 1839, Dr. Robert Hogan was unanimously elected to replace him.¹⁶ Dr. Hogan was unquestionably one

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⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1836, March 2, 1837, June 1, 1837, *et passim*.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Notes of Mr. R. C. Murphy; Membership Book, 1838-1841.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, September 5, 1839, Niblo's Coffee House, 157 Broadway.

¹² *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 5, 1840, Niblo's Saloon, 576 Broadway.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 1, 1838, Washington Hotel.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 7, 1839, Washington Hotel.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 18, 1839, City Hotel.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

of the outstanding Irish leaders of the city at this time. A man of considerable energy, active charity, and with an abiding love of his fellow countrymen, Hogan was undoubtedly a prime factor in holding the Society of the Friendly Sons together during the difficult depression years. He served as president until March, 1843; but, although he succeeded in reviving interest to a considerable extent he was never able, quite to restore the Society to its former prosperous condition. At a meeting held in the City Hotel, Dec. 7, 1843, the names of eighty-five members were ordered to be stricken from the rolls.¹⁷ A number of these indeed, had died without their passing having been noted in the books, and perhaps a great majority were no longer residents of New York. Many, however, simply "declined to pay." Nevertheless, in February, 1844 the Society had fifty-nine members in good standing.¹⁸

It must not be thought that, during this rather gloomy period of its history, the Society of the Friendly Sons was abandoned by all of its older members or that it lacked among its numbers men conspicuously prominent in the New York life of that day. Dr. William James Macneven, dean of the Irish Community in the city, remained a member until his death in 1841. Enfeebled in health, however, he could not be very active. Saul Alley, the old Jacksonian Democrat, Daniel Jackson, Campbell P. White, Robert J. Dillon, and Robert White, all important Tammany Hall leaders,¹⁹ retained their membership in the Society, and the last four were very active in its affairs during the late 'thirties and early 'forties. The first of these, Saul Alley, was one of the leading business men of the city, who by his integrity, industry and ability had amassed a large fortune, so that he was listed in 1848 among the "Aristocracy of New York."²⁰ Alley was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on February 6, 1758 of poor parents but lately come to America from County Tyrone, Ireland. The family name was originally McNally. At an early age he had set himself up in business as a cabinet maker in Charleston, S. C., where he failed through some fault of his partner. He came to New York where he established a commission business, dealing in cotton and domestic goods. Within a few years, with the aid of Mordecai Cohn, a rich Jewish merchant of Charleston, he had paid off all his creditors in that city and by 1822 was rated among the "rich men of New York."²¹ In that year he was taxed on \$10,000 personal property, and in 1825 was living at No. 32 Beekman Street where he paid taxes on \$11,000

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¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1843, City Hotel.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Haswell, *op. cit.*, p. 349.

²⁰ Lanier, *Century of Banking*, p. 93; *Aristocracy of New York*, p. 9.

²¹ Lanier, *op. cit.*, p. 93; Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 30; Barrett, *op. cit.*, V, 33.

real and \$13,000 personal property.²² He was for a time a partner in the well known house of Fish, Grinnell & Company, and later formed the firm of Alley & Trimble.²³

During his years of membership in the Friendly Sons Alley took a keen and active interest in the political and civic life of the growing city. He was an intimate friend of the wealthy Stephen Allen, who was twice elected mayor of New York and later state senator.²⁴ Like Allen he was a sachem of Tammany Hall. In October of 1827, at a meeting of the citizens of New York, a committee was selected to proceed to New Orleans for the anniversary of the famous battle, January 8, and to present the congratulations of the city to General Andrew Jackson. Saul Alley, Thaddeus Phelps, and James A. Hamilton were selected.²⁵ Alley was a member of the fifty-first State Assembly in 1828 with Robert Emmet, his colleague in the Friendly Sons.²⁶ In 1833 he was appointed by Governor William Marcy to a commission with plenary powers to examine all plans, make actual surveys, and estimate the probable expense of bringing Croton Water to New York.²⁷ By the 'forties Alley was retired from business and living in Washington Square. He was rated at \$250,000 in 1845.²⁸ When he died in 1852 he was referred to in the press of the day as "an Irishman of strong mind, pushing his way through the world without benefit of education and under many difficulties."²⁹

Daniel Jackson, a colleague of Saul Alley in Tammany Hall and a merchant at 78 Pearl Street in 1832, was still listed at that address in the books of the Friendly Sons in 1841.³⁰ He was active in the Society until 1844 when he seems to have resigned. Campbell P. White had served the people of New York for many years as alderman and member of Congress. Robert J. Dillon, another prominent Tammany Hall politician, had been secretary of the Friendly Sons in 1837 and vice-president from 1843 to 1846.³¹ He was an attorney with office at 4 Broad Street in 1832. He continued to be very active in the affairs of the Society until after 1851, as did Dr. William Arnold who served as secretary in 1839 and 1840.

The Robert White, prominent in the Friendly Sons during this period, was the elder brother of Campbell P. White, and in fact the

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²² Lanier, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

²³ Barrett, *op. cit.*, I, 99.

²⁴ Beach, *Wealth and Biography*, p. 1; *Aristocracy of New York*, p. 9.

²⁵ Haswell, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

²⁶ Werner, *Civil List*, p. 339.

²⁷ Wilson, *Memorial History*, III, 398.

²⁸ Beach, *op. cit.*, p. 1; *Aristocracy of New York*, p. 9, which gives \$300,000 in 1848.

²⁹ *Records of the Society*, Notes of Mr. R. C. Murphy.

³⁰ Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 377; *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1838, 1841.

³¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, 1843-1846.

oldest of ten sons of Irish-born "Doctor" John White of Baltimore, the youngest of whom was named Decimus. "Doctor" White was, among other things, a distiller of gin. Walter Barrett tells us that White's gin was very famous in the first half of the century. John White & Company was in business continuously from 1804 to 1833 in Baltimore, and had a New York branch at 62 Pine Street and later at 42 South Street. Robert and Campbell P. came to New York originally to manage this business. Bob White was very well known in the city. After 1815 he was director and cashier of the Bank of the Manhattan Company. He was a real power in the bank as he held the proxies of many of its Irish stockholders. Barrett describes him as a "very dogmatical man." When in 1840 Jonathan Thompson became president of the Manhattan Bank he and White quarreled. Barrett tells a wild tale of a violent assault by White on the person of Thompson, which landed Bob for a time in Tombs Prison. At any rate, he lost his position as cashier.³² These events perhaps account for the fact that about this time the Society of the Friendly Sons ceased to invest their surplus funds in the Manhattan Company, buying shares in the American Exchange Bank instead.³³

Very active in the Society's affairs in the late 'thirties when he served on its Committee of Charity was Joseph Kernochan, one of New York's wealthiest merchants. A descendant of that Kernochan who had come to New York with Charles Clinton in 1725 he was a member of the firm of Kernochan, Parrish & Company, prominent in the city during the 'twenties and 'thirties. Joseph had made a fortune in the Southern trade and apparently retained it throughout the depression for he was rated at \$450,000 in 1845.³⁴ Kernochan attended meetings of the Society as late as 1851. Very faithful in attendance at meetings during this difficult period were James McBride, former president, and John Moorhead, former treasurer, who was associated with McBride in the linen importing business. Another exceedingly active member until his return to Ireland in 1843 was Thomas Suffern, described as "a respectable Irish gentleman, nephew of the venerable Judge Suffern of Rockland County, New York."³⁵

Thomas Suffern was one of the most interesting characters of this period in New York life. Born in Belfast, June 21, 1787, he came to New York in 1808, working as a clerk for his uncle George Suffern, a tobacco merchant. Thomas inherited his uncle's business in 1810, but

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³² This account is taken from Barrett, *op. cit.*, IV, 144-5.

³³ *Records of the Society*, Old Cash Book, Permanent Fund, account with A. Stewart, Treasurer. As late as Feb. 6, 1839, the Society bought eight shares in the Manhattan Company, but on March 4, 1840, four shares in the American Exchange Bank were purchased. By 1867 the Friendly Sons owned eighteen shares of American Exchange stock, but made no additions to its 60 Manhattan Company shares.

³⁴ Beach, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

gradually became engaged in importing Irish linens. In this trade he made a great fortune. He married the daughter of William Wilson, "a very wealthy merchant."³⁶ He was prominent as a bank director, was one of the Council of New York University, a member of the Chamber of Commerce, and very active in charities. Said to have been a cousin of Andrew Jackson's on his mother's side, he entertained the President at his home in Park Place during the latter's official visit North.³⁷ Suffern first lived at Gold Street, then in Greenwich Street near the Battery, a fashionable part of town in the 'twenties, and later in Park Place. In 1833 he moved to Washington Square, and the Society's Membership Book for 1838-1841 gives his address there as No. 11. Suffern frequently served as Steward for the Anniversary Dinners of the Friendly Sons, and his signature appears many times in the Old Cash Book.

When Alexander Turney Stewart, the great New York retail merchant of the second half of the century, came to New York from Ireland he brought a letter of introduction to Thomas Suffern, who is said to have set him up in business giving him credit for all the Irish linens he could sell. Walter Barrett believed that his advice contributed substantially to the establishment of the great A. T. Stewart fortune. About 1844, according to the books of the Society, Suffern returned to Ireland where he remained for several years. Beach's *Wealth and Biography* for 1845 records him as "now living in Europe," and estimates his net worth as \$250,000. While in Ireland he restored his old parish church in Belfast and founded a public fountain there. Suffern later returned to New York and a copy of the By-Laws of the Friendly Sons, printed in 1852, lists him as a member in good standing. He was present at a very important meeting of the Society in 1851. The author of *Old Merchants*, writing in 1862, remarks that "Thomas Suffern is, I believe, the last remnant of the old Irish merchants in the City of New York." James McBride, James McGee, John Flack, Stewart Mollan, David Andrews, and John Caldwell (all active in the Friendly Sons during the 'thirties and 'forties) "are," he tells us, "all dead."³⁸ Suffern's taxable property, real and personal, was estimated as over \$750,000 at this time. Suffern died in New York, April 11, 1869.

In the eighteen-forties Suffern became deeply interested in Chicago real estate. He owned a quarter-section there, about one-half mile from Humboldt Park, known as the Suffern subdivision.³⁹ After his death his executors built and sold over 400 houses, eight churches, a

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³⁶ Lanier, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

³⁷ Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, pp. 470-2.

³⁸ Barrett, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 144.

³⁹ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

public school, a synagogue, and a Greek Orthodox Church, to which the Russian Imperial Government is said to have subscribed. Suffern was unquestionably one of the leaders of New York Society during the second quarter of the century. In April, 1833 he was one of seventy gentlemen subscribing \$500 each to build the Marine Pavilion at Rockaway, planned as an "elegant place for a summer resort."⁴⁰ The subscription list included such prominent New York names as Prime, King, Hone, Schermerhorn, Whitney, Newbold, Thorne, Parrish, Cutting, Livingston, and the like. The venture never prospered.

One of the oldest of the Friendly Sons during the late 'forties, both in service to the Society and in the actual years of his life was John Adams, president of the Fulton Bank. Born in Londonderry, Ireland in 1773, he had come to America in 1794, landing in Philadelphia. A year later he came to New York where by 1798 he was a partner in the Irish importing house of Clendenning & Adams, at 206 Pearl Street. Clendenning died but Adams continued in business at 213 Pearl Street until 1819 when he retired. In 1806 he had married Ann Glover, the daughter of "Irish John" Glover, "one of the most celebrated merchants in town," and a very early member of the Friendly Sons. In 1819 John Adams was elected one of the governors of the New York Hospital, in which capacity he served for thirty-six years, during most of that time as treasurer. He was also a trustee of the Public School Society, President of the Humane Society, Treasurer of the American Bible Society and a Director of the City Bank for many years. After 1819 Adams maintained a city residence at 71 Chambers Street, but spent most of his time in Bloomingdale, where like others of the Friendly Sons he had a summer house. When in 1827 the affairs of the Fulton Bank fell into confusion, he was prevailed upon to become president of the institution. He soon restored the bank to financial prosperity so that it paid dividends of ten percent per annum for twenty-two years. Adams died in office in 1855, at the advanced age of eighty-three. He had been a member of the Friendly Sons since at least as early as 1811. A devoted Presbyterian of the old school, he worshipped for sixty years in the Brick Presbyterian Church, of which Daniel McCormick had been a trustee. From 1815 until his death Adams was a ruling elder of the church.⁴¹

One of the most valuable and loyal members of the Society during this whole period was Dudley Persse who served as secretary during most of the years from 1831 to 1838. He had come from Ireland to this country in boyhood and was for many years in the commission business with John Campbell. The fire of August, 1835 which destroyed

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⁴⁰ Haswell, *op. cit.*, p. 273.

⁴¹ Barrett, *op. cit.*, IV, 21-26; Lanier, *op. cit.*, p. 92; Beach, *op. cit.*, p. 1; *Aristocracy in N. Y.*, p. 10.

his counting house apparently did not seriously disturb him financially, for we find him in 1839 entering into business with Horace Brooks, "an enterprising and worthy son of New England." The firm of Persse and Brooks conducted a commission paper warehouse in Nassau Street, and also owned one of the largest and best paper mills in the country at Windsor, Connecticut. In 1845 the net worth of the firm was estimated at \$150,000. Persse remained active in the Society throughout the 'forties, during which he served several times as second vice-president, and he was present at a meeting as late as February, 1855.⁴²

New York City about this time succeeded Philadelphia as the financial center of the country, especially after the passing of the second Bank of the United States, of whose New York branch many of the Friendly Sons had been directors. Few New York merchants supported Andrew Jackson in his attack on the bank, although the city eventually profited from the destruction of the national banking structure. Among the prominent bankers of the day none was better known in the city and nation than two members of the Friendly Sons, James and Stewart Brown, partners in the great banking house of Brown Brothers & Co. On the books of the Society James and Stewart are known as the "Brown brothers," as indeed was the case in much contemporary and subsequent historical writings.⁴³ In fact, however, Stewart was the cousin of James Brown.⁴⁴ James was the youngest of the four sons of that Alexander Brown who came to America from Ireland in 1800, landing in Baltimore, where he founded the famous merchant banking house of Alexander Brown & Sons before 1802. Alexander Brown is reputed to have been the first American millionaire.⁴⁵ All four of his sons were born in Ireland near Belfast where Alexander had a linen auctioneering business. There is a tradition in the family that the father had to go into hiding during the Irish rising of '98, and there is no doubt that he came to this country because of dissatisfaction with the English government's management of Irish affairs.⁴⁶ The parent house in Baltimore soon established branches in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Liverpool, and later London. The New York branch was founded by James Brown in 1825. His cousin Stewart Brown of Baltimore joined him the next year, becoming a partner in 1827.⁴⁷ The New York branch soon had business of such proportions that it was decided to make it and the other branches

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⁴² Crimmins, *Early Celebrations*, p. 415.

⁴³ Albion, *Port of New York*, p. 284.

⁴⁴ John Crosby Brown, *A Hundred Years of Merchant Banking*, New York, 1909, p. 184

⁴⁵ Frank Richardson Kent, "Alexander Brown," *D.A.B.*, III, 101.

⁴⁶ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

a separate and independent entity from the mother house in Baltimore.

James Brown was a man of exceptional business ability but of modest and kindly disposition. His youngest son John Crosby Brown, born in New York at the family residence No. 70 Leonard Street, told many tales of the "primitive conditions, judged by modern standards, which prevailed in the New York of his boyhood."⁴⁸ When the family first came to the city there was a public bath-house in Chambers Street where "my father used to take the children for their Saturday night bath."⁴⁹ The New York house prospered greatly, survived the panics of 1837 and 1857 and by the time of the Civil War James was the most influential member of this important banking family. He became a member of the Chamber of Commerce in 1827, was one of the earliest trustees of the New York Life Insurance Company, a trustee of the Bank for Savings, and became interested in several of the new railroad companies that were springing up about this time. His brother George was the first treasurer of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad. The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick was only one of James' charitable interests. He was a founder of the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor and the Presbyterian Hospital. He was also president of the board of trustees of the New York Orthopedic Dispensary & Hospital and a trustee of Union College from its founding. When he died in 1877, the Mayor of New York City ordered all flags on public buildings to be flown at half-mast.⁵⁰ During the 'thirties and 'forties the "Brown Brothers" were active in the Society, Stewart, the younger of the two, much more so than his cousin. He frequently served as steward at the Society's Anniversary Dinners. After 1852, when they were listed as members in good standing, both seem to have dropped their active membership as indeed did many of the older members of the Friendly Sons.

Various associates of Brown Brothers & Company were also members of the Friendly Sons about this time, notably Samuel Nicholson and John Gihon.⁵¹ In 1825 James Brown had set up Nicholson in the commission business under the firm name of Samuel Nicholson & Company, and the latter soon became a general partner in Brown Brothers.⁵² John Gihon was apparently the New York representative of William Gihon & Son, the principal Irish correspondents of Brown Brothers & Company. He became a quite wealthy man, rated in 1848 at \$300,000.⁵³ Both Nicholson and Gihon became members of the

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⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. XXII.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

⁵⁰ Frank Richardson Kent, "James Brown," *D.A.B.*, III, 126-7.

⁵¹ *Records of the Society*, Membership Books, 1838-1841, 1841-1851.

⁵² Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁵³ Beach, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Friendly Sons before 1835 and were still in good standing in 1852.⁵⁴ Nicholson spent most of his winters between 1837 and 1852 in New Orleans, where he had opened a branch house, so that he seldom attended meetings of the Society.⁵⁵

During the 'thirties the practice was gradually adopted of electing annually chaplains and physicians of the Friendly Sons, although there were no provisions in the By-Laws for such offices. In 1840, and perhaps earlier, the Very Reverend Doctor John Power, pastor of St. Peter's Church, was elected chaplain of the Society.⁵⁶ Born in County Cork, Ireland, in 1792, Father Power had come to America in 1819 at the invitation of the trustees of St. Peter's Church.⁵⁷ An eloquent preacher, of imposing appearance, and a clever politician, he soon became the "idol of the Irish element" in the city. When Bishop Connelly died in 1825, Power, then vicar-general, was appointed administrator, and the Irish of New York were bitterly disappointed when he failed to succeed as Bishop. Father Power continued to serve the new Bishop, Dubois, as vicar-general, and represented him at the First Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1829. An ardent supporter of every movement for the Irish cause, his fellow countrymen were quite dissatisfied when Father John Hughes of Philadelphia was made coadjutor of Bishop Dubois in 1837. Under Bishop Hughes Monsignor Power continued as vicar-general. John Power was annually reelected chaplain of the Friendly Sons until 1847, and was probably still in office when he died in 1849.⁵⁸ During these same years, his brother, William Power, M.D., also a member of the Friendly Sons, served as physician of the Society.⁵⁹ At the end of the decade the practice of electing chaplains and physicians seems to have been suspended.

Despite the loyalty of many prominent New Yorkers, such as those mentioned above, it must be admitted that the Society of the Friendly Sons passed into a period of relative decline after 1835. This was especially true in the late 'forties. Even the famous Anniversary Dinners of the Society, once one of the principal social events of the city, seem to have lost some of their prestige. Although the Mayor of New York usually attended, as did the representatives of the various national and charitable societies, still the list of invited guests lacked some of the distinction of former times. The great Irish actor, Tyrone Power, was a guest in 1837; but men not of Irish blood too often declined the

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⁵⁴ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 5, 1840, Niblo's Saloon, 576 Broadway.

⁵⁵ Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁵⁶ *Records of the Society*, Minutes of Meeting, Mar. 5, 1840, at Niblo's Saloon, 576 Broadway.

⁵⁷ Following account is based upon Richard J. Purcell, "John Power," *D.A.B.*, xv, 156-7.

⁵⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 4, 1841, Mar. 3, 1842, Mar. 2, 1843, Mar. 7, 1844, Mar. 6, 1845, Mar. 5, 1846.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

invitation of the Society "with regrets." Washington Irving begged off in 1836, as did Daniel Webster in 1837, and ex-president Martin Van Buren in 1844.⁶⁰ These were years in which a "nativist" movement, anti-foreign in general and anti-Irish Catholic in particular, was sweeping over the country. Nativism got into politics in 1843 with the formation in New York City of the American Republican Party and within two short years had risen to the dignity of a national political party under the name Native American Party, which estimated its strength in 1845 as 110,000 votes distributed over fourteen states.⁶¹ In April, 1844 the American Republican Party, succeeded in electing the first and only nativist mayor that New York City has ever had. This was James Harper, founder of an important publishing house in the city. With the aid of a wing of the Whig Party the American Republicans poled 27,440 votes against 26,230 for the Democrats and 950 for the Whigs.⁶² Harper is frequently referred to in present day writing as a great "reform" mayor, and is generally credited with the establishment of the New York City professional police force. Prior to the Municipal Police Act of 1844 the New York police consisted of two constables elected annually in each ward, of a small body of men appointed by the mayor, the mayor's marshals, and of a so-called "watch" composed of citizens who patrolled the streets at night.⁶³ This in a city of over 350,000 people.

In May of 1844 riots broke out in Philadelphia between "native Americans" and Irish in which a frenzied mob "hunted Irishmen by the light of burning homes and churches."⁶⁴ The riots would undoubtedly have spread to New York had it not been for vigorous and determined action on the part of Bishop Hughes.⁶⁵ In 1845 the Whig alliance with the nativists was broken up by upstate leaders such as William Seward, a staunch friend of the Irish and their ecclesiastical leaders, so that Harper failed of reelection with the American Republican Party electing only one man of their entire city ticket — a ward constable.⁶⁶ Nevertheless the nativists polled 17,480 votes out of somewhat less than 39,000 cast in the city. Political nativism for a time collapsed, only to be revived again in the next decade under the name Know-Nothing Party. John Harper became the president of the Order of United Americans — O.U.A. — a secret society out of which the Know-Nothing movement grew.⁶⁷ The bitterness aroused in the early

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⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1836, Mar. 17, 1837; Letter of M. Van Buren to Society, dated Lendenwald, Mar. 12, 1844.

⁶¹ Scisco, *Political Nativism*, pp. 54-5.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

⁶³ Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 22.

⁶⁴ Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Morning Courier and New York Enquirer*, Apr. 9, 1845.

⁶⁷ Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

'forties was not allowed to die down.

The Irish in New York had been enraged at the murder of Dr. William McCaffrey in 1835, blaming the nativists for the assault. They now ascribed to the Know-Nothings and their efforts to arouse the passions and prejudices of the native born against Catholics and all of foreign birth the fatal Astor Place riots of May 10, 1849. William Charles Macready, an English actor, was there playing Macbeth at the Astor Place Opera House. The cause of the turmoil was ostensibly friction between supporters of the American actor Edwin Forrest and those of the "foreign" tragedian. Macready, usually termed an "English" actor, seems to have been in private life Irish, both by birth and sympathy. When he first visited America in 1826 he had brought a letter of introduction to Thomas Addis Emmet from his colleague in the rising of '98, Archibald Hamilton Rowan.⁶⁸ Macready had remained a lifelong friend of the Emmets. Twenty-three persons were killed and many others wounded in the riot, shot down by troops of the Seventh Regiment that had been called out to quell the disturbance.⁶⁹ It was said that the mob had attacked the soldiers, compelling them to fire. Many of those killed were Irish and not a few of them innocent bystanders. Macready was at this time a guest at the home of a prominent member of the Friendly Sons, Judge Robert Emmet, who then lived at No. 64 Clinton Place (Eighth Street). He was smuggled out of the theatre by Richard S. Emmet, one of the judge's sons, who drove him to New Rochelle, where the actor took a train for Boston and then a steamer home.⁷⁰

As if not sufficiently agitated by conflict with "native" Americans the spirits of the Irish in New York were further aroused in the late 'forties by rebellion in Ireland, which unfortunately succeeded in splitting the ranks of Irishmen in their adopted country. In the mother land the Young Ireland movement gradually became more and more dissatisfied with the pacific methods advocated by Daniel O'Connell and the division spread to America. Judge Robert Emmet had been the first president of O'Connell's Repeal Movement in this country, but, as we have seen, had resigned from the organization owing to some unfortunate criticism by O'Connell of the so-called Rebellion of 1798.⁷¹ The Emmet family had associated itself with the Young Ireland movement which supported more strenuous methods to bring about the repeal of the "Union" between England and Ireland. Feelings ran high in this country and it was perhaps inevitable that the Friendly Sons should become involved. In 1844 there came an unfor-

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⁶⁸ Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*, p. 130.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Crimmins, *Irish-Amer. Miscellany*, p. 202.

⁷⁰ Emmet, *op. cit.*, p. 130. Richard S. Emmet was later a member of the Society.

⁷¹ *Vide supra*; Emmet, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

fortunate interruption to the "uninterrupted gaiety and harmonious feeling" that usually prevailed at the Society's Anniversary Dinners. Taking exception to the sentiments expressed in response to toasts by some of the more ardent advocates of Irish liberty, the president of the St. George's Society had "retreated" from the festivities, and later expressed his feelings in a letter which was published in the press on March 22, together with the proceedings of the St. George's Society, which appeared to "impeach the hospitality" of the Friendly Sons upon the occasion.⁷²

At a special meeting held in the City Hotel, April 2, 1844, the Society of the Friendly Sons drew up a set of resolutions which were released to the press. It was explained that the Friendly Sons was "a benevolent patriotic Society, composed of Irishmen of every shade of political and religious opinion — that is not *British* but *Irish*, it is not political but national." The resolutions went on to say that upon the occasion of the festival of St. Patrick "we feel it our duty," to toast the Sovereign of the British Empire as the acknowledged head of the Irish People; but also feel it to be a duty to toast "the Queen, Lords & Commons of Ireland," which for centuries before the Act of Union 1800 was the National toast of Ireland. The Society felt that it was their duty to be especially strong in the expression of sentiments at the late festival owing to the present eventful crisis in Ireland's history and that to have refrained from such expression "would have been unworthy of ourselves, of the times, and of the occasion." The members stated their belief that the request of the President of the St. George's Society to the President of the Friendly Sons "to change the order of the hundred toasts" was "unheard of" as was his "retreat" from the banquet table. The Society expressed "unqualified approbation" of the conduct of "our worthy President, James Reyburn, Esq." upon this occasion.⁷³

This unfortunate occurrence brought about a rift in the hitherto cordial relations between the two sister societies. It was apparently not healed until the middle of the next decade. The President of the St. George's Society was not present at the St. Patrick's Day Dinner of Mar. 17, 1845, and he does not reappear until the dinner of 1855.⁷⁴ In 1852 he was invited but sent his regrets. Friendly relations seem to have been resumed during the presidency and through the efforts of Joseph Stuart of the Friendly Sons.

It is difficult for those living in more auspicious times to realize the strong and conflicting emotions aroused in the hearts of Irishmen by events of more than a hundred years ago. Eighteen forty-eight was a

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⁷² *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Special Meeting, Apr. 2, 1844.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

revolutionary year in Ireland and when rebellion broke out there under the leadership of Smith O'Brien, Michael Doheny, John Dillon, and Thomas Francis Meagher most Irish-Americans rallied at first to its support. An organization known as the Provisional Committee of Ireland was hastily formed in July, changing its name to the Directory of the Friends of Ireland in August, when it made a stirring appeal for funds to help the Irish cause. Robert Emmet was both president and treasurer of the movement. The appeal, dated August 14, 1848, was signed by Robert Emmet, Charles O'Connor, Felix Ingoldsby, James W. White, Bartholomew O'Connor, Horace Greeley, Thomas Hayes, and Michael T. O'Connor.⁷⁵ All of these, except Horace Greeley, were Irish-Americans, and for that matter the great New York editor had Irish blood in his veins. The first five named were members of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick.

In the beginning Bishop John Hughes, who like most Irishmen longed for the freedom of the land of his birth, supported the movement to which he contributed \$500. But soon, realizing that the rebellion had been badly planned, poorly executed, and ill-advised he turned against the Young Ireland movement. He recommended that the New York Irish give no more money to a cause that could only harm the poor Irish at home, and requested that Robert Emmet turn over his donation of \$500 to the Sisters of Mercy for the care of Irish immigrant girls arriving in New York.⁷⁶ When Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the first refugee from the rebellion, arrived in New York this young man of twenty-three years soon became engaged in a most bitter controversy with the Bishop and with Patrick Lynch, editor of the *Irish American*, through the pages of the *Nation*, a newspaper that McGee founded.⁷⁷ Irish Catholics rallied to the support of their Bishop so that McGee was compelled to shut down his newspaper owing to lack of subscriptions and to leave the city. In an atmosphere of this kind it was difficult for Irish social and benevolent societies like the Friendly Sons to remain aloof from the conflict, which had a tendency to split membership into factions.

Unquestionably, however, the prime factor that threatened the destruction of the Friendly Sons in the late 'forties was the sincere belief of many of its most charitable members that the Society could no longer fulfill the purpose for which it had been established. Over the span of years New York had grown from a small town of 33,000 inhabitants with relatively few Irish immigrants to a great city whose population in 1850 was 513,485, of which twenty-six per cent, 133,730,

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⁷⁵ New York *Tribune*, Aug. 15, 1848.

⁷⁶ John R. G. Hassard, *Life of the Most Reverend John Hughes, D.D.*, New York, 1866, pp. 304-5.

⁷⁷ Florence E. Gibson, *The Attitudes of the New York Irish toward State and National Affairs, 1848-1892*, New York, 1951, p. 28.

were Irish born.⁷⁸ The task of relieving their distressed countrymen was beyond the capacity of a small organization. Other national benevolent societies like those of St. George and St. Andrew were experiencing the same difficulties. As early as 1835 the St. George's Society showed a deficit of \$264.06 in its Charitable Fund, and a determined drive was made for new members.⁷⁹ Again in 1837 the number of applications for aid was so great that a Committee of the St. George's Society asked the Board of Aldermen for a donation, but without any success.⁸⁰ The needs of immigrants of all nationalities were indeed so great as to prove beyond the powers of private charity to cope with the situation. Some of the Friendly Sons thought that the scope of the Society's activities should be broadened to meet the increased demands and that, if this could not be done, the Society had outlived its usefulness and should be disbanded. As early as March, 1838, Dr. Robert Hogan, at that time first vice-president, called the attention of his conferees to the many frauds practiced on immigrants who wished to send money home "by persons advertising themselves as Bankers whose drafts proved worthless."⁸¹ On motion it was resolved that the chair appoint a committee of three to confer with the officers of the St. George's, St. Andrew's, and other benevolent societies to investigate this matter and endeavor if possible to adopt measures by which the "Emigrant" might be enabled with safety to remit his money to his friends in Ireland. John Caldwell, Dr. Robert Hogan, and Robert J. Dillon were appointed for this purpose.⁸²

Evidently the St. George's Society appointed a similar committee about the same time and the two conferred relative to the protection of "British Emigrants." At a special meeting, held in the Washington Hotel, Feb. 2, 1839, the committee of the Friendly Sons made a report in which it recommended the formation of an association to be styled "The Emigrant Intelligence Society." The object of this Society was to be the "imparting of gratuitous advice in reference to boarding houses, remittances and deposits of money and the procuring of employment for emigrants from the British Isles."⁸³ The committee recommended that the cooperation of the Societies of St. Andrew and St. David and other benevolent societies interested in immigrants from the United Kingdom be sought and that they be invited to send each three delegates to aid in the organization of the contemplated society. These delegates were to frame a constitution and by-laws for the new society which, before they took effect, were to be submitted

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⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

⁷⁹ *History of the St. George's Society*, p. 39.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

⁸¹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Washington Hotel, Mar. 1, 1838.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Washington Hotel, Feb. 2, 1839.

to and receive the sanction of the social associations which had sent representatives. President Campbell P. White appointed three delegates, John Caldwell, Robert Hogan, and Samuel Osborne, to confer with the sister societies.⁸⁴

These gentlemen evidently ran into difficulties in their conferences with delegates from the other societies for at the quarterly meeting held at the home of President Robert Hogan, 190 McDougall St., on Thursday, June 6, 1839, the committee of three was relieved of its duties. A new committee of five, consisting of Robert Hogan, chairman, Samuel Osborne, George McBride, J. W. White, and Dr. Powell, was substituted.⁸⁵ This new committee brought in its final report on Thursday, Dec. 5, 1839. The members concurred in the opinion that the Society of the Friendly Sons should restrict its action to a strong recommendation of the proposed association, "the organization of which as an *offset from ours* is deemed neither expedient nor practicable." The committee also rejected the original idea that the proposed society be a joint effort of the English and Irish elements of the city. It was pointed out that "the English and Irish immigrants are generally men of different habits and modes of life," the Irish being for the most part "labourers accustomed to agricultural pursuits," while the English were generally persons that emigrated from large towns and manufacturing districts and were usually "small tradesmen, shopkeepers or artisans." It was also realized that emigrants from the same country associate almost exclusively with each other and that an Irish emigrant would much more readily learn from an intelligent Irishman resident here who was "acquainted with the habits, feelings and capabilities of his countrymen." It was therefore recommended that any new English and Irish societies so formed should "in the first instance, at least, act independently of each other."⁸⁶ The committee was decidedly of the opinion that the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick "would not prove the most efficient agent for the attainment of the end designed." A society designed to give effective advice and information to the class of Irish emigrants that would require such advice should enlist the feelings of the mass of the Irish population in this country and to do so it should be an association in the support of which the mass would participate. It was felt that "the subscription and contingent expenses of the Society of the Friendly Sons are too high" to encourage the hope of any increased numbers from among that portion "of our countrymen whose good will is essential to the success of our philanthropic scheme." The establishment of a society entirely distinct from the St. Patrick Society was therefore

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⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, June 6, 1839.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Dec. 5, 1839, 157 Broadway.

recommended. This report was accepted by the Society.⁸⁷

It was under such circumstances that Dr. Robert Hogan and others of the Friendly Sons undertook the establishment of a new society devoted exclusively to aiding the Irish immigrant. After considerable difficulty it was eventually founded in 1841, under the name Irish Emigrant Society. Leaders in the movement were Thomas O'Connor, venerable editor of the now defunct *Shamrock*, his son Charles O'Connor, Dr. William Power, brother of the Most Rev. John Power, pastor of St. Peter's Church, James Reyburn, William Redmond, Bernhard Graham, James W. White, Jacob Harvey, Thomas W. Clerke, Robert White, Robert Emmet, and John T. Doyle.⁸⁸ All of these, except possibly Thomas O'Connor, were at this time or shortly thereafter members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Dr. Hogan sought the assistance of Dr. William James Macneven, "aged nestor" of the Irish community in New York, and was supported by the *Truth Teller*, since 1825 the leading Irish newspaper in the city.⁸⁹ He was strongly backed by the *Freeman's Journal*, a new Catholic paper, of which James W. and John E. White, of the Friendly Sons, were the first editors. The inauguration meeting of which John Caldwell and T. L. Danaher, of the St. Patrick Society, were chairman and secretary, was quite poorly attended.⁹⁰ However a constitution was drawn up and adopted. Dr. Macneven was elected president with Robert Hogan and William Redmond, vice-presidents.⁹¹ The executive committee included Jacob Harvey, T. W. Clerke, Samuel Osborne, John Quinn, Robert White, Dr. Hugh Sweeney, George McBride, Jr., and Cornelius Sheehan, all members of the Friendly Sons. Dr. Macneven died in July, 1841 and Gregory Dillon was elected to succeed him. Dillon is usually referred to as the first president of the Irish Emigrant Society.⁹² He became a member of the Friendly Sons in 1843 and was very active in the Society thereafter.⁹³

The Irish Emigrant Society gained momentum slowly. In 1844 it had only 100 members, one of whom was the distinguished John C. Calhoun, senator from South Carolina. He became a member in September, 1841 enclosing five years' dues in a cordial letter in which he referred to himself as "a son of an emigrant," Patrick Calhoun, a native of Donegal County.⁹⁴ Between 1847 and 1860 the new society

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⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Richard J. Purcell, "The Irish Emigrant Society of New York," *Studies*, December, 1938, xxvii, pp. 583-599.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 584; Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. 21.

⁹⁰ Purcell, *loc. cit.*, p. 585.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² *Catholic Encyclopedia*, v, 403.

⁹³ *Records of the Society, Minutes*, Mar. 2, 1843, City Hotel.

⁹⁴ Letter to Secretary of Irish Emigrant Society, dated Senate Chamber, Washington, D. C., 13th September, 1841; quoted in full by Crimmins, *Irish-Amer. Miscellany*, pp. 198-9.

did splendid work. Prior to 1847 public care and support of the needy immigrants had been left entirely either to the general quarantine and poor laws or to local ordinances. When the great famine in Ireland and political disturbances in Germany caused a tremendous influx of immigrants in the last years of the decade, it became clearly evident to all men of good will that action by the State of New York was absolutely necessary if alien passengers arriving in the port of New York were to be protected from the fraudulent impositions to which all were subject and particularly if care was to be provided for the ill and helpless among them. A bill was therefore introduced in the state legislature to put immigration under state control. It was strongly backed by Thurlow Weed, the Whig journalist and politician of Albany, who was a close friend of Archbishop Hughes of New York. In the latter city Andrew Carrigan, Charles O'Connor, both members of the St. Patrick Society, and congressman John McKeon were most prominent in urging the new act.⁹⁵ All three were members of the Irish Emigrant Society. A committee was formed in the city to support the bill. Of these only Andrew Carrigan went to Albany, where he did yeoman service in cooperation with Thurlow Weed in pushing through the act.⁹⁶ Many selfish politicians in New York City vigorously opposed any action by the state, and the Common Council of the city sent a committee to Albany to prevent passage of the bill. It finally became a law on May 5, 1847, but required the casting vote of the Lieutenant-governor to get through the Senate.⁹⁷

The principal feature of the new law was the creation of a Board of ten Commissioners of Emigration. Six of these were named in the bill, including Jacob Harvey of the Friendly Sons, who was the personal nominee of Andrew Carrigan.⁹⁸ The Mayors of New York and Brooklyn and the presidents of the German Society and the Irish Emigrant Society were *ex officio* members. At this time Gregory Dillon, of the Friendly Sons, was the president of the Irish Emigrant Society.⁹⁹ Jacob Harvey was named for a four-year term, but he died on May 10, 1848. Carrigan became a commissioner in February, 1849, but resigned in December of the same year. He later, as president of the Irish Emigrant Society, served as *ex officio* member from 1854 to 1865. Richard O'Gorman served in the same capacity from 1866 to 1869, when he was succeeded by James Lynch.¹⁰⁰ Both Lynch and O'Gorman were also members of the Friendly Sons, and the latter was president of the Society in 1859.

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⁹⁵ Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration*, p. 92.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 95; Werner, *Civil List*, p. 202.

⁹⁹ Kapp, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

The law of 1847 exacted from the masters of vessels carrying emigrants a bond of \$300 for each individual landed so as to indemnify the city for maintenance if he should become a public charge within five years. In lieu of such bond a commutation charge of \$1.00 for each emigrant was required.¹⁰¹ On March 20, 1876 the United States Supreme Court declared both bond and commutation charge unconstitutional, so that between that time and 1891, when the Federal Government took over complete control of immigrants, the expenses of the Board of Commissioners were met by state appropriations which averaged from \$150,000 to \$200,000 per year.¹⁰² It is evident that such expenditure could not relieve private charity from the obligation of caring for the indigent immigrants. The Board of Commissioners took over Castle Garden, now valueless as a center of amusement because of the migration of New York society uptown, and made it the official port of entry for aliens.¹⁰³ Here, the agents of the Irish Emigrant Society were officially recognized in their arrangements for the care of incoming immigrants. In addition to looking out for the physical welfare of the immigrant the society organized a banking department to transmit money to Europe, to secure railroad tickets, and to exchange the money brought in from abroad. The magnitude of such work can be seen when we realize that between 1848 and 1864 the Irish sent home an estimated \$65,000,000.¹⁰⁴ Discounts and commissions from these transactions paid the expenses of the Emigrant Society which otherwise could not have met the demands made upon it, and left a surplus which was given in charity to help the needy Irish immigrants or their descendants. In 1851 the same gentlemen who founded the Irish Emigrant Society established the Emigrant Savings Bank which soon became one of the most important financial institutions of its kind in the city.¹⁰⁵ When the United States government finally took over control of Immigration in July, 1891, Castle Garden gave place to Ellis Island; but the Irish Emigrant Society continued to have all facilities there for protecting and assisting Irish immigrants.

It is evident from the above account that during the late 'forties members of the Friendly Sons as individuals were tremendously active in the affairs of Irish immigrants. During the same years, however, the

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¹⁰¹ Werner, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ This was in 1855. Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁵ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 144; The bank's original 2,300 depositors had accounts averaging \$238.56. By 1881 the Emigrant Savings Bank had sent remittances of \$30,000,000 to Ireland. Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Ernst, *Immigrant Life*, p. 133. Of the bank's incorporators, who became its first board of directors, no less than twelve were members of the Friendly Sons: Gregory Dillon, Joseph Stuart, William Watson, Terence Donnelly, John Nicholson, Felix Ingoldsby, Andrew Carrigan John Manning, and James Matthews. The first seven presidents of the bank were all members of the Society.

Society as a social organization was passing through a period of bitter frustration. Between 1847 and 1851 no anniversary dinners were held, the funds generally used for that purpose being devoted to helping the unfortunate sufferers from the Irish famine.¹⁰⁶ Yet there is no reference to such suspension on the books of the Society. Small disbursements for charity were made in 1847 and 1848 but the records for the three following years are missing. War with Mexico had broken out in 1846; but we find no reference to it in the books of the Society, unless the purchase of two \$200 United States notes in 1848 may be considered as a somewhat belated patriotic gesture.¹⁰⁷ For five years very few meetings were held. There was apparently no election of officers in 1847 or 1848. At a meeting in the City Hotel, Mar. 16, 1849, James Reyburn was reelected president, with Joseph Stuart, first vice-president, Dudley Persse, second vice-president, and Charles M. Nanry and Charles H. Birney, treasurer and secretary respectively. On July 24, 1849 a special meeting was called at Delmonico's Hotel in William Street. The occasion was the sudden death of the Society's president, James Reyburn. Only ten members are recorded as present, although the minutes are probably incomplete. Suitable resolutions were drawn up and sent to the bereaved family and to the newspapers. No attempt was made to elect a successor to the presidency. Thus comes to an end the records of the fifth decade of the century, undoubtedly the most difficult in the history of the Society.

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¹⁰⁶ *Vide infra*; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹⁰⁷ *Records of the Society*, Old Cash Book, a/c C. M. Nanry, Treas., July 1, 1848. The total expenditure was \$419.10, including \$18.50 premium, brokerage \$1.00, less 7 days interest, \$.40.

THE SOCIETY IN THE CIVIL WAR PERIOD



EARLY in the year 1851 there came a crisis in the affairs of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick that all but brought its history to an abrupt close. So far as the minutes show there had been no meetings during the year 1850. Certainly, no elections of officers were held as the president's chair, vacant since the death of James Reyburn in July, 1840, had not been filled. Anniversary dinners of the Society had been suspended since 1847 and for a national society social as well as benevolent in character this was an almost fatal error, no matter what the motives may have been. The founders had well understood the vital importance of celebrating the St. Patrick's Day festival, as the revised By-Laws of 1832 make clear.¹ No wonder interest in the Society on the part of many of its members had waned when they could hardly be said to have met together for "social and friendly intercourse" for nearly four years.

On March 6, 1851 a meeting of the Friendly Sons was held in the Irish Emigration Office at 51 Chambers Street. Thirty members were present; more than had attended a meeting of the Society for many years. Their names follow:

Joseph Stuart
John Maxwell
George McBride, Jr.
Arthur Finnigan
Dudley Perse
Chas. M. Connolly
Samuel Sloan
William Watson
Charles O'Connor
Robert J. Dillon
Arthur Stewart
Robert Hogan

Bartholomew O'Connor
Charles M. Nanry
Dr. William Arnold
Richard Bell
Samuel Osborne
Gregory Dillon
Felix Ingoldsby
John Nicholson
Wm. C. Barrett
Terence Donnelly
Martin Waters
Michael Crotty

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¹ *Records of the Society*, By-Laws, 1832, Article XV, Sec. 1.

J. B. Nicholson
T. H. Danagher
Joseph Kernochan

C. H. Shehan
Chas. H. Birney
Thomas Suffern

Joseph Stuart, first vice-president, was in the chair. After the minutes had been read and approved, Robert J. Dillon, New York attorney and a former vice-president of the Society, addressed the chair at some length. He discussed the present situation of the Society and finally offered the following resolution, seconded by Joseph Kernochan.

Resolved that 60 shares of the Manhattan Co., 5 shares of the American Exchange Bank, and 2 Treasury Notes amounting in all to \$3900 be transferred to the Irish Emigrant Society and that said Society shall by resolution admit [sic] the members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick Society without payment of initiation fees — who shall in the course of one year from this date sign the constitution of the Irish Emigrant Society.²

Before the resolution was put to a vote an attempt was made to proceed with the election of officers of the Friendly Sons, but without success. Dr. Robert Hogan, former president of the Society and himself the principal founder of the Irish Emigrant Society, spoke against the resolution and in favor of continuance of the oldest Irish society in the city. Charles O'Connor, distinguished member of the New York bar, spoke in favor of Dillon's resolution. A motion by Samuel Sloan, seconded by Samuel Osborne, that the resolution be laid on the table was defeated by a vote of 8 Ayes to 10 Naves. When Michael Crotty moved that the resolution be laid over till the next meeting, the chair ruled him out of order.

Finally the question was put on the original resolution which lost since it failed the required three-fourths votes of the members present.³ The actual vote was seventeen in favor of dissolution and nine in favor of continuance. The minutes note that Arthur Stewart and John Maxwell declined to vote, and that Wm. C. Barrett and Thomas Suffern left the meeting "previous to the vote being taken," doubtless worn down by the acrimonious debate. It was also noted that Arthur Stewart objected to the vote of T. H. Danagher in favor of the motion on the ground that the latter was not a member, although he had been active in the Society for many years. Thus the life of the Friendly

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² *Ibid.* Minutes, March 6, 1857.

³ *Ibid.*, By-Laws, 1832, Article XVII, Sec. 1.

Sons of St. Patrick, now in its sixty-eighth year, was saved by a mere minority of its members to face what must have appeared to some of them a most precarious future. The nine members whose votes saved the Society were: George McBride, Jr., Dudley Persse, Arthur Finnigan, Samuel Sloan, Robert Hogan, Chas. M. Nanry, Samuel Osborne, Michael Crotty, and Charles H. Birney.⁴

At the Astor House, March 12, 1851, fifteen members of the Society, some of whom had voted in favor of dissolution, met to elect officers. Richard Bell, who had cast his vote in favor of Robert Dillon's resolution, was elected President, with Robert Hogan and Joseph Stuart, first and second vice-president respectively. Charles H. Birney, Charles M. Nanry, and Arthur Stewart, all of whom had favored continuance, were elected secretary, treasurer, and almoner. One of the coming men in the Society was Samuel Sloan, a rising young business man who in later days became president of the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad. At this meeting he was appointed to the Committee of Accounts. For years thereafter he was to be an enthusiastic member of the Friendly Sons, for whose preservation he had worked hard in the almost fatal meeting of March 6. Motions thanking Joseph Stuart for his efforts to revive the Society were adopted at this time, as was also a vote of thanks to Charles M. Nanry for the faithful discharge of his trust during the troubled times.⁵

Thirteen names were proposed as members at this meeting in an effort to build up the Society. Two of these were well known refugees from the "Young Ireland" rising of 1848, John Blake Dillon and Richard O'Gorman, who had fled from Ireland in disguise. Dillon became very active in the Society during the next few years — he was elected first vice-president in 1853 — but returned to Ireland before the end of the decade. Richard O'Gorman, an orator of great ability, had a long and distinguished career as a member of the Friendly Sons, whose president he became in 1859.⁶ He soon rose to a position among the leading lawyers of the city, and was later Judge of the Superior Court. A number of the Irish revolutionists of 'forty-eight joined the Society during the next few years, notably Dr. Thomas Antisell and John Savage. Dr. Antisell, a chemist and geologist of ability, continued his scientific work in America.⁷ He became a member in 1854. John Savage, poet, journalist, and author, who also took part in the rising, came to New York in 1848, when he was employed as proofreader

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⁴ The members who voted in favor of dissolution were: William Watson, Dr. William Arnold, Richard Bell, Bartholomew O'Connor, Charles M. Connolly, Charles O'Connor, Gregory Dillon, Felix Ingoldsby, Robert J. Dillon, John Nicholson, Joseph Kernochan, Terence Donnelly, James B. Nicholson, Martin Waters, Charles H. Sheehan, T. H. Danagher, and Joseph Stuart.

⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 12, 1851.

⁶ Wittke, *Irish in America*, pp. 84, 85.

⁷ *Ibid.*

for Horace Greeley's *Tribune*. Savage at once took a prominent place among the New York Irish and lived to carve out quite a career for himself in the United States. He wrote for Meagher's *Irish News*, was in 1854 literary editor of John Mitchel's *Citizen*, and in 1857 went to Washington, D. C., as editor of Stephen A. Douglas' *The States*.⁸ He did not become a member of the Friendly Sons until 1862.

The Society immediately moved to revive its anniversary dinners. In a notice published in the New York newspapers, Mar. 15, 1851, over the signature of C. H. Birney, Secretary, the following were named as stewards for a dinner to be held at the Astor House, on Monday, 17th instant; Samuel Osborne, George McBride, Jr., Wm. Watson, John Gihon, Philip Burrowes, Dudley Perse, Ogden Haggerty. In a follow up on the afternoon of the day it was explained that "in consequence of the famine and distress in Ireland, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick have not held their usual festival since 1847, their funds having been applied to the relief of their suffering countrymen."⁹ It was anticipated that the entertainment this evening would more than equal any that the Society had given. Unfortunately we have no account of the occasion. In the following year the dinner seems to have been fairly well attended. Joseph Stuart presided in the absence of President Richard Bell, and George McBride, Jr. and John B. Dillon were said to have officiated as vice-presidents. The presidents of the St. Nicholas, St. Andrew's, and other societies as well as "a large number of other invited guests" were present. It is perhaps significant, however, that the Whig governor of New York, Washington Hunt, Mayor Ambrose C. Kingsland, Mr. Crampton, of the British Legation at Washington, Gulian C. Verplanck, in former years a staunch friend of the Society, Dr. Beals, President of St. George's and others sent their regrets.¹⁰ Political feelings were running high in the city. Many New York Irish, some of whom were identified with the Friendly Sons, had bitterly opposed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, recently signed by the Whig administration with Great Britain.¹¹ Nativism, which had gone underground after 1845, was just about to re-emerge in politics as the Know-Nothing Party. A veritable flock of secret societies, all bitterly anti-Irish-Catholic, had followed Harper's Order of United Americans.¹² By 1852 the political activities of this movement were taken over by one of the more recent of these secret societies, the Order of the Star Spangled Banner. Timid politicians found it dangerous to have their names linked with Irish

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⁸ Crimmins, *Irish-Amer. Miscellany*, p. 224; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VII, 71; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 214; Gibson, *New York Irish*, p. 61. For Savage's later career *vide infra*.

⁹ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹⁰ New York *Evening Post*, March 18, 1852.

¹¹ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹² Scisco, *Political Nativism*, pp. 64-69.

organizations. As in later days of the modern Ku Klux Klan, political aspirants who were not themselves Catholics usually joined the Know-Nothing Order as it came to be called although they might support the other parties in an actual election.

So bitter became the attacks upon the Irish Catholics during the next four years that it is perhaps worth while to sum up the "high crimes and misdemeanors" with which they were charged: This had seldom been done better than by Editor Patrick Lynch of the *Irish-American* in an open letter to his countrymen. He said in part:

Fellow countrymen . . . You have at present opposed to you a bitter, inimical and powerful secret society called the Know-Nothings; opposed to you, to us Irish particularly, on the grounds that we are impudent and voracious cormorants of petty places under government; that we are ignorant, turbulent and brutal; that we are led by the nose and entirely controlled by our clergy; that we are willing subjects of a foreign prince, the Pope; that we are only lip-republicans; that we are not worthy of the franchise; that by the largeness of our vote and the clannishness of our habits and dispositions we rule or aspire to rule in America; that we heap taxes on industrious and sober and thrifty citizens; and that for these and other reasons we should be deposed from our citizenship, and in fact rooted out of this American nation as a body by every fair and foul means.¹³

Lynch was of the opinion that, outside the secret organization of the Know-Nothings, an anti-Irish and anti-Catholic sentiment prevailed in the City and country. Not even the Irish themselves were united. A secret society known as the Berean Order, later absorbed by the American Protective Association, had some three thousand Irish Protestant members who, although not Know-Nothings, generally supported the nativist party line.¹⁴ The Know-Nothing movement entered politics just at a time when the two major parties in New York State were threatening to disintegrate. The temperance question, the slavery question, and now nativism cut across party lines. The Democratic Party to which most of the Irish-Americans adhered was broken up into two factions, popularly known as Hard-Shell and Soft-Shell, which put separate tickets in the field. The Whigs were almost as badly split into a pro-Seward faction known as Woolly-Heads, and the Millard Fillmore faction known as Silver-Grays. Seward himself was anti-slavery, anti-nativist, and pro-Irish. The Silver-Grays

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¹³ New York Times, August 30, 1854.

¹⁴ Scisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 68, 208.

naturally took the opposite side. In the State election of 1854 the Democratic Softs adopted a platform opposing any restrictive legislation in favor of temperance, came out against nativism, and, in support of President Pierce whose Federal patronage they held, favored the South.¹⁵ The Hards, hoping that the Know-Nothings would not put a separate ticket in the field, flirted for their support by silence on temperance and nativism, while evading the anti-slavery issue. In the Whig convention the Seward faction succeeded in nominating their man, Myron H. Clark, for governor, only by conceding the lieutenant-governor's place to Henry J. Raymond, of the *New York Times*, whose paper had favored nativism in the city. The Know-Nothings put a separate ticket in the field headed by Daniel Ullman of New York. Clark won by a very small plurality, but Ullman, aided by the Silver-Grays, polled over 122,000 votes.¹⁶

The strength of the Know-Nothings was concentrated in New York City and the adjacent counties. In the city election of 1854 the Democratic Hards and Softs reluctantly agreed upon a single candidate for mayor, Fernando Wood, for fear of losing the patronage altogether. The Whigs nominated John J. Herrick. Evidence of the strength of nativism in the city will be found in the fact that both Wood and Herrick were members of the Know-Nothing Order.¹⁷ Nevertheless the Know-Nothings nominated their own candidate for mayor, James W. Barker, president of the Order, and gained for him the support of the Temperance Alliance. Barker was also a member of an American Protestant Association lodge, an organization of Irish Protestants.¹⁸ Fernando Wood won the election for the united Democracy by a mere handful of votes, and probably with the assistance of a dishonest count.¹⁹

It was in an atmosphere such as this that Joseph Stuart, who was elected president of the Friendly Sons in 1853, strove gallantly to hold together a small compact organization by avoiding as far as possible all reference to religion and politics. A glance at the political history of the city during these days makes clear how widely separated some of the members of the Society must have been on matters of prime issue. Those of them who were Whigs could hardly be expected to support William Seward and Horace Greeley, true friends of the Irish though they were, in their strong abolitionist stand. Few indeed could go along with Greeley in his advocacy of teetotalism, and many

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¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 206; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 94. Wood took an affidavit that he was not a member. His opponents countered with four affidavits that he was. The Irish believed Wood and generally supported him. *Irish-American*, Oct. 28, 1854.

¹⁸ Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

¹⁹ *New York Tribune*, Nov. 15, 1854; Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

were too conservative to follow "his flirtations with a wide variety of reforms."²⁰ Judge Charles Patrick Daly could hardly see eye to eye with his colleagues, Charles O'Connor and James T. Brady, on the subject of States' rights. Although it is probably true, as most contemporaries testify, that the Irish in general were at this time far from being radical abolitionists, that they cared little for the negro and disapproved of his emancipation, this had certainly not always been the attitude of members of the Society, especially in the early days. As late as 1848 Robert Emmet had accepted nomination as elector at large for the Free Soil Party in a statement which read in part:

. . . until I forget the history of my native country, written in the sufferings of her people, I can never contribute, by my vote or by any act of mine, to the infliction of a kindred curse upon any portion of the land of our adoption.²¹

But Irishmen in general and the Friendly Sons in particular were too loyal to the Union to tolerate any radical solution of the slavery question that might bring about the disruption of the nation.

Many members of the Society, especially those who had been "Young Irelanders" must have felt heartsick when their heroes of the rising of '48, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, John Mitchel, and Thomas Francis Meagher engaged in bitter controversy with the Roman Catholic hierarchy. When the Fenian movement spread to America after 1857, John Savage of the Friendly Sons became its ardent supporter but others of the Society could hardly sympathize with a cause that was later to be condemned by the Church. Nor should it be thought that Irishmen, even bitter veterans of the late rising, were willing to join every fly-by-night organization that appealed to friends of Ireland in behalf of some vague and undefined objective. When the so-called Irish Alliance was organized in 1850 its promoters tried to use the names of such Friendly Sons as Robert Emmet, Charles O'Connor, John B. Dillon and good friends of the Society such as General James Shields, the Senator from Illinois, and John McKeon. None of them would have any part of the movement.²²

The Anniversary Dinner of 1853 at the Astor House was apparently not very well attended. Newspaper accounts say that "some seventy or eighty guests" were present. No quorum could be had at the business meeting held before the dinner.²³ Mayor Jacob A. Westervelt was conspicuously absent. However it seems to have been an

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²⁰ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

²¹ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

²² Crimmins, *Irish-Amer. Miscellany*, pp. 223-5.

²³ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1853, Astor House.

enjoyable occasion. The decorations were well executed and a fine band attended. President Joseph Stuart presided with John Blake Dillon responding to the toast "The Day, and all who honor it." Judge Bartholomew O'Connor, Richard O'Gorman and Dr. James Antisell were among those who responded to toasts, as was Henry T. Raymond, of the *New York Times*, not usually considered a good friend of the Irish.²⁴ The latter had, as we have seen, political ambitions at this time. The officers of the Society seem to have been somewhat disappointed with the showing, so that at the meeting of May 18, 1853, itself poorly attended, measures were taken to awaken the membership to activity. On motion by John B. Dillon the Secretary was instructed to apply by letter to each member of the Society for one year's subscription to be paid on or before June 8th next, lacking which "his name will be erased from the list of members."²⁵ Forty-three members were duly circularized by the Secretary, and in the course of time thirty-five responded.

Every effort apparently was made by the officers of the Society to bring out a large gathering for its Anniversary Dinner in 1854, the year in which the Know-Nothing movement reached its peak in the State of New York. No less than five meetings were called prior to March 17th, three of them in January.²⁶ A special meeting on January 12th, at No. 14 Broadway, lacked a quorum to do business. At a second meeting on January 18th, the Secretary reported on the results of the recent circular. After considerable discussion, during which the Secretary was authorized to procure a new flag for the Society, the meeting was adjourned to reconvene on January 31st, at Doctor Hogan's residence, by his request. On this occasion a motion was carried that a committee be appointed to report at the next meeting on the best means to increase the Society and also to report on whether the interest arising from the "Permanent Fund" should be appropriated for some other purpose than for accumulation.²⁷ Despite all this the preparatory meeting of March 2 at the Astor House lacked a quorum to transact business so that election of officers had to be postponed until the sixth, when a meeting was held at No. 69 Wall Street, the office of the East River Insurance Co. At that time Joseph Stuart was reelected president with John B. Dillon, first vice-president; Samuel Sloan, second vice-president; Charles H. Birney, treasurer; Richard O'Gorman, secretary; and Michael Crotty, almoner. Charles M. Nanny, former treasurer, had declined reelection. A distinguished list of stewards was appointed for the Anniversary Dinner including: Richard

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²⁴ *New York Herald*, March 18, 1853.

²⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, May 18, No. 14 Broadway.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 12, 1854; Jan. 18, 1854; Jan. 31, 1854; March 2, 1854; March 6, 1854.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 31, 1854, No. 5 St. Clement's Place.

Bell, John B. Dillon, Samuel Osborne, Richard O'Gorman, James Stuart, George McBride, Jr., and William Watson.²⁸

At the business meeting immediately preceding the Anniversary Dinner it had been hoped that action could be taken to transfer to the Charity Fund interest accruing from the Permanent Fund, now much needed for relief. Unfortunately only seventeen members appeared so that no action could be taken, since twenty-one were needed at a meeting to amend the By-Laws.²⁹ The dinner, however, was better attended than in the previous year. About one hundred members and guests sat down at six o'clock to a banquet served by Coleman & Stetson of the Astor House in their "usual good style."³⁰ Responses to the regular toasts were made among others by B. F. Dunning; John Mitchell, hero of the rising of '48 who had escaped from his exile in Van Dieman's Land and arriving in New York in 1853; James W. Gerard, distinguished New York lawyer and father of the American Ambassador to Germany in the early years of World War I; and by General Charles W. Sandford of the United States Army, whose reply to the toast "The Army and Navy, paid high compliments to the Irish soldiers."³¹

The former treasurer, Charles M. Nanry, who had declined reelection in March of 1854, had evidently fallen into financial difficulties for the Society had some trouble arranging the transfer of his accounts to the new treasurer, Charles H. Birney.³² Nanry gave three notes for the balance of his account, \$1497.77, which were promptly met as they fell due between August, 1854 and June, 1855.³³ At a special meeting of the Financial Committee of the Friendly Sons, one of the few such of which there is any record in the minutes, the Chairman, Joseph Stuart, was directed to cash in with the Treasurer of the United States the two Treasury Certificates that had been purchased by the Society at the close of our War with Mexico.³⁴ Since the demands for Charity during this period were apparently too great to be met out of current income from dues, a special meeting was called on February, 1855 to amend the By-Laws. When the meeting lacked the necessary twenty-one members required for such action Henry L. Hoguet, who had been elected to the Society in 1853, gave notice that he would move at the next meeting to amend Article XII, Sect. 4 to reduce the quorum for such purposes from 21 to 15.³⁵ At this meeting ten new members were proposed, among them Alderman Dennis Carolin and his brother James, and also John and William

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²⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 6, 1854, No. 69 Wall Street.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1854, Astor House.

³⁰ *N. Y. Evening Post*, March 18, 1854.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Records of the Society*, Minutes, June 1, 1854, Aug. 8, 1854.

³³ *Ibid.*, Old Cash Book, Permanent Fund, 1854-5.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, June 27, 1854, 24 William St.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 12, 1855, No. 69 Wall St.

O'Brien of the Wall Street firm of W. & J. O'Brien, investment bankers and brokers. The two Carolins and John O'Brien were elected to the Society at its next meeting. The O'Brien "twins" were well known in New York at this time. Walter Barrett remarks that they were the sons of William O'Brien, a "true Irish gentleman" who had been a member of the Friendly Sons in 1835. The elder William was a ship broker and adjuster of claims with offices in Wall Street between Hanover and Pearl. John O'Brien had purchased a seat on the Stock Exchange in 1844. The two brothers lived for many years on Madison Square. John became in time the treasurer of the Second Avenue Railroad and was one of the founders of the New York Catholic Protectory in Westchester.³⁶

At a special meeting held in February, 1855, at which twenty-five members were present, it was voted to transfer \$1000 from the Permanent Fund to the Charity Fund to meet the great demands of the times.³⁷ Once again notice was given, this time by Richard Bell, that he would move at the next meeting that henceforth interest and dividends accruing from the capital of the Society be placed in the hands of the Charitable Committee. For the past twenty years efforts had been made at various times to make this change in the By-Laws but without success. On motion by Judge Charles P. Daly, who had become a member of the Society in 1852, it was agreed that the Secretary should send three tickets for the yearly dinner to each member in the hope of encouraging a large turnout. This motion by Judge Daly anticipates some of the methods by which he, as president in future years, was to build up the Society. At the preparatory meeting, March 1, 1855, incumbent officers were all reelected and stewards were named for the next Anniversary Dinner. These included such recent members as Judge C. P. Daly and Henry L. Hoguet, as well as the veterans Richard Bell, Terence Donnelly, George McBride, Jr., James Stuart, and Judge B. O'Connor. In 1855 there were very few active members of the Friendly Sons who had belonged to the Society for more than twenty years. Among these were James Magee, George McBride, Dudley Persse, Robert Hogan, Felix Ingoldsby, and James Matthews.³⁸ The last named, however, died in that same year.

In 1855 the celebration of St. Patrick's Day was indeed a gala occasion, second to none in the recent history of the Society. The meeting was held in the Metropolitan Hotel, famous for its excellent cuisine. Dodsworth's band was in attendance.³⁹ A notable list of distinguished

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³⁶ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 447.

³⁷ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 21, 1855, No. 69 Wall St.

³⁸ James Magee, treasurer of the Society in 1817, is recorded as present at a meeting of Feb. 17, 1855.

³⁹ An interesting entry in the Old Cash Book shows that the cost of Dodsworth's band in 1855 was \$41. In the two following years it was only \$25.

guests enjoyed the hospitality of the Society, including the presidents or vice-presidents of the leading societies of the city, ex-mayor Garrison of San Francisco, Thomas Francis Meagher, James T. Brady, his brother Judge John R. Brady, Hon. John McKeon, Charles A. Dana, and many others.⁴⁰ But unquestionably the guest of honor of the evening was Thomas Francis Meagher, "Meagher of the Sword," a hero of the rising of 1848. Still in his twenties when he reached New York in 1852 from his exile in Van Dieman's Land, he had become almost overnight the darling of the Irish in America. He toured the country acclaimed by Meagher Clubs and Irish military units wherever he went. Fordham University gave him a degree *in absentia*.⁴¹ Well educated and trained in the law, Meagher was admitted to the New York bar in 1855. At the Society's dinner he delivered, in response to the toast "Ireland — Our mother, forsaken, not forgotten," one of those flowery orations that had delighted audiences all over the country.⁴² The enthusiasm was tremendous.

Many other speakers, renowned for their eloquence, responded to toasts. Among them were William M. Evarts, future Secretary of State and Senator, but then a rising young lawyer at the New York bar; Hon. John McKeon, United States District Attorney; James T. Brady, the leading criminal lawyer of the city; Charles A. Dana, future owner and editor of the New York *Sun* but then managing editor of the *Tribune*; and Judge Charles P. Daly, of the Court of Common Pleas. Editor Dana, speaking as one who traced his Americanism back to Plymouth Rock, took occasion to condemn the Know-Nothing movement, feeling it a disgrace to our country that "accident of birth under this or that sky, should be the standard of fitness for citizenship."⁴³

In March, 1856 Joseph Stuart, who had served the Society well for the past eight years as vice-president and president, attempted to relinquish his office. The members however insisted upon reelecting him and the other officers for the ensuing year. The fiscal year 1856-7 saw the expenditure by the Society of \$400.49 for personal relief, the largest sum that had been disbursed by the Almoner in over twenty years, and nearly four times the income of the Friendly Sons from dues during the same period. In the following year this amount was even surpassed, disbursements reaching \$546.88. These were panic years and demands upon the Charitable Committee must have been very great. Such heavy disbursements for charity had been made pos-

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⁴⁰ New York *Citizen*, March 24, 1855.

⁴¹ Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3; The Meagher Guards of Charleston, South Carolina, had to change their name to the Emerald Light Infantry in the Civil War, since Meagher was then commanding the "Irish Brigade" in the northern army.

⁴² Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 230-236, quotes Meagher's address in full.

⁴³ N. Y. *Citizen*, March 24, 1855; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-8.

sible only by the transfer of cash from the Permanent Fund as has been noted above. Such transfers were to continue for some years. During the ten years following March 1852 the Almoner disbursed for personal relief a total of \$2563.76.⁴⁴ In the same period collections from dues amounted to only \$775.50. In addition to gifts the Society made a number of loans during this period, some of which were returned. One such loan, \$200 to a Doctor Edward McDonald, was secured by a mortgage on lands in Texas.⁴⁵ This mortgage was carried as an asset of no current value on the books of the Society for many years. Its ultimate disposal is unknown.

In addition to donations to private individuals during these years the Friendly Sons also made contributions to other benevolent societies, notably one of \$100 to the Board of Deputies of the Benevolent and Emigrant Society in December, 1860.⁴⁶ Since the membership during this whole period remained very small such expenditures were possible only because earnings from interest and dividends on investments were averaging about \$500 per year. Some fairly sizable donations were made by individual members during this period but these were for special purposes and are not included in the disbursements of the Society mentioned above. In 1856 a burial plot in Cypress Hills Cemetery was presented jointly to the Societies of St. Patrick, St. George, St. Andrew, and St. David by William Miles, the President of St. David's Society.⁴⁷ There is no mention of this gift in the minutes of the Friendly Sons for that year, nor is the plot carried as an asset on the books of the Society in the years immediately following.⁴⁸

In March, 1857 the Friendly Sons finally permitted their President, Joseph Stuart, to relinquish his office, electing in his place Samuel Sloan who had been a very valuable member of the Society for the past six years. Richard O'Gorman, former secretary, was advanced to first vice-president with Judge Bartholomew O'Connor, second vice-president. Treasurer Birney retained his office but Walter Magee, a new member elected in 1855, became secretary. The hard working Charity Committee was continued in office, and Richard Bell, Walter Magee, and Alfred Roe were elected a Committee to make arrangements for the coming Anniversary Dinner. William Watson, Alfred Roe, Richard Bell, Walter Magee, Henry L. Hoguet, James Carolin and William C. Barrett were the stewards for that year.⁴⁹

The new president, Samuel Sloan, was at this time less than forty

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⁴⁴ *Records of the Society*, Old Cash Book, Recapitulation Account, March 17, 1852 to March 17, 1862.

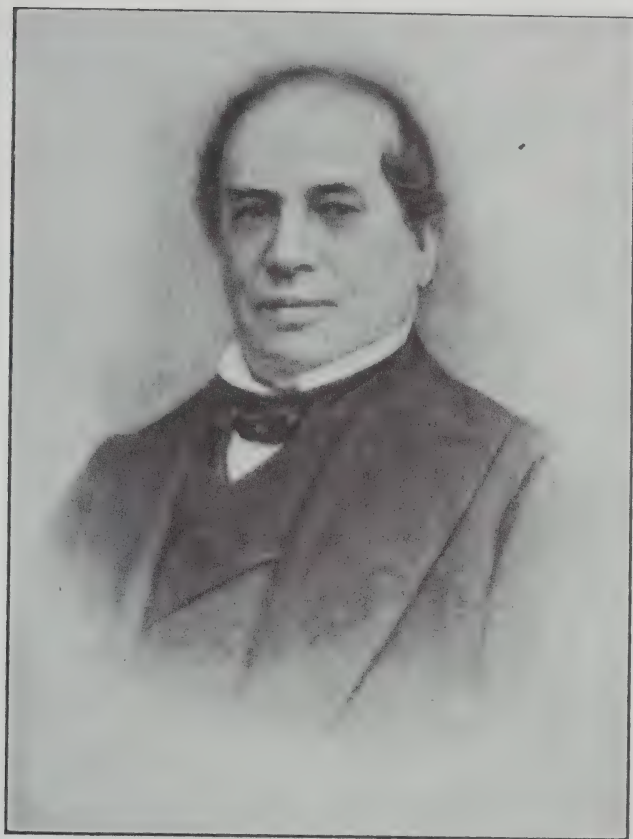
⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Permanent Fund, Dec. 1860.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Morrison, *St. Andrew's Society*, p. 36.

⁴⁸ Perhaps a payment of \$112.50 to the "Cemetery of Ever Green," recorded in the Old Cash Book for 1856, actually refers to this plot.

⁴⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 5, 1857, 69 Wall Street.



JOSEPH STUART



SAMUEL SLOAN

years of age. He had recently retired as head of a commission firm in Cedar Street with which he had been connected for twenty-five years. Few could imagine that he was just launching himself on a long and successful career in transportation which would make him during the next four years one of the best known railroad men in the East. Born in County Down, Ireland, Dec. 25, 1817, Sloan had come to New York with his parents when only one year old. The death of his father, when young Samuel was fourteen years of age, caused the latter to withdraw from Columbia College Preparatory School and to seek employment in an importing house whose head he eventually became. After 1844 Sloan, who married Margaret Elmendorf of New Brunswick, N. J., lived for some years in Brooklyn. He was chosen Supervisor of Kings County in 1852 and later was president of Long Island College Hospital. In the same year in which he became president of the Friendly Sons, Sloan was elected to the New York Senate, where he continued to serve while president of the Society. In 1855 he had been elected director and president of the Hudson River Railroad, not at that time part of the New York Central. During his nine years in office the market value of the railroad's stocks rose from \$17 to \$140. Sloan retired as the head of the Hudson River in 1864, when Cornelius Vanderbilt took over the road. In the same year he was elected director and three years later president of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western. Under his leadership what was then only a small "coal road" became a real factor in the general freight and passenger traffic. He extended the line north and west, reaching Buffalo. In 1876 the road shifted over to standard gauge. Between 1881-90 coal shipments increased thirty-two percent, general freight 160 percent, and passenger traffic 88 percent. From 1885 to 1905 the road paid 7% dividends every year. Sloan retired as president of the D. L. & W. in 1899 but remained chairman of the board until his death in 1907.⁵⁰

Under the leadership of a man of such enterprise the Society of the Friendly Sons was insured of safe guidance during the next two years. The Anniversary Dinner of 1858 at the Metropolitan Hotel was indeed a grand affair. Newspaper accounts say that "at least two hundred and fifty guests" sat down to an excellent dinner.⁵¹ Richard O'Gorman presided since President Sloan's duties in Albany prevented his presence in person. Mayor Daniel N. Tiemann responded to the toast "The City of New York" paying the tribute of a "thorough Dutchman" to the services of Irishmen to city, state, and country. Presidents of the various New York societies attended, and the minutes particu-

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⁵⁰ W. B. Shaw, "Samuel Sloan," *D.A.B.*, XVII, 213; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 231; N. Y. *Evening Post*, Sept. 23, 1907; N. Y. *Tribune*, Sept. 23, 1907.

⁵¹ N. Y. *Herald*, March 18, 1858. However Secretary Magee's account says "about 150;" *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1858.



RICHARD O'GORMAN

larly note the presence of P. J. Joachimsen of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. Responses to toasts were made by Joseph Hoxie, J. De Peyster Ogden, B. W. Bonney, and other gentlemen.

At the Metropolitan Hotel in January, 1859 Richard O'Gorman, distinguished Irish refugee of 1848, and now a prominent corporation lawyer in the city, was elected to succeed Samuel Sloan, with Judge B. O. O'Connor and William C. Barrett as first and second vice-presidents. Treasurer Birney and Walter Magee, secretary, retained their offices.⁵² The Anniversary Dinner of that year was very well attended, about two hundred guests enjoying a dinner served at the Metropolitan in its "usual matchless style."⁵³ Many of "our most distinguished citizens" were present, including Mayor Tiemann and U. S. Senator James Shields. During these years a number of distinguished names were added to the membership list of the Society, among them Thomas Barbour, James Topham Brady, and John R. Brady. All three would later become president of the Society. When the Brady brothers' names were proposed by Richard O'Gorman in 1860 they were seconded "by acclamation."⁵⁴

In March, 1860 the distinguished Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, Charles Patrick Daly, was elected president of the Society. An innovation at this meeting was the election of four vice-presidents, William Watson, Richard Bell, Henry L. Hoguet, and Daniel Devlin. Thomas Barbour succeeded Walter Magee as Secretary. Another innovation was the appointment of Richard O'Gorman and Judge B. O'Connor to attend to the publication of the proceedings of the Anniversary Dinners of 1859 as well as of "the present year (1860)."⁵⁵ Thus was inaugurated a custom that has been continued to the present day. Unfortunately the proceedings for these early years are no longer in the possession of the Society, and all efforts to recover them have failed. More than two hundred members and guests attended the St. Patrick's Day dinner at the Metropolitan Hotel in 1860.⁵⁶ Judge Daly presided, assisted by the four vice-presidents. Among the guests mentioned were Mayor Fernando Wood; Judge Thomas W. Clerke, a former president of the Emigrant Society and a member of the Friendly Sons since 1852; William M. Evarts, then president of the New England Society; De Peyster Ogden, president of the St. Nicholas Society, and others. Judge Daly, James T. Brady, Wm. M. Evarts, and Richard O'Gorman, all renowned platform orators, were among those who addressed the gathering. Congratulatory telegrams were ex-

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⁵² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 27, 1859.

⁵³ *N. Y. Herald*, March 18, 1859.

⁵⁴ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 11, 1860, 29 Park Place.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 1, 1860, 29 Park Place.

⁵⁶ *N. Y. Herald*, March 18, 1860; *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1860, which estimates the number as 160.



CHARLES PATRICK DALY

changed with the Hibernian Society of Philadelphia, which under its former name of Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, established in 1771, had been the prototype of the New York Society.

It was exceedingly fortunate for the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick that in 1860, on the verge of a terrible civil conflict that was soon to split the nation into warring sections, it should have for its leader a man of sterling principle, unquestioned probity, and staunch loyalty to the Union like Judge Daly. He was to guide the destinies of the Society until 1863, and would be reelected president on many later occasions during the next thirty years. Indeed in the second half of the century he was to hold a place in the hearts of his colleagues, second only to that of Daniel McCormick in the earlier period. Born in New York, Oct. 31, 1816, "of pure Irish descent," his parents had come from Galway two years before. When his father died he was forced to leave school in order to earn a living. He served three years before the mast on trading vessels and is said to have been in Algiers in 1830 when the French took that town. Returning thereafter to New York he worked for a master carpenter, studying at night to complete his education. In 1836 Daly entered a law office, and three years later was admitted to the bar, the usual seven years' study having been waived owing to his exceptional brilliance. Entering politics as a Democrat, he was elected to the New York State Assembly in 1843, so distinguishing himself that he was offered a nomination for Congress. This he refused preferring the profession of the law. By this time Daly had earned quite a reputation as a platform orator, as a successful advocate, and a sound student of the law. Appointed Judge of the New York Court of Common Pleas on March 4, 1844, when he was but twenty-eight years old, he was to serve on that bench for nearly 42 years. In 1845 he attended his first Anniversary Dinner of the Friendly Sons as a guest of the Society. He did not become a member until 1852. So high was his conception of the responsibilities of his office that, after his appointment to the bench, he abandoned politics in which he might have been exceptionally successful. Although Tammany Hall never liked him he was returned to office four consecutive terms after the judgeship became electoral. When first elected President of the Friendly Sons he was probably the most respected Judge in the city, well known as a firm, patient jurist who handed down just decisions regardless of public opinion or party sympathies. He was a voluminous writer on many subjects, particularly the historical origins of the law and juridical institutions.⁵⁷

The Irish community in New York naturally could not remain aloof

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⁵⁷ This account is taken from H. W. Howard Knott, "Charles P. Daly," *D.A.B.*, V, 41; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 234; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 253; *Records of the Society*, minutes, *passim*.

from the bitter political strife of the fifties, and individual members of the Friendly Sons became deeply involved. The decade saw the complete disintegration of the Whigs and a final disastrous split of the Democratic Party into northern and southern groups which heralded the national victory of the new Republican Party in 1860. Irish-Americans in general were quite cool toward the Republicans. In the very early days of the St. Patrick's Society many, perhaps most, of its members had been Federalists; but ever since De Witt Clinton led the opposition to the Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 there had been a steady drift into the Democratic Party, where Irish immigrants and the sons of immigrants found a warm welcome. Most Irishmen now were of the opinion that the Republicans had inherited the Federalist-Whig tradition of restriction of the immigrants and assumed, not without some justification, that the new party would carry on the nativist doctrines with which the Whigs had been tainted. Most Irishmen felt that the Democratic Party had always defended their rights, and many of them liked its doctrine of strict interpretation of the Constitution.⁵⁸

The Irish-American press strongly supported the Democratic ticket in 1856, and it was claimed that the Irish voted almost to a man for Buchanan. Despite the Irish vote, if such existed, the Republican Party although losing nationally was completely victorious in the New York state-wide elections. The Republicans not only registered the state in Fremont's column, but succeeded in electing John A. King as Governor. King, it will be remembered had studied law in the offices of John W. Mulligan, son of one of the early members of the Friendly Sons. But in New York City the Irish vote seems to have been strong enough to bring about the election of Fernando Wood as mayor. Even in 1856, however, Richard B. Connolly, a former member of the Friendly Sons, and Peter B. Sweeney had begun their efforts to swing the Irish vote away from Wood.⁵⁹ Without success at this time, they were soon able, however, with the aid of Samuel J. Tilden to break Wood's control of Tammany Hall. The Wood faction withdrew from Tammany setting up a separate organization under the name Mozart Hall, which during the Civil War was to take a decidedly pacifistic attitude toward the conflict.

The year 1857 in New York City was one of political strife not infrequently accompanied by violence. The policies of the new Republican administration in Albany succeeded in further alienating the Irish and in uniting them temporarily behind Mayor Wood. A State law, passed in the spring of 1857, reorganized the New York

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⁵⁸ *Irish News*, Sept. 6, 1856; *Irish-American*, June 21, 1856.

⁵⁹ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 98; Scisco, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

police uniting it with that of Brooklyn and Williamsburg under the control of a Metropolitan Police board appointed by the Governor.⁶⁰ Even the *Tribune*, bitter foe of Wood, opposed many features of the bill. The Irish took the attitude that the city was being punished for having given large majorities to Buchanan in the recent elections. Mayor Wood refused to recognize the new law, on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and for a time there were actually two police forces in the city — the new Metropolitan Police and Wood's Municipal Police.⁶¹ On one occasion a battle broke out between the two forces, necessitating the intervention of the Seventh Regiment to restore order.⁶² When in July the Court of Appeals decided in favor of the constitutionality of the State law, the Wood police force disbanded, but the publication of the court's decision is said to have caused a riot in the city.

During the rest of the year Wood and anti-Wood factions continued to battle; but in 1858 both elements, Mozart and Tammany Halls, supported President Buchanan's policy in Kansas. However, the Irish in the city and the Irish press in general soon began to take a strong stand in favor of the Union, especially at the time of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, although they remained aloof from the Republican Party. Their attitude toward the latter was confirmed, at least in their own opinion, by the fusion of the Republicans and Know-Nothings in the December, 1857, mayoralty elections.⁶³ The nativist American Party candidate, James E. Cooley, withdrew in favor of the Republican nominee, thus insuring the election of Daniel F. Tiemann, who had himself been one of the leaders of the earlier nativist movement of 1843-47.⁶⁴

As the slavery and secession question became more and more urgent during 1859 and 1860 the Irish in New York, though somewhat divided on the former issue, remained quite united in opposition to secession. Naturalized Irishmen, in particular, were very strong nationalists. As the *Irish-American* expressed it, they felt

... that the naturalization by which they were raised to the dignity of citizenship is not local, but national in its character, ... it derives no force from individual states ... The adopted citizen cannot without incurring the guilt of deliberate perjury, take his stand without the Constitution and recognize one section of the country to the prejudice of its

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⁶⁰ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

⁶² Samuel Augustus Pleasants, *Fernando Wood of New York*, N. Y. 1948, pp. 78-79.

⁶³ Scisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-223.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

whole. For him there is no North, no South, no East, no West . . .⁶⁵

Of course many Irish-Americans of native birth like those two "giants of the New York bar." Charles O'Connor and James T. Brady, were staunch States' rights Democrats, sympathizing with the South in many respects but never to the extent of supporting the idea of secession.

As the election of 1860 approached the Irish took little part in the Chicago Republican convention that nominated Abraham Lincoln for the presidency. What few Irish Republicans there were would doubtless have preferred William H. Seward; but their friendship for him probably did his candidacy more harm than good. Know-Nothings at the convention objected to Seward's stand as Governor in favor of financial aid to Roman Catholic schools.⁶⁶ At the Democratic convention in Charleston the New York delegation did everything in its power to prevent the breakup of the convention, but failed to back Stephen A. Douglas after the Southern Democrats nominated Breckinridge and the Northern Democrats selected Douglas. This party split was reflected in New York State. Many Democratic Hard Shells felt that Douglas had no chance of election, that he could not carry a single state, whereas Breckinridge, they thought, would carry the South and perhaps some Western states. At a Breckinridge Convention held in Syracuse, August 8, Charles O'Connor of the Friendly Sons was one of the leaders present.⁶⁷ The convention nominated for Governor of the State another member of the St. Patrick Society, James T. Brady.⁶⁸ Brady, who unlike O'Connor had no political ambitions whatsoever, accepted the nomination purely as a matter of principle, without any hope of election.⁶⁹ The Democratic Softs, in a convention at which both Tammany and Mozart Hall delegations were admitted on an equal footing, nominated William Kelly of Hudson, New York for Governor. The Irish vote was undoubtedly split in November, for the Republicans were able to sweep the state for Lincoln and to reelect Edwin D. Morgan as Governor.

When the election of Lincoln was announced, Irish-American newspapers called upon their readers to stand firmly by the Union, without any real necessity for such urging. The Irish in general, though many of them were in favor of concessions to the South, were unalterably opposed to secession as such. So far as we can discover this was the position of the members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, even those who might be classed as ultra States' rights Democrats. The So-

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⁶⁵ *Irish-American*, June 30, 1860.

⁶⁶ Channing, *History of the United States*, VI, 235.

⁶⁷ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹ *D.A.B.*, V, 584.

ciety had invited Republican Mayor Tiemann to its Anniversary Dinner in 1859, and likewise Republican Governor Morgan in 1860, doubtless in the interest of national unity. The members were probably quite disturbed by the dissension roused in the city by the visit of the Prince of Wales in October of 1860. At any rate the Society took no part in the reception to him, although other organizations from the British Isles seem to have participated. The Sixty-Ninth Regiment refused to parade in honor of the Prince, despite orders from General Charles W. Sanford to do so.⁷⁰ Members of the Society no doubt sympathized with Colonel Michael Corcoran when he was relieved of his command for this defiance of orders. Like many New Yorkers, including those not of Irish blood, some of the Friendly Sons undoubtedly had Southern leanings before Fort Sumter was fired upon. The Irish could hardly forget how Southern Democratic leaders, such as Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, had vigorously defended them against the Know-Nothings.⁷¹ Many Irish leaders, some of them members of the St. Patrick Society, as well as other prominent Democrats and even former Whigs and Know-Nothings were at that time willing to take every means possible to prevent secession by the Southern States. Such action was, of course, not entirely unselfish on the part of New Yorkers, since the city had grown rich in the Southern trade and stood to suffer enormous economic losses should the Southern States break away from the Union. At a meeting held in Pine Street in December, 1860, resolutions were drawn up pleading with conservative Southerners to prevent hasty action. Charles O'Connor and John McKeon, most respected Irish leaders, addressed this meeting, which sent Millard Fillmore, Greene C. Bronson, and Richard Lathers to the South in a fruitless effort to stave off secession.⁷²

In January, 1861 the Douglas State Committee called a Democratic State Convention at Albany "to avert the threatened destruction of our National Union."⁷³ Prominent New York Democrats of every faction were delegates; and of the eight distinguished Irish-Americans whose presence is particularly noted by historians — James T. Brady, Charles O'Connor, Peter B. Sweeney, Richard Connolly, Col. Michael Corcoran, William D. Kennedy, John Clancy, and John McKeon — no less than four were members of the Friendly Sons.⁷⁴ The Convention voted to support the Crittenden Compromise and elected commissioners to attend the Peace Conference should the Republican state

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⁷⁰ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 162; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 112; *New York Times*, Oct. 11, 1860.

⁷¹ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, X, 420-424.

⁷² Sidney D. Brummer, *Political History of New York State during the period of the Civil War*, N. Y. 1911, p. 102; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

⁷³ Brummer, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 114; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Brady, O'Connor, Connolly and Clancy were members of the Friendly Sons.

legislature decline to send a delegation. Later in the month men of all political persuasions joined in a monster meeting of New York citizens at Cooper Institute at which James T. Brady pleaded with the South to remain in the Union.⁷⁵ But although willing to make reasonable concessions to the South, Irish-Americans in New York soon became quite disgusted with President Buchanan's vacillation policy. As the *Irish-American* expressed it for them:

Secession means revolution; there can be no doubt of this; and we cannot be induced to forswear the allegiance we have pledged to our adopted country to gratify the secessionists, by abetting them in their unwise and anti-national proceedings.⁷⁶

When, on January 7, 1861, Mayor Fernando Wood suggested that New York City secede from the state to become a "free city," no Irish, and for that matter, no other New Yorkers supported him. He was speaking for himself alone.

The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick have every right to be proud of the contributions of their distinguished President, Charles Patrick Daly to the cause of the Union, as well as of the Society's own part in the distressful conflict. At the Society's Anniversary Dinner at the Astor House, March 17, 1861, scarcely two weeks following the inauguration of Lincoln, Judge Daly chose James T. Brady, an ultra States' rights Democrat and but lately the Breckinridge candidate for Governor, to respond to the toast "The United States."⁷⁷ Brady made an impassioned appeal for the preservation of the Union. "The great republic," he said, "belongs to all mankind. The great Union had been consummated not for a generation, or one race, but for all men and for all generations."⁷⁸ At this time Brady was a recognized spokesman for the Irish in America. He is said to have customarily delivered one hundred addresses to Irish audiences a year.⁷⁹ Such a plea for the Union from such a man could not fall upon deaf ears.

When in April Fort Sumter was attacked and President Lincoln made his call for volunteers the Irish responded in great numbers. It is estimated that between 150,000 and 170,000 Irishmen served in the Union Army during the war. The official count by the United States Sanitary Commission in 1869 gives 144,221 men of Irish birth, of whom 51,207 came from New York.⁸⁰ Colonel Corcoran was imme-

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⁷⁵ Jan. 28, 1861, Brummer, *op. cit.*, p. 125; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

⁷⁶ *Irish-American*, Jan. 26, 1861.

⁷⁷ Crimmins, *Irish-Amer. Miscellany*, p. 247.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

⁷⁹ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

⁸⁰ Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-136; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 122; Frederick Phisterer, *New York in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1865*, 3rd Ed., Albany, 1912, p. 70.

diately restored to command of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment and it is said that 6,500 Irishmen enlisted in the regiment within a few days.⁸¹ Unfortunately the government had equipment for only 1000 men. The Society of the Friendly Sons seems immediately to have adopted the Sixty-Ninth as its very own regiment and provision was made to care for the families of its volunteers on the day the regiment "left for Washington to defend the Flag of our country."⁸² At a special meeting held at Windust's dining room on Park Row, at five P.M. on Monday, April 29, 1861, at which the necessary twenty-one members were present, it was unanimously resolved that the sum of \$1500 of the funds of the Society be appropriated for the relief of the wives and families of Irish volunteers residing in the city and Brooklyn.⁸³ A special committee was chosen, consisting of Joseph Stuart, Richard Bell, C. P. Daly, Daniel Devlin, and Richard O'Gorman to superintend the disposal of this donation, a sizable one when it is realized that the active membership of the Society at this time was only forty-seven.⁸⁴

Thomas Francis Meagher, who at that time was busily engaged in forming his famous Irish Brigade, was present at this meeting as a guest of the Society. He was soon thereafter appointed acting brigadier general by President Lincoln and the Irish Brigade eventually came to consist of the 69th, the 88th, and the 63rd regiments, totaling about 2550 men.⁸⁵ A special fund was founded at this meeting "to which all present gave handsomely," whose object was "to supply a regiment to be commanded by our distinguished guest Thomas F. Meagher and to be made up of Irishmen."⁸⁶ How successful was this fund the minutes do not tell us but we know that the 88th Regiment of Infantry or "Meagher's Own" was actually formed and that by the end of 1861 it was encamped outside Alexandria, where with the Sixty-Ninth and Sixty-Third it formed the Irish Brigade.⁸⁷

The defeat at Bull Run was a terrible shock to the whole North, and particularly to the Irish of New York and the members of the Friendly Sons. The men of the 69th fought hard in this battle, where their colonel, Michael Corcoran, was taken prisoner and Captain Haggerty was killed. A special meeting of the Friendly Sons was called by Judge Daly at Delmonico's on July 30, 1861, at which Thomas Francis Meagher who had fought bravely as major of the 69th was present. The object of the meeting was "to contribute to the needs of widows and families of those slain at Bull Run, belonging to the 69th Irish

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⁸¹ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 140; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

⁸² *Records of the Society*, Minutes, April 23, 1861, Delmonico's.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, April 29, 1861.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ David P. Conyugham, *The Irish Brigade and its Campaigns*, N. Y. 1867.

⁸⁶ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, April 29, 1861.

⁸⁷ Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124.

Regiment." One thousand dollars was appropriated unanimously for their widows and orphans. Messrs. Bell, Stuart, Daly, and Devlin were chosen as a committee to distribute the funds.⁸⁸ On motion by Daniel Devlin the meeting expressed a vote of "admiration at the brave conduct of Major T. F. Meagher at the late battle of Bull Run."

A special collection was taken up among the members present at this meeting for the relief of the widow of Captain Haggerty slain at this battle. The following gentlemen contributed: Peter Rice, \$75; Daniel Devlin, \$75; E. C. Donnelly, \$50; William Watson, \$25; Joseph Stuart, \$25; Thomas Barbour, \$25; Richard Bell, \$25; Judge Daly, \$25; Ed. Boyle, \$20; Bartholomew O'Connor, \$15; John B. Fogarty, \$10; Hugh Watson, \$10; Ed. J. Wilson, \$10. The minutes record that \$390 was duly paid to Mrs. Haggerty.⁸⁹

Throughout the war the president of the Friendly Sons, Charles P. Daly, supported the administration in Washington in a wholehearted fashion. Especially did he lend his personal prestige on every occasion to aid recruiting for the Union Army. So great was his reputation for legal scholarship — he had been granted a degree of Doctor of Laws by Columbia College in 1860 — and so unquestionable was his patriotism that he was consulted on a number of occasions by President Lincoln and his cabinet.⁹⁰ Secretary of State William H. Seward, a native New Yorker, was well acquainted with Judge Daly's outstanding abilities and his sanity of judgment. "Two important decisions taken in the course of the war," so his biographer tells us, "were directly due to his advice."⁹¹ When in 1861 the crew members of the Confederate privateer *Jefferson Davis* were tried, convicted, and sentenced to be hanged as pirates, Daly pointed out the utter inadvisability of such action in view of inevitable retaliation and urged that they be treated as prisoners of war. The government took his advice. In the case of Mason and Slidell his intervention was of outstanding importance and probably averted hostilities with England, which some of his rash Irish confreres would have welcomed. James M. Mason and John Slidell, Confederate envoys to Great Britain and France had been taken off the British mail steamer *Trent* by Captain Charles Wilkes of the U.S.S. *San Jacinto*. England was outraged and began preparations for war. Judge Daly advised Secretary Seward that in view of a decision by Chief Justice John Marshall the seizure could not be justified in international law and recommended that the prisoners be surrendered. William M. Evarts, distinguished New York lawyer and a frequent guest at the Society's Dinners, did not agree with him; but

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⁸⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, July 30, 1861.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁹⁰ Knott, *loc. cit.*, V, 42.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

the government followed Judge Daly's advice with happy results.⁹²

An interesting story is told by Walter Barrett illustrative of Judge Daly's aid in recruiting during the war years. Writing in 1862 Barrett says that "a few days ago" a regiment called the "Steuben Volunteers," named after the German born hero of the Revolution, was presented with a new flag made by a "fair lady." An address was made by Judge Charles P. Daly, "a most excellent just judge, loved and respected, and in other years dearly esteemed by the great Calhoun."⁹³ As he made the address, standing among the crowd of listeners was an old man, absorbed in his words, unknown to every one except "Walter Barrett," who speculated upon the probable astonishment of both orator and crowd had they known the fact that the tall old man had been regarded almost as a son by Baron Steuben, and that for many years he was aide-de-camp and a member of the family of the Baron. The "tall old man" was John W. Mulligan, son of Hercules Mulligan, one of the founders of the Friendly Sons.⁹⁴ Barrett later visited Mulligan, at that time in his nineties and the oldest living graduate of Columbia College.

During his first years as president of the Society Charles P. Daly inaugurated or rather reinstated the ancient practice of making the quarterly and special meeting of the Friendly Sons real social events and not merely gatherings for the transaction of business. Dinner was once again served at these meetings as it had been in the early years of the Society, and the revived custom gained the enthusiastic support of the members.⁹⁵ Having learned from sad experience, the Friendly Sons did not discontinue their anniversary dinners during the war years, as did some of the other national societies.⁹⁶ The Anniversary Dinner at the Astor House in 1861 had among its invited guests Judge Robert Barnwell Roosevelt, one of whose ancestors had been an early member of the Society, and William H. Russell, famous war correspondent of the London *Times* whose later account of the battle of Bull Run was to make him rather unpopular in this country.⁹⁷ Among those present were William M. Evarts, James W. Gerard, Sir Dominick Daly, and Joseph H. Choate. Choate, later a leader of the New York bar and in 1899 ambassador to England, was at this time a young lawyer but recently become a partner in the firm of Evarts, Choate, and Beaman. One is inclined to wonder whether the usual convivial nature of the gathering was able to reconcile James W. Gerard, who

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⁹² *Ibid.*

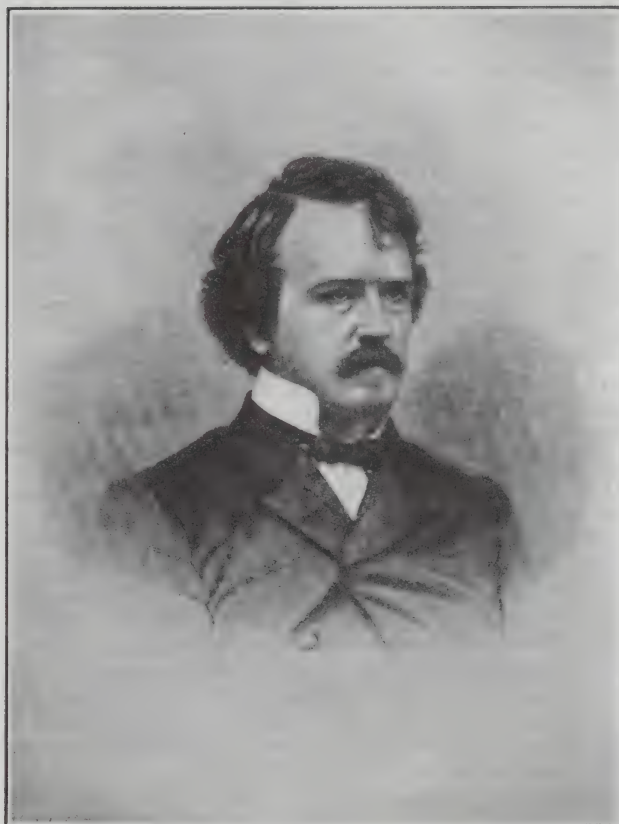
⁹³ Barrett, *op. cit.*, I, 364.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, April 29, 1861, Windust's Dining Room; July 30, 1861, Delmonico's.

⁹⁶ E.g., St. Andrew's Society, Morrison, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁹⁷ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 247; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 138.



JAMES TOPHAM BRADY

frequently showed no love lost for New Englanders, to the presence of two such transplanted "Yankees" as William Evarts and Joseph Choate.⁹⁸ The Anniversary Dinner of 1862, when the Society returned to the Metropolitan Hotel, was probably small but according to the minutes "very enjoyable." Among the invited guests was the Republican Mayor, George Opdyke, who had recently defeated Godfrey Gunther of Tammany and Fernando Wood of Mozart Hall by a small plurality.

At a special, but quite well attended meeting called for March 5, 1863, Judge Daly asked the Society to relieve him of his duties of president, and the members elected in his place the tremendously popular James Topham Brady.⁹⁹ Although an old States' rights Democrat, Brady had strongly supported the administrative measures of the government during the war. He appeared frequently on the public platform, making speeches whose brilliant thought and patriotic spirit attracted national attention.¹⁰⁰ At this same meeting Thomas Barbour and Eugene Kelly, future "greats" of the Society, were elected Secretary and Almoner, respectively. The dinner committee was instructed to make arrangements for the annual banquet, but to limit the charge for tickets to ten dollars, doubtless due to wartime conditions. It was proposed by Judge O'Connor, seconded by John B. Fogarty, that the Secretary procure portraits of the living and dead presidents of the Society. Daniel Devlin, at that time a most enthusiastic member, volunteered to print in pamphlet form at his own expense a biography of Richard Bell together with the latter's famous "Song of the Bottle," and to present a copy to each member.¹⁰¹ A motion of thanks to the outgoing president, Charles P. Daly, who had served the Society in various capacities for the last ten years, was ordered to be printed and presented to the Judge. "After a pleasant evening the members adjourned." It is worthy of note that the Anniversary Dinner for that year at Delmonico's Hotel, at the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, was attended by a large gathering, who "enjoyed themselves." Judging from the expense account 119 members and guests were present. At this time the active members of the Society numbered only fifty.¹⁰²

The Civil War like all wars was a young man's fight, and few of the

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⁹⁸ The Irish and Germans were not the only "foreigners" to whose presence some native New Yorkers objected. In an address before the New York Historical Society in 1883, James W. Gerard remarked, "If New England be such a delectable and superior place as is so abundantly lauded (why) should her sons and daughters desert it in such flocks and locate themselves in such an inferior place as New York." Albion, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

⁹⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 5, 1863.

¹⁰⁰ H. W. Howard Knott, *D.A.B.*, II, p. 584.

¹⁰¹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 5, 1863.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1863.

Friendly Sons were of an age suitable for strenuous military activity. John Savage, of the Society, did serve for a time in the 69th Regiment, and apparently also briefly in Corcoran's Legion.¹⁰³ Corcoran's brigade or "The Irish Legion" had been formed by the impetuous Michael Corcoran after his release from thirteen months in Confederate prisons. New York gave him a tremendous ovation at the Battery, August 23, 1863, where Mayor George Opdyke welcomed him. Corcoran returned to the front as a brigadier general, and his legion "made a notable combat record" there. Unfortunately he died the next year, after a fall from his horse "while riding back to camp after a convivial occasion in honor of Meagher."¹⁰⁴ Thomas Francis Meagher, who is listed in the Society's Manual for 1899 as a member elected in 1862, fought gallantly at Bull Run, Fredericksburg, where he was badly wounded, and at Chancellorsville. He resigned after Chancellorsville, possibly because of disagreement with the administration's recruiting policy. He was recommissioned brigadier general of volunteers in 1864. After the war, in 1865, he was appointed secretary and, in the next year, acting governor of Montana. Meagher was drowned at Fort Benton, Montana, July 1, 1867, while engaged in operations against hostile Indians.¹⁰⁵ General James Shields, a native of Ireland and a veteran of the Mexican War, served with distinction as major general in the civil conflict, giving splendid service in the Shenandoah Valley. The division which he commanded defeated "Stonewall" Jackson at Kernstown, near Winchester, March 23, 1862. Badly wounded there, Shields resigned his commission in the following year. Never a resident of New York, Shields could not be an active member of the Friendly Sons although more faithful in attendance at its Anniversary Dinners than many regular members. He had been, before the war, United States Senator from Illinois and also from Minnesota. After the war he was returned to the Senate, this time from Missouri.¹⁰⁶

As previously noted the war years show a greatly increased interest in the affairs of the Society by a small body of devoted members. The minutes of meetings, far better attended than in the previous decade, reflect this interest in many ways. In February, 1862, at a preparatory meeting in Windust's Dining Rooms, the task of compiling the history of the "rise and progress" of the Friendly Sons was assigned to John Savage, with expenses to be paid by the Society.¹⁰⁷ Savage had been for some years literary editor of Mitchel's *Citizen*, and already had some reputation as an author. From 1864 to 1867 he was to be the

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¹⁰³ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 214; *Harper's Encyclopaedia*, VII, 71.

¹⁰⁴ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 208.

¹⁰⁵ *Harper's Encyclopaedia*, VI, 150; Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, p. 438.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 468; *Harper's Encyclopaedia*, VIII, 165; *Collier's New Encyclopedia*, Ed. 1926; VIII, 395; Wittke, *op. cit.*, 141.

¹⁰⁷ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 27, 1862.

leading editorial writer of the *New York Times*.¹⁰⁸ Regretfully, nothing came of this assignment, whether because of Savage's military service, or the pressure of his editorial duties we do not know. In March, 1863, it was proposed by Henry L. Hoguet and seconded by Judge Daly that a committee be appointed to look into the matter of buying property for a National Hall. Richard Bell, Joseph Stuart, William Watson, H. L. Hoguet, Daniel Devlin, Eugene Kelly, and John Bryan were designated as such a committee, and were requested to report at the next quarterly meeting.¹⁰⁹ The minutes are silent on the subject until January, 1864, when on motion by C. P. Daly and H. L. Hoguet the building committee was reduced to Messrs. Kelly, Watson, and Hoguet and requested to report at the next meeting as to the site that could be obtained, the cost thereof, how it can be paid, and what kind of building should be erected.¹¹⁰ That the Society was serious about the proposal is evident from the fact that in March, 1864 the building committee requested permission to buy certain undescribed property and to build on the same. Permission was granted.¹¹¹ What came of the proposal thereafter we do not know. Perhaps the finance committee quashed the proceeding. However, the minutes are silent.

At a special meeting held on Jan. 28, 1864, John Savage introduced the case of Mrs. Hanson, a niece of Oliver Goldsmith, "who is in advanced age and in necessitous condition," and proposed measures for her relief. On motion by Judge Daly the Committee on Charity was instructed to wait upon Mrs. Hanson, determine whether she was a relative of Goldsmith, and if so to supply her with her needs not to exceed \$100.¹¹² They were requested to report at the next meeting the results of their inquiry. The report of the committee was evidently satisfactory for at the Regular Meeting, March 3, 1864, it was proposed to pay her \$150 in quarterly instalments for one year.¹¹³ An amendment which proposed to pay her \$200 per year during her lifetime lost by a vote of 12 yeas to 9 nays, as it did not receive the necessary votes as stated in Art. 11, Sect. 2, and Art. 12, Sect. 4 of the By-Laws. Action on the matter was deferred at this time, but was evidently taken care of in some other manner since the Old Cash Book shows that Mrs. Hanson was paid \$16 per month for a twelve-month period. At a meeting on Jan. 26, 1865, "it was moved by Mr. Hoguet and seconded by Mr. Watson," that the Society continue to pay her

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¹⁰⁸ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

¹⁰⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 5, 1863.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 28, 1864, Windust's Dining Room.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 3, 1864, Delmonico's.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 28, 1864.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 3, 1864.

\$16 per month for the fiscal year of 1865.¹¹⁴ The motion was lost and the matter laid on the table. No further record on the subject is to be found.

All through this period, as is evident from the minutes, members of the Friendly Sons remained as conscious of the need for individual, personal relief as they had been in the past. A difference of opinions seems to have arisen on the subject of how disbursements should be made. Some thought that no money should be paid out except on signed recommendations by the Committee on Charity, while others felt that disbursements should be made on the recommendation of any member of the Society. The latter group eventually had their way as in March, 1867, it was moved, seconded, and carried that the Treasurer make payments for "relief of a poorman whenever two members of the Society apply."¹¹⁵ It is evident that the increased social consciousness of the members was not interfering with the charitable objectives of the Society. Rather the opposite.

At a well attended regular meeting in March, 1864, James T. Brady was reelected president.¹¹⁶ The Anniversary Dinner for that year in Delmonico's Hotel, 14th Street, seems to have been a large gathering with about 136 members and guests present.¹¹⁷ Unfortunately we have no details. At a special meeting called for January 26, 1865, Richard Bell was elected president, with Eugene Kelly and John B. Fogarty, first and second vice-presidents. Henry L. Hoguet succeeded C. H. Birney as treasurer, with William Whiteside, Secretary and the Society's veteran, Joseph Stuart, Almoner. An interesting human sidelight on this meeting is found in a request to the Secretary to remind Daniel Devlin of his promise of March 5, 1863 to have the biography of Richard Bell and his "Song of the Bottle" printed. Devlin was not present at the meeting, nor indeed did he attend the Anniversary Dinner for that year. Perhaps his health was already failing. He is present at one more meeting, in which he seems to have taken his usual active part; but at the March meeting of 1867 his death was announced to the great regret of the members who appointed a committee to express their feelings to his family.¹¹⁸

The Annual Dinner of March 17, 1865, less than two weeks after President Lincoln's second inauguration, was held at Delmonico's, corner of 5th Ave. and 14th Street. A newspaper account says: "The attendance was not as large as in former years; but, though small in numbers, in enthusiasm, good fellowship and true hospitality, the good name and fame of the Society were well and faithfully sus-

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¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Special Meeting, Jan. 26, 1865, Delmonico's.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Preparatory Meeting, March 7, 1867, Sutherland's, No. 64 Liberty Street.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 3, 1864.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1864.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1867.

tained."¹¹⁹ The Democratic Mayor, Godfrey Gunther, was present, as was General Van Vliet, U. S. A. The minutes say that 85 sat down to dinner of whom twenty-five, perhaps more, were members. The records show that Richard Bell and William Watson each brought nine guests with them. The cost of the dinner was \$17 per plate, which may account for the small number present.¹²⁰

On the afternoon of April 18, 1865 at four thirty o'clock the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick met in a special meeting at Delmonico's on the corner of Broadway and Chambers Street in consequence of the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. Twenty-three members of the Society were present. Richard Bell opened the meeting with a touching allusion to the occurrence which had called them together. John Savage, passing over all the details of the calamity which had crushed out "the national rejoicing on the close of the war," offered the following resolution.

Whereas: In the moment of national rejoicing consequent on the close of the rebellion and the vindication of the integrity of the United States, the republic has been crushed into universal sorrow and lamentation by the brutal assassination of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the United States. Whereas the blow that struck the Chief Magistrate of the republic down, also pierced with agony the heart of the people, whose destiny he so wielded for future good, and whose utterances of woe now cloud the land with mourning and dejection.

Now be it

Resolved: That the Society unite with whatever the authorities and citizens devise as a mark of respect to the lamented President and that a Committee of Three be appointed to represent it in such sorrowful duty.

Resolved: That members wear badges of mourning for the appointed time.¹²¹

These resolutions, seconded by Eugene Kelly, were unanimously adopted. Richard O'Gorman now rose and addressed the chair as follows:

Mr. President. The somber aspect of this city of New York, draped as it is in the weeds of mourning, suggests to me how proper and fitting it is that this benevolent society should

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¹¹⁹ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

¹²⁰ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1865.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, April 18, 1865.

testify its sympathy with the general grief. The City of New York, alas, is not unused to sorrow. For four long and bitter years of civil war she has not ceased to bewail the death of her noble children untimely slain. For four weary years the tears of countless widows and orphans have not ceased to flow, as if to prepare us for this last horrid catastrophe we have been schooled how grief must be borne. But amidst all this public display of sorrow my heart is most moved when I think of those whose woe is now silent but more lasting. The lives and deaths of public men are soon and easily forgotten. The great tide of life ebbs and flows over their graves.

But the memory of the Father will through life be dear to the child, the grief of the widow will outlast all this outward pageantry of sorrow, magnificent though it be, and will burst forth again and again when these public signs of woe are removed and forgotten. Mr. President, I move that this Society adopt the resolution I hold in my hand.

Resolved: That the Society sincerely sympathizes with the widow and family of the late President of the United States in the sudden and grievous bereavement they have suffered and hopes and prays that the Supreme Ruler of events, who has permitted this woeful catastrophe to occur will mercifully lighten their burden of sorrow, and sustain them in this hour of their affliction.¹²²

This resolution, seconded by Henry L. Hoguet was unanimously adopted. The Chairman named Richard O'Gorman, Eugene Kelly, and John Savage as a committee to cooperate with the authorities for the above mentioned purposes. It was moved, seconded, and adopted that the proceedings of this meeting be placed in the *New York Herald, Tribune, World, and Times* of the following day. Thus on a note of sorrow the era of the Civil War, in which the Society and its members had played no inconsiderable part, came to an end.

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¹²² *Ibid.*

THE SOCIETY CELEBRATES ITS CENTENNIAL



IN the years immediately following the Civil War the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, like the nation at large, seems to have suffered from the natural reaction to be expected after years of sustained effort in a great patriotic cause. For a time at least interest in the Society seems to have waned on the part of many who had hitherto been among its most active members. Perhaps they were too much involved in the great material prosperity which the war had brought to the city to devote much time to what was after all but a small social and benevolent organization. New York City, or rather its business and professional classes to which most of the members of the Society belonged, had grown very wealthy during the decade of the sixties. The value of goods produced in the country had more than doubled, advancing to nearly \$333,000,000 in 1870 from less than \$160,000,000 ten years before; during the war years alone bank deposits had almost tripled and the value of real and personal property had doubled in the ten-year period, reaching the unprecedented amount of \$1,000,000,000 in 1870.¹ Wall Street was booming. In 1868 the new stock tickers, introduced in that year, recorded transactions in securities to the value of three billion dollars.² Mansions of the war-made rich, the "Shoddy aristocracy" as they were called, were rising along Fifth Avenue. By the end of the decade, the merchant prince A. T. Stewart, himself an Irish immigrant, was building a two million dollar residence at the corner of Thirty-fourth Street and Fifth Avenue. To visitors New York seemed to have gone money mad.

Whatever the cause may have been when Richard Bell, after serving only one term as president, resigned on account of ill health at a meeting in February, 1866, only fifteen members were present, a distinct falling off in attendance from the war years.³ Joseph Stuart, who had been a member of the Society since 1839 and its president from 1853

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¹ Still, *Mirror For Gotham*, p. 170.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 1, 1866, Delmonico's.

to 1857, was elected to replace Bell. Eugene Kelly, Thomas Barbour, and Judge B. O'Connor were the three vice-presidents, with Hoguet and Whiteside continuing as treasurer and secretary. The Anniversary Dinner of that year seems to have been a very small affair. "Owing to the political excitement of the times" it was deemed wise not to sell tickets but to "meet just as Irish gentlemen." Only twenty members and some friends were present at Delmonico's, corner of Fifth Avenue and Fourteenth Street. No important guests are mentioned and some of the most prominent members of the Society such as Judge Daly, Judge Brady, James L. Brady, and John Savage appear to have been absent. "Notwithstanding that the dinner was not so good as it might be, all spent a very pleasant evening and separated in good humor."⁴

The above reference to politics, one of the very few to be found in the books of the Society, is surely indicative of the troubled times. The political situation was very complicated on national, local, and international levels; on all three levels members of the Society played no inconsiderable roles. The great struggle between President Andrew Johnson and the Radical Republicans in Congress over southern Reconstruction had already gotten underway. The Democratic Party, under the cloud of its war record and tainted with the charge of Copperheadism, was striving for new issues and new support. Members of the Society, like most Irishmen, had been and still were Democrats; most of them sympathized with Johnson's position and not a few of them felt that the ex-Confederates should be treated leniently. Jefferson Davis, former President of the Confederacy and at this time imprisoned under the charge of treason, had as his chief attorney Charles O'Connor, the distinguished Irish-American lawyer who had been vice-president of the Friendly Sons in 1844. Davis was never brought to trial; but when he was released on bail in 1867, both O'Connor, a Democrat, and Horace Greeley, a Republican, went surety for him.⁵ O'Connor was also attorney for the plaintiff in one of the most celebrated of Reconstruction cases before the Supreme Court, that of *Mississippi v. Johnson*, 1867.⁶

Some of the Friendly Sons were quite deeply involved in the intricate municipal politics of the day. During the later years of the war the Irish in New York had been badly divided over such tense issues as the constitutional powers of the president, Emancipation, the draft, and the peace movement in general, with the battle of local politicians for supremacy in the city administration complicating the situation exceedingly. By 1866 William Marcy Tweed was in the saddle in

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⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes Mar. 17, 1866.

⁵ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, III, 18; Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. 134.

⁶ J. T. Adams, ed., *Dictionary of American History*, 5 vols., New York, 1940, III, 425.

Tammany Hall, with the so-called Tweed Ring well established in control of the city government. During the war Tweed, with the aid of Peter Barr Sweeney and Richard B. Connolly, a former member of the Friendly Sons, had succeeded in alienating some of the Irish voters from Fernando Wood, chiefly because the loyal naturalized citizens could not tolerate the pacifistic policy of Wood and of his brother Benjamin, owner and publisher of the New York *Daily News*.⁷ John McKeon, a most reputable Irish-American leader and frequent guest at the Society's St. Patrick's Day Dinners, had for a time been able to offset both Tammany and Mozart Halls in their drive for control of the municipal administration, chiefly because of his great prestige with Irish-American voters. In 1861, trying to counteract McKeon's influence, Tammany Hall had offered the mayoralty nomination to James T. Brady of the Friendly Sons, undoubtedly one of the most popular Irishmen in the city; but Brady refused to lend his name to a movement directed against his friend McKeon.⁸ From this time on the distinguished president of the Society consistently declined all nominations for congress, state senate, and other important positions that were continually being offered to him by various factions. The McKeon Democracy was able to elect C. Godfrey Gunther as mayor, in 1863, over Francis I. A. Boole, the corrupt candidate of Tammany and Mozart; but in 1865 Gunther was defeated for reelection by John T. Hoffman, Tweed's nominee.⁹ In the December election of 1866, Richard B. Connolly, now a member of the Tweed Ring, was elected comptroller of the city. The New York *Irish-American* denounced Connolly's election charging fraud.¹⁰ In the same year the Tweed Ring succeeded in electing to Congress John Morrissey, expugilist, Saratoga race track man and Casino gambler, who apparently had a penitentiary record to boot.¹¹

For the next few years Tweed with his principal partners, Sweeney and Connolly, dominated New York City politics and for a brief time the administration of the State. During this period they are believed to have robbed the city of an amount variously estimated at between \$30,000,000 and \$100,000,000.¹² Tweed, Grand Sachem of Tammany, Deputy Street Commissioner of New York City and State Senator, was supported by Sweeney, Tammany Sachem and City Chamberlain; Connolly, City Comptroller, and in 1869 by A. Oakey Hall, Mayor of New York, and John T. Hoffman, governor of the State. Judges and

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⁷ Gibson, *Attitudes of the New York Irish*, pp. 48, 165, 133.

⁸ *D.A.B.*, II, 584.

⁹ Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162, 210-212.

¹⁰ *Irish-American*, Dec. 1, 1866, Nov. 13, 1869.

¹¹ *New York Nation*, Nov. 8, 1866.

¹² *D.A.B.*, XVII, 82; M. R. Werner, *Tammany Hall*, N. Y., 1928, p. 160; Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

minor officials in the city owed their jobs to Tweed. The City Council, called the "Forty Thieves," were his men. The State Legislature "was like putty in his hands."¹³ By 1870, through the judicious distribution of \$1,000,000 Tweed had the State Legislature pass a new charter for New York City, drawn up by Peter B. Sweeney. Boss Tweed was also a partner of the notorious Jay Gould and Jim Fisk in the plundering of the Erie Railroad.¹⁴

It cannot be denied that the Tweed forces based much of their political strength on the Irish vote, and that, although most of the Ring members were American, the brains of the organization were Irish.¹⁵ Naturalized citizens generally supported Tweed, and the Ring was master of the art of fraudulent naturalization. Tweed operated his naturalization program at first through Judge Cardozo of the Court of Common Pleas and Judge McCunn of the Superior Court.¹⁶ When the influences of such men as Judge Daly, of the Friendly Sons, made it impossible to control the Court of Common Pleas Tammany opened the Supreme Court of the State to naturalization. In this court Judge Barnard served the Ring very well.¹⁷ An investigating committee of Congress reported that in 1868 alone 68,343 fraudulent naturalization certificates were issued in New York State.¹⁸ But, since the Irish born voting population of New York City in 1870 could not have totaled more than 21.3% of the electorate, it is evident that Tweed's success could not be ascribed to the Irish vote alone. By 1867 Tweed was a millionaire, moving from his old residence on the lower East Side to a Murray Hill mansion just off Fifth Ave. Men of wealth, none too scrupulous in this period, apparently rallied to the support of one of their own kind. Besides, they needed Tweed's help in their own schemes. Tweed got a block of stock worth \$40,000 for his assistance in launching the Brooklyn Bridge project in 1861.¹⁹ Gould and Fisk used his influence with the New York State Legislature in furthering their Erie Railroad stock manipulations. Peter Cooper and Horace Greeley both approved Tweed's new charter for the city, which cemented the Ring's hold upon the New York government.²⁰ A group of prominent citizens, including Marshall O. Roberts, Moses Taylor,

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¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *D.A.B.*, XVII, 80.

¹⁵ *New York Nation*, Aug. 31, 1870.

¹⁶ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

¹⁷ John I. Davenport, *The Election Frauds of New York City and Their Prevention*, New York, 1881, pp. 116-137.

¹⁸ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

¹⁹ *D.A.B.*, XVII, 80. The bridge cost \$15,000,000, more than three times its original estimate. On the other hand the County Court House, built by the Tweed Ring, cost \$12,000,000, two-thirds of which was fraud. *Ibid.*; Still, *op. cit.*, p. 239; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, I, 407.

²⁰ *D.A.B.*, XVII, 81.

and John Jacob Astor examined the Comptroller's books in 1870, at the invitation of Tweed and to the astonishment of all in the know pronounced the city administration honestly conducted.²¹ Both the Conkling-Murphy wing of the Republican Party and their Greeley-Fenton opponents accused each other of alliance with Tweed; Thomas Murphy, Collector of the Port of New York, held jobs under Tweed in the city administration, in particular serving on a commission for the widening of Broadway.²² On the other hand, many Irish politicians, like James O'Brien, John Morrissey, and John Kelly, led the revolt against Tweed, although their own reputations may not always have been very savory.²³ Charles O'Connor, one of the most respected Irish-Americans in the nation, was almost as influential as Samuel J. Tilden in bringing about the final downfall of the Ring. So far as we know no member of the Friendly Sons except Richard B. Connolly was ever closely associated with Tweed, although Collector Thomas Murphy and John O'Brien, both members of the Society, were widely known as "Tammany Republicans."

On the whole the political disturbances which seriously interfered with the Society's Anniversary Dinner in 1866 were probably connected more with the Fenian fiasco of that year than with either national or city politics. The journalist John Savage, then and for many years thereafter a prominent member of the Friendly Sons, was deeply involved in the Fenian Brotherhood whose chief executive he became in 1867.²⁴ During the Civil War Lincoln's administration had permitted the Fenian movement to permeate the Union Army. Early in 1866 a Fenian Army, recruited, armed, and publicly drilled on American soil, had gathered along the Canadian border for an invasion of Canada, intending to set up a republic there under the leadership of General "Fighting Tom" Sweeney and William R. Roberts. There is little doubt that this open movement had been encouraged by high officials of the United States government, which sold thousands of stands of arms and millions of rounds of ammunition to the Fenians.²⁵ The Fenian Army had its center at Buffalo, its right wing in Vermont and its left wing at Chicago. On the night of May 31, 1866 a small Fenian force of probably not more than 800 men under John O'Neil crossed to the Canadian side and attacked the village of Fort Erie.²⁶ O'Neil served in the Union Army as captain of the Seventeenth United States Colored Infantry. In a battle that followed the Canadians lost

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²¹ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 276-280.

²³ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

²⁴ Frank Monahan, "John Savage," *D.A.B.*, XVI, pp. 388-9.

²⁵ Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 183, 188; *Irish-American*, June 16, 1866; T. M. Beach, *Twenty-Five Years in the Secret Service*, London, 1892, p. 28.

²⁶ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

twelve dead and forty wounded, while eight Fenians were killed and twenty wounded. The United States government now belatedly intervened, preventing 3000 men who were waiting in Buffalo from joining the invasion. The Fenian contingent was therefore forced to retire to the United States. A second invasion from Vermont, on June 7, was equally unsuccessful although 30,000 Irishmen were said to have left New York City to join the expedition.²⁷ The United States government now proclaimed its neutrality and John O'Neil was arrested and imprisoned for six months.

This Fenian debacle had the effect of badly dividing the New York Irish and of eventually causing ill feeling within the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick itself. The Fenian movement did not die out at once. John Savage toured the United States organizing local chapters of the Brotherhood.²⁸ He visited California in 1870. In 1868 he wrote and published a book entitled *Fenian Heroes and Martyrs*. Many Fenians felt that they had been betrayed by Johnson's administration and not a few of them went over to the Radical Republicans, much to the disgust of the *Irish-American*. John Savage, as already noted, ran for Congress in the Ninth Congressional District in 1868 on a Fenian Ticket which was said to have been financed by the Republicans. On the whole, however, the Fenians were unsuccessful in their attempt to swing the Irish voters away from their Democratic allegiance. The Roman Catholic clergy, as a body, was opposed to the Fenian Brotherhood, and the New York *Freeman's Journal*, which usually reflected the attitude of the hierarchy, advised young Catholic men to withdraw from the movement.²⁹ Yet despite the fact that the Catholic Church, early in 1870, felt it necessary to order the excommunication of those joining the Fenians, another and final attempt to invade Canada was made in that year.³⁰ In May, 1870, large numbers of Irishmen gathered at St. Albans, Vermont and at Malone and Hogansburg, New York, the last two towns so closely identified with the Friendly Sons of an earlier period. When "General" O'Neil's premature attack on Canada from St. Albans failed late in the month the Fenian movement finally collapsed.

New York politicians of various factions naturally tried to make political capital of the Fenian movement, both at home and in Ireland. Although the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick as an organization remained aloof, Richard O'Gorman and Thomas Murphy unfortunately became involved in a rather disgraceful incident in New York harbor when two rival committees of Irishmen, one Republican and the other

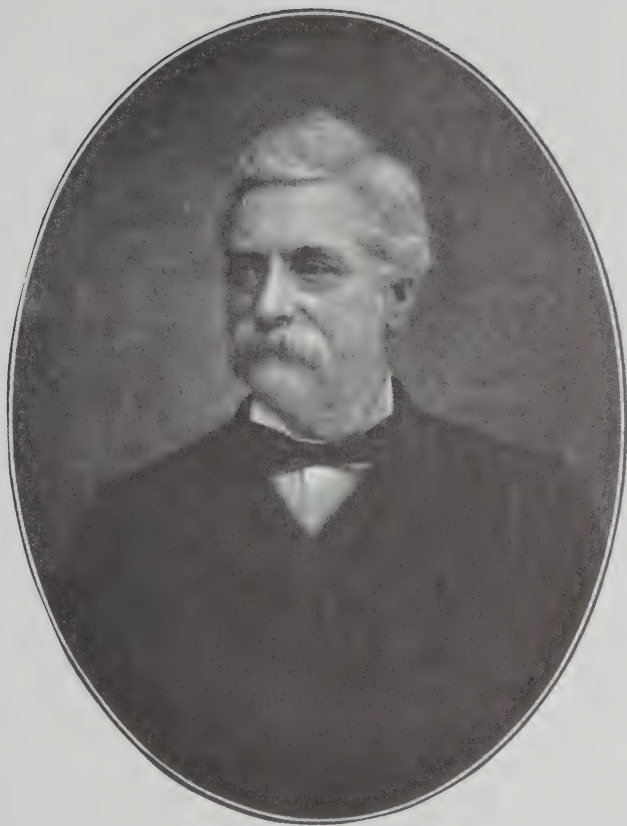
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²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

²⁸ Monahan, *loc. cit.*, p. 389.

²⁹ N. Y. *Freeman's Journal*, Aug. 26, 1865; Dec. 16, 1865.

³⁰ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, V, 689.



HENRY L. HOGUET

Democratic, struggled for the honor of welcoming O'Donovan Rossa and other Fenian "exiles," who arrived in New York on January, 1870. The leader of the Republican faction was Collector Thomas Murphy, a member of the Friendly Sons from 1865 to 1880 and perhaps longer; whereas Richard O'Gorman was the spokesman for the Democratic delegation.³¹ The "welcome" nearly degenerated into a riot and O'Gorman engaged in "a bitter conversational exchange" with Thomas Murphy his colleague in the Society.³² John Savage, embittered by President Johnson's treatment of the Fenians, became a staunch supporter of General Grant in 1868. A forceful orator, he is said to have rendered great aid to the Republican Party in Grant's first Presidential campaign. After his inauguration President Grant, whose administration tried to cultivate the Irish vote, appointed Savage to one of the most lucrative consulates in Great Britain. Owing to his Fenian connections the British government signified that Savage's appointment would not be agreeable.³³ From this time on John Savage was very active in the Friendly Sons, becoming a life member in 1880.³⁴ After 1884 he seems to have removed to Scranton, Pa. He died at his summer home at Laurelside, near Spragueville, Pa., in 1888.

At a preparatory meeting of the Friendly Sons at Sutherland's, No. 64 Liberty Street, on March 7, 1867, Henry L. Hoguet was elected president to succeed Joseph Stuart. A member of the Society since 1853 Hoguet had served as treasurer for the past two years. Born in Dublin, Nov. 5, 1816, Henry had come to New York in 1834 as representative of his father's firm.³⁵ The father, Robert Joseph, was born in London of French parentage, and had served for a time in the French army. As a young married man Robert had settled in Dublin, where he engaged in the fur business in Grafton St. When elected president of the Society, Henry L. Hoguet had been for many years a member of the firm of Wilmerding, Hoguet & Co., and before that of various firms prominent as dry goods auctioneers. He had become identified with New York Irish charitable efforts at an early date, and in 1859 became a trustee of the Emigrant Savings Bank, of which he was president for twenty-five years before his death. A devout Catholic, Hoguet was president of the New York Catholic Protectory for sixteen years, and had been trustee of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Mott Street between 1852 and 1856. He is said to have been instrumental in the purchase of the site of the present Cathedral on Fifth Ave. Before he died Pope Pius IX made him a Chevalier of St. Gregory the Great.³⁶

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³¹ *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1869-1880.

³² Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

³³ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VII, pp. 71-72.

³⁴ *Ibid. infra.*

³⁵ Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, p. 412.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

Hoguet never lost his interest in his French ancestry, and was for many years a trustee of the French Orphan Asylum and the French Hospital in New York. At this time his son, Robert J. Hoguet, was also a member of the Friendly Sons. Both Hoguets became life members in 1880.³⁷

At the same meeting which elected Hoguet president, James Stuart son of the former president of the Society, was chosen 1st vice-president, with Edward Boyle as 2nd vice-president. William Whiteside, who had been very active in the Society since 1861, was advanced from secretary to treasurer, with James Reid, a relatively new member, succeeding him in the former office.³⁸ The veteran Charles H. Birney, a member since 1839, retained his active interest in the Friendly Sons, accepting the office of Almoner. Richard Bell was chairman of the Dinner Committee with John Savage chief steward of the feast. The St. Patrick's Day banquet of that year found only some fifty members and guests present. The price of tickets for the event, held at Delmonico's, no doubt reflects the post war inflation, for it reached a new height of twenty dollars. President Hoguet presided with Judges Brady and Daly responding to toasts.³⁹

The minutes of the quarterly meeting of December 5, 1867, at Sutherland's, show some items of interest. Edward M. Ingoldsby, son of Felix Ingoldsby who had been an active member for more than thirty-two years, was elected to the Society illustrating the growing tendency of son to follow father in the Friendly Sons. The elder Ingoldsby had been present at the Anniversary Dinner of 1867 and was to continue in the Society until his death in 1871.⁴⁰ Edward M. retained his membership until 1876 when he seems to have resigned. Thirteen other new members were elected at this meeting. A special report of the treasurer, William Whiteside, shows that \$103 had been disbursed for Charity between March and November 30, 1867, and that \$538.13 had been spent for a United States bond bringing the holdings of the Society in such to \$3000. The Society still retained 60 shares of Bank of Manhattan Stock as well as 18 shares of American Exchange Bank Stock. For the first time the deed for a lot in Cypress Hills Cemetery, presented to the Society by William Miles is carried as an asset, and the mortgage on Texas lands, noted previously, is still shown at a value of \$200.⁴¹ At a subsequent meeting on motion by Henry L. Hoguet and Joseph Stuart, the treasurer was given discretionary power to convert the securities held by the Society into United States five per cent registered gold bonds.⁴²

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³⁷ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1880.

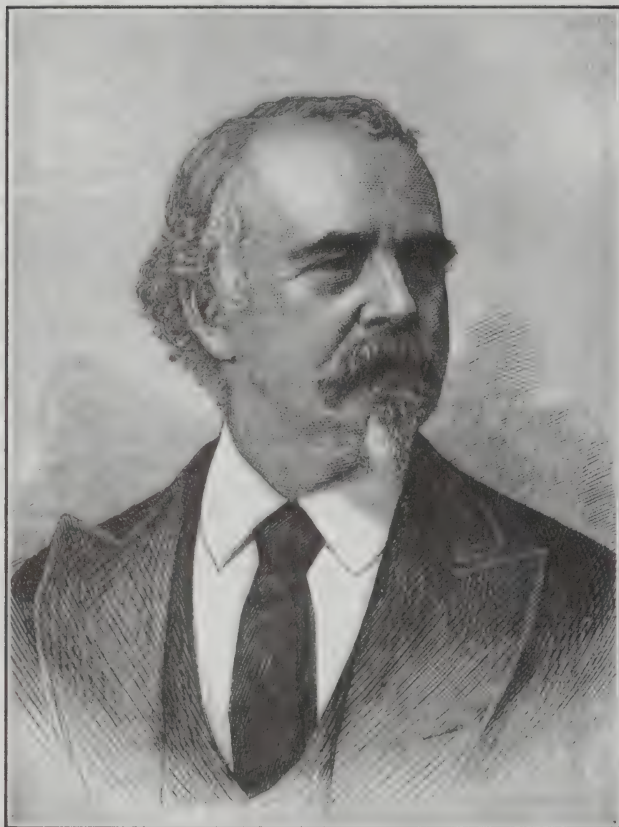
³⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1867.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1867; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

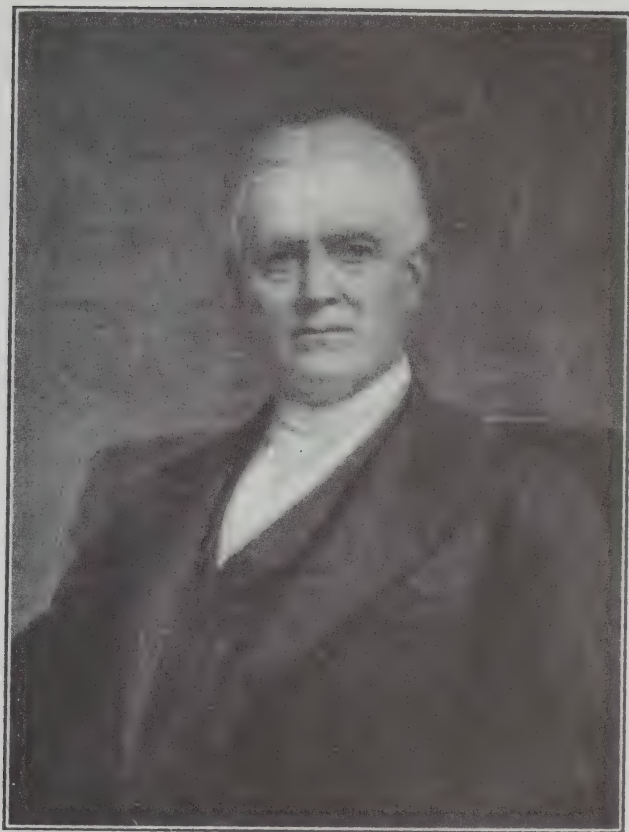
⁴⁰ *Records of the Society*, Membership Book, 1869-1880.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Report, Dec. 5, 1867.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Mar. 5, 1868.



JOHN R. BRADY



EUGENE KELLY

At a March 5th meeting in 1868 the distinguished Judge John R. Brady was elected president of the Friendly Sons. Judge Brady was the brother of James T. Brady, a former president of the Society, and is said to have been the first Catholic Justice of the New York State Supreme Court to which he was elected in 1859.⁴³ At this same meeting Eugene Kelly and John Savage were elected vice-presidents with the venerable Joseph Stuart as almoner. Treasurer Whiteside and Secretary Reid retained their offices. The Anniversary Dinner for that year at Delmonico's, at which Judge Brady presided was well attended by some eighty members and guests.⁴⁴ Judge Daly made one of his humorous speeches, filled with anecdotes of old Irish times, and read a poem on "The Shamrock," written specially for the occasion by Miles O'Reilly. "Miles O'Reilly" was the *nom de plume* of General Charles Graham Halpine, the Irish journalist, who had enlisted in the 69th Regiment at the beginning of the Civil War during which he reached the rank of brigadier general.⁴⁵ General Halpine, with other distinguished guests, was present at the dinner, after which he responded feelingly to a special toast, "The Private Soldier," offered by General Butterfield who had himself made a formal response to "The Army and Navy."⁴⁶ General Halpine never became a member of the Society. His untimely death a few months later doubtless deprived Irish-Americans of many a stirring lyric that they had learned to expect from his pen.

This gala occasion was enlivened by Irish tenors and baritones who rendered such songs as "The Minstrel Boy," and "Old Simon, the Cellarer." Daniel Dougherty, of Philadelphia, and John Fowler, Jr., made formal addresses. Judge William C. Barrett, a member of the Society since 1849, responded in his inimitable manner to the toast of "Woman." It is perhaps a sad commentary on the morals of the times that among the invited guests was the notorious Oakey Hall who responded, in his capacity as Mayor, to the toast "The City of New York."⁴⁷ Among the telegrams read from invited guests unable to be present was one from Daniel Drew, sometimes called "the most disreputable figure in American finance," and at that time a power for evil in the management of the Erie Railroad. The lack of his sombre presence was doubtless more than made up for in the eyes of the members by the attendance of the Irish-American actor Barney Williams, then famous for his portrayal of *Brian O'Linn*, and whose *The Barney Williams Songster* had sold well since the early forties.⁴⁸

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⁴³ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 34c.

⁴⁴ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁴⁵ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 248; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, IV, 205-6.

⁴⁶ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 299.

⁴⁸ Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 240, 255.

From this time on the Society seems to have gained steadily in membership. The records for 1868 show some 67 members, very few of whom were in arrears. The prosperity of the organization is perhaps indicated by the appointment of a committee, on motion by John Savage and Jeremiah Devlin, with authority to purchase a suitable site for a "building or buildings convertible for a hall for this Society." The Committee, consisting of Henry L. Hogue, Joseph Stuart, and Eugene Kelly, offered, in case they made such a purchase and it was not approved by the Society, to retain the property for their own use.⁴⁹ What came of this project we do not know. At a special financial meeting called in October, 1868, the affairs of the Friendly Sons were found to be in good condition. The meeting authorized the Treasurer, William Whiteside to collect interest on United States bonds of which the Society now owned \$3500. The President and Secretary were also authorized to dispose of the mortgage executed by Dr. McDonnell on his Texas lands "for the interest of the Society as they may think proper." At this time the Friendly Sons still owned 60 shares of Manhattan Bank stock and 18 shares of American Exchange Bank, as well as the lot in Cypress Hill Cemetery, previously mentioned.⁵⁰ Shortly thereafter the Society mourned the death, February 9, 1869, of its ex-president James T. Brady. Resolutions were drawn up at a special meeting in which the members expressed their sorrow as individuals at the loss "of a true, warm and steadfast friend," and as a Society "of a member . . . whose striking qualities as a man, whose genial wit and brilliant eloquence contributed so well and often to the perpetuation of that cherished love of the dear old Land of our Fathers which it is the great object of our Society to effect." It was resolved that "in the death of James T. Brady the poor have lost a devoted and never failing friend and the Irish race on this continent a brilliant, sincere, and unselfish advocate in whom were united all the best virtues and brightest characteristics of our people and one who made the Irish name honored by his labors and his glory."⁵¹

In March, 1869, Eugene Kelly, of 21 Nassau Street, who had been a member of the Society since 1861 was elected President to succeed Judge Brady. In that year the Friendly Sons, who for the past four years had dined at the "fashionable" or "uptown" Delmonico's restaurant on Fifth Avenue and Fourteenth Street, shifted to the St. James Hotel where they were to hold their banquets for two years. The reasons for the change are not known, although the price of the tickets, now reduced to \$18.00 from a previous charge of \$20.00, may have had

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⁴⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 5, 1868.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Oct. 28, 1868.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 10, 1869.

some influence. If such is the case the result was not an increase in attendance, since only sixty members and guests were present. Little details of the occasion have come down to us, although we learn from the minutes that during the evening the Chairman directed a committee to visit the Knights of St. Patrick who were dining at the Astor House.⁵² They were cordially received and the Knights appointed a deputation to return the visit. Apparently interest slackened on the part of the membership during the presidency of Eugene Kelly, as at the quarterly meeting of June 3, 1869 only five members were present. Dr. George Ford, apparently resident physician on Ward's Island, took occasion to propose an amendment to Article 13 of the By-Laws, which would change the dates of the stated meetings to the first Thursday in February, May, October, and December with the February meeting to be called the Preparatory Meeting at which election of officers would be held. However, the quarterly meeting of December 3, which found only six members in attendance, lacking a quorum needed to transact business. At the regular March meeting in 1870, Charles P. Daly was elected president to succeed Eugene Kelly, with the popular William C. Barrett, first vice-president. None of these gentlemen was present at the meeting which elected them. William Whiteside retained the treasurership; but when Edward Boyle was reelected secretary he begged leave to resign, and Robert J. Hoguet, son of the former president, was chosen in his place.⁵³ Apparently the amendment to Article 13 proposed at the meeting of June 3, 1869 was adopted at this time. It is interesting to note that on this occasion the members directed the Treasurer to sell one U. S. Bond, value \$1000, and to invest the proceeds in New York City 7% bonds.⁵⁴ Whether this was intended as a gesture of confidence in the corrupt city administration, already under attack, we do not know. As previously noted, in November of this same year, a committee of reputable citizens including John Jacob Astor issued a report whitewashing the administration.

The 86th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, March 17, 1870, saw some sixty members and guests sit down to a table "spread in usual good style" by the St. James Hotel. Tickets this year cost only \$15.00.⁵⁵ Judge Daly presided and the usual toasts were offered and responded to. During the evening deputations were exchanged with the Knights of St. Patrick who were dining at Delmonico's. The officers of the various sister societies were present as guests, as was Mayor-general

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⁵² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1869.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Mar. 3, 1870. The Society's *Year Book*, 1899 was in error on this point, giving Edward Boyle as Secretary (p. 61). This error was followed in subsequent year books.

⁵⁴ A New York City bond for \$1000 had been purchased out of current income.

⁵⁵ One of the original menus from this dinner is still in the possession of the Society.

Irvin McDowell, Hon. John McKeon, and Samuel Sloan, former president of the Society. Mayor Hall and William M. Evarts sent regrets. On the whole the dinner could not be said to have been one of the outstanding events in the history of the Society. Yet the Friendly Sons was in very sound financial condition and its membership was as full as it had been in many years. At the Preparatory Meeting in 1871, now held in February, Judge John R. Brady was unanimously elected president, with James Stuart and Edward Boyle, vice-presidents. Other officers were reelected. It is interesting to note that this meeting was presided over by Richard Bell, former president, in the absence of Judge Daly.⁵⁶

The year 1871, which saw the beginning of the collapse of the Tweed Ring, witnesses also the beginning of a great revival in the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. Whether there is any connection between the two events it is difficult to say. Perhaps the Irish, who quite unjustly bore much of the blame for city corruption, felt it necessary to draw together for mutual defense. The 87th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, this year held at the Hoffman House, was an enthusiastic celebration. Representatives for the St. George, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, and New England Society were present as guests, as were John Brougham, Luther R. Marsh, James W. Gerard, Sr., General Alexander S. Webb and many others. More than 100 persons assembled to do justice to the feast day of their patron Saint. The popular Irish actor-playright, John Brougham, said to have been New York's first matinee idol, had made his debut at the Park Theatre in 1842. He spent fifty years on the American stage, and wrote about seventy-five plays, now practically forgotten.⁵⁷ Brougham responded in "glowing terms" to the first regular toast "The Day." James W. Gerard spoke for his native city, as the Mayor seems to have been conspicuously absent. General Webb, at that time and for nearly thirty years thereafter, president of the College of the City of New York, replied to the toast for the "Army and Navy." The members disbanded after several hours, greatly pleased with a most satisfactory and enthusiastic meeting.⁵⁸

This great effort on the part of the Society was not without its cost. At the regular meeting in May the Secretary's report showed a deficit in the Dinner Fund of \$765 "owing to the extra expenses incurred by the Committee."⁵⁹ It was unanimously agreed to assess each member to meet the deficiency. Most of the members met the assessment promptly, though some did so with reluctance, and a few even resigned. They probably felt that the deficit should have been charged to the

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⁵⁶ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 9, 1871.

⁵⁷ Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 193; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 200, 255.

⁵⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1871.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 4, 1871, Hotel Brunswick.

uninvested funds in the hands of the Treasurer, which at that time amounted to \$1,115.⁶⁰ The veteran member Charles H. Birney gave notice of his intention at the next meeting to offer a resolution to divide the amount of the permanent fund between the Catholic and Protestant orphan asylums of the city and to devote the dues of the Society thereafter to the payment of the Dinners.

Despite some evident dissatisfaction among the members of the Society the 88th Anniversary Dinner in 1872, at the Hotel Brunswick, was a huge success. Some 200 members and guests enjoyed the Hotel's famous cuisine, in those days second only to Delmonico's in reputation.⁶¹ Judge Brady, who had been unanimously reelected in the February meeting, was unfortunately unable to be present owing to the death of his father, Thomas J. Brady. The elder Brady, it will be remembered, had conducted a classical preparatory school in New York during the first quarter of the century, one attended by John McCloskey, ward of Cornelius Heeney, a very early member of the Friendly Sons. McCloskey, who had been the first president of St. John's College, Fordham, was in 1872 Archbishop of New York. A few years later he was raised to the Cardinalate, the first American priest to be so honored.⁶²

The years 1871-2 were hectic ones for the New York Irish. On July 12, 1871, a riot occurred when a mob attempted to interfere with a parade of Orangemen. The Tweed press had stirred up the Irish against the parade, although Archbishop McCloskey had sternly forbidden his church members to interfere with it.⁶³ When troops of the Eighty-fourth Regiment, who were protecting the parade, fired into the crowd at least thirty-one civilians were killed.⁶⁴ Eighteen seventy-one also marked the downfall of the Tweed Ring. Attorney-General Champlain appointed Charles O'Connor to act for the State in the prosecution of the Ring. Since the death of James T. Brady, O'Connor had become the outstanding Irish-American of the city and nation. Respected by all Americans for his brilliant ability and noble character, he was "practically worshipped by the Irish." O'Connor associated with himself in the prosecution of the Ring, William M. Evarts, an old friend of the Society, William H. Peckham, and Judge James Emott. Connolly turned state's evidence, restored some of his ill-gotten gains, and was allowed to go abroad. Although he had not been a member of the Society for many years the members of the Friendly Sons must have looked back upon his election with regret. O'Connor and Samuel J. Tilden wrested control of Tammany Hall from the Tweed hench-

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⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 299; Still, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-3.

⁶² Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VI, 11; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 95; *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 485.

⁶³ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 248.

men. Augustus Schell replaced Tweed as Grand Sachem with Tilden, O'Connor, and Horatio Seymour succeeding Hall, Connolly, and Sweeney as Sachems.⁶⁵

In the presidential campaign of 1872 Horace Greeley, Liberal Republican candidate for President, had been endorsed by the regular Democratic Convention at Baltimore in July. One wing of the Democratic Party, refusing to accept the candidacy of Greeley, met in a "Straight-Out" Democratic Convention at Louisville, September 3, 1872, when they nominated Charles O'Connor of New York for President and John Quincy Adams II of Massachusetts for Vice-President. Although both nominees declined, their declinations were not accepted. Despite the fact that O'Connor made no campaign he received votes in twenty-three of the thirty-seven states in the Union.⁶⁶ Thus Charles O'Connor was the second member of the Friendly Sons to have been nominated for President of the United States. The first, of course, was De Witt Clinton, a member of the Society for nearly forty years, who was defeated by James Madison in a close election in 1812.

For their Anniversary Dinner in 1873 the Society returned to Delmonico's, with Judge Brady, still president, in the chair. Nearly 150 members and guests were present. A distinguished list of invited guests included such outstanding public figures as General Winfield S. Hancock, later to receive the Democratic nomination for President, Chauncey M. Depew, General William T. Sherman, Mayor William F. Havemeyer, Joseph H. Choate, Chester A. Arthur, later President of the United States, Richard Schell, Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall, and General Martin T. McMahon, who had been appointed by Grant as United States Minister to Paraguay.⁶⁷ McMahon became a member of the Friendly Sons in 1874.⁶⁸ During these years the Society was in a very prosperous financial condition with membership growing rapidly. The Treasurer's report for February 5, 1874 shows receipts for the past year of \$1310.10 of which \$794.00 was disbursed for charity leaving a balance in the Charity Fund of \$566.10. During the year the Society had sent \$250.00 to Irish sufferers in the Memphis plague.⁶⁹ The Stated meetings were usually held at Delmonico's, corner of Broadway and Chambers Street, where excellent dinners were served to the members present. In 1872 Charles H. Birney had been persuaded to abandon his project to divide the Permanent Fund, and the Treasurer was authorized to invest the cash balance of the fund in New York

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⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 252, 217, 219; A. C. Flick, *Samuel Tilden: A Study in Political Sagacity*, New York, 1939, p. 215; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VII, 3.

⁶⁶ McKee, *National Conventions and Platforms*, pp. 143-59; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 173; Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-7.

⁶⁷ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

⁶⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, May 7, 1874.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 5, 1874.

City bonds.⁷⁰ In 1876 the active members of the Society in good standing numbered seventy-nine, but by 1882 the number had advanced to 109, the largest membership since 1835.⁷¹ Regular quarterly meetings during this period were usually well attended. For instance, the quarterly meeting of February 3, 1876, held at Sweeney's Hotel, corner of Chatham and Duane Streets, found twenty-nine members present, whereas in former years a mere quorum was all that could have been expected. During the previous year the Society had expended \$686.00 for charity, and had on hand a cash balance of \$1633.01. The securities owned had a par value of \$11,200 and a market value of \$13,636.⁷²

In 1875 the Society had purchased for the Permanent Fund twenty-nine shares of the new Mercantile National Bank stock, and subsequently, in 1879, twenty-five more shares were added. However, in 1871, Robert Sewell called the attention of the members to the fact that under recent bank laws of the State bank stocks were liable to assessment, and it was recorded as the sense of the Society that its funds "should not be invested in securities carrying liability." At a subsequent meeting of the Finance Committee the Treasurer was authorized to sell the fifty-four shares of the Mercantile National Bank stock then held.⁷³ About this time New York City paid off its 3½% "Income" Bonds, and the United States government called in the gold bonds owned by the Society, so that, a year later, the Treasurer had on hand more than \$10,000 of the Permanent Fund which he was seeking to invest in first class mortgages at 5%. On October 1, 1882, William Whiteside who had been treasurer of the Society since 1871, died at his residence in the city. For twenty years, so the minutes record, Whiteside, an importer of Irish and Scotch Linen Goods at 107 Franklin Street, had been "a generous and prudent friend, a conciliatory and safe counsellor, an intelligent and faithful companion" as well as an "honest, patriotic, useful, and exemplary citizen."⁷⁴ At the regular quarterly meeting in October, 1882, Eugene Kelly was elected treasurer for the unexpired term, only to be continued in office until his own death at an advanced age in 1894. Kelly had become a member of the Society in 1861, since which time no one had been more active or faithful in forwarding the interests and objectives of the Friendly Sons. He had come to America early in life, as his father was one of those Irishmen who had been ruined by the rising of '98. Kelly had opened a drygoods business in New York, at this time located at 21 Nassau Street, with a branch in San Francisco. He had invested in

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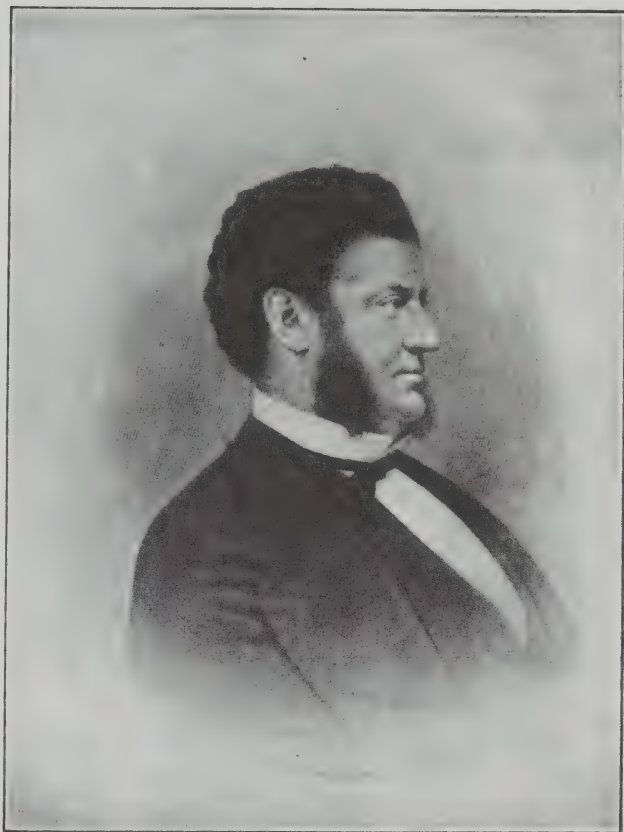
⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 9, 1872.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Misc., By-Laws, ed. 1882.

⁷² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 3, 1876.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 3, 1881.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Oct. 5, 1882.



THOMAS BARBOUR

banks, railroads, shipping and many other enterprises and was now a multimillionaire.⁷⁵ When elected treasurer, he had already served three terms as first vice-president, was president of the Society in 1869, and since 1876 had been almoner. He never lost his interest in the affairs of his mother country. When he succeeded treasurer Whiteside, Kelly received cash and securities valued at \$16,235.03. At the time of his death the assets of the Society in his hands totaled \$31,977.28, showing an increase in funds during Kelly's incumbency of \$15,742.75.⁷⁶

In February, 1875, Judge John R. Brady retired from office after four years in the presidency and was succeeded by Thomas Barbour who had been a member since 1858 and secretary of the Society between 1860 and 1864. At this time Barbour was one of the most influential merchants of the city. Irish born, he had become an American citizen in 1849.⁷⁷ Described as a man of unusual energy, force, and vigor of character he was noted for his genial, hospitable, and kindly nature. Consistently refusing public office, he had been connected with many public and private enterprises of great importance. A prominent member of the New York Chamber of Commerce, he had been instrumental in procuring the passage of legislation in Washington that proved very beneficial to the import trade. When elected president of the Society he had just returned from a visit to Belfast, Ireland, where he had been tendered a public banquet by the merchants of Belfast and the province of Ulster, with the Lord Mayor presiding. He was a director of the Hanover National Bank, of the Guardian Fire Insurance Company, and of the Paterson and Ramapo Railroad Company. In the later years of his life Barbour's interests centered in New Jersey. He became the first president of the Board of Trade of Paterson, where he owned large properties, including a fine residence on the corner of Straight Street and Broadway. He also had summer residences at Preakness, and Warren Point, N. J., and in the latter place entertained General Ulysses S. Grant and other prominent personages. He was president of the Bedford Manufacturing Company of Newark, N. J., and for ten years a director of the Clark Thread Company of that city, perhaps the best known thread manufacturer in the country. Barbour was reelected president of the Friendly Sons in 1876, and never lost his active interest in the Society, becoming a life member in 1880. He died in 1885 while on a visit to his family homestead in Ireland.⁷⁸

Thomas Barbour yielded place as president in 1877 to Hugh J. Hastings, a prominent New York Irishman, who had been conspicuous

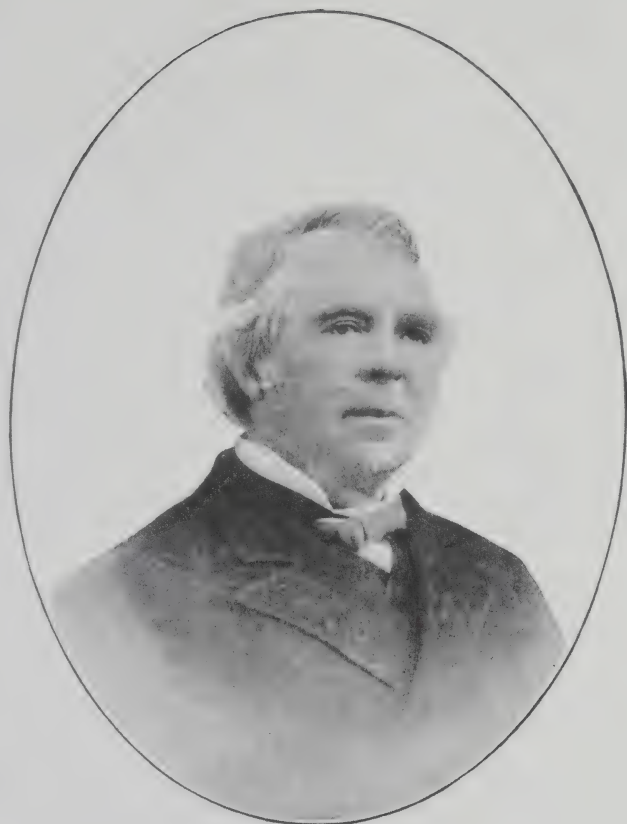
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⁷⁵ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 230.

⁷⁶ *Records of the Society*, Old Cash Book, Dec. 19, 1894.

⁷⁷ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 372-3.

⁷⁸ This account is taken from the records of the Society and Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-3.



HUGH J. HASTINGS

as a speaker at the Society's dinners for many years, but a member only since 1874. He had been first vice-president in 1876. When Hastings declined to accept reelection in the following year he was succeeded by Judge Charles P. Daly, who continued in office until 1885. For the ten years following 1873 the Anniversary Dinners were uniformly well attended. The dinner of 1874, for example, saw about 250 members and guests present. Among the speakers were: Mayor Havemeyer, Robert Sewell, Samuel Sloan, Benjamin K. Phelps, Charles W. Brooks, Joseph H. Choate, and Hugh J. Hastings.⁷⁹ Many of these dinners and most of the quarterly meetings were held in various famous Delmonico's restaurants. The march of fashionable New York northward during this century is well reflected in the progress uptown during the same period of New York's most renowned restaurateur, and equally well by the changes in location of the Society's Anniversary Dinner. The Friendly Sons dined at Delmonico's original establishment, William Street, in 1850. Thereafter the Society met at Broadway and Chambers Street, where its stated meetings continued to be held for many years to come. When Lorenzo Delmonico opened a new restaurant at Fourteenth Street and Fifth Avenue in April, 1862⁸⁰ the Society followed him, holding its annual dinners there between 1863 and 1868, and on a number of occasions thereafter until 1878. During all these years the "fashionable" or "uptown" Delmonico's occupied a large building at the above address. By 1879, however, Fourteenth Street was "downtown," and Delmonico had opened a new "palazzo" at Broadway, Fifth Avenue, and Twenty-sixth Street, near the Fifth Avenue Hotel.⁸¹ The Society met there in 1880, and held its Anniversary Dinner at the Twenty-sixth Street address in 1881, as it also did in the two following years.⁸²

After 1873 the cost of tickets for the Anniversary Dinners steadily declined from a top figure of \$20, probably due to post-war inflation, to a low of \$5.00 in 1878 when the banquet was held at the Metropolitan Hotel. The large dinner of 1874 at Delmonico's cost only \$15, while in the following years at the Hoffman House, 1875, and Delmonico's in 1876 and 1877 the charges were \$12.50. The Anniversary Dinner of 1875 at the Hoffman House was somewhat saddened by the death of two prominent members of the Society, Joseph Stuart and Anthony Hoguet.⁸³ At the business meeting preceding the banquet suitable resolutions were drawn up honoring the deceased. Joseph

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⁷⁹ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

⁸⁰ Still, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-7.

⁸¹ George Augustus Sala, *America Revisited*, London, 1883, pp. 78-80.

⁸² *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1880, Mar. 17, 1881, Mar. 17, 1882, Mar. 17, 1883. An error in the year book for 1899 was copied by that of 1909, giving the 14th Street address as the scene of the Anniversary Banquet.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1875.

Stuart, merchant and banker, had been president of the Society for many years. He had also been one of the founders and afterwards president of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank. The mercantile house, at 33 Nassau St., which he headed had a high reputation both in Europe and America for integrity, strength, and financial responsibility. His son, James, who was associated with him in the family business was at this time a prominent member of the Society, having served several terms as vice-president. The Anniversary Dinner of 1878 at the Metropolitan Hotel is noteworthy for an address by Chief Justice Daly, president of the Society, in which he told the story of the founding of the Friendly Sons ninety-four years before, an account probably unknown to many of the newer members, and the result of his personal research into the history of the Society. This dinner was attended by the celebrated Irish playwright Dion Boucicault who responded to the toast "St. Patrick's Day, and all who honor it."⁸⁴ Boucicault was elected a member of the Society in the following year, at which time he kindly furnished the music for the St. Patrick's Day celebration.⁸⁵ Irish born General James Shields, an old friend of the Society,⁸⁶ was introduced at the dinner of 1878 as a hero of two wars — the Mexican and Civil. Shields made a brief stirring speech. This was the last occasion on which he was to honor the Society with his presence, as he died the following year, June 1, 1879, at the age of sixty-nine.⁸⁷ During his lifetime he had represented three different states in the United States Senate.

At a special meeting of the Society on March 10, 1879, when twenty-five members were present, an equal number were added to the roll of membership, including Judge James P. Sinnott, Judge James B. Sheridan, and a future president of the Society, Morgan J. O'Brien, at that time a young lawyer with offices at 150 Broadway. The members authorized the president to purchase at a sum not exceeding two hundred dollars an oil painting of Saint Patrick. At this meeting Robert Sewell moved that a committee of five together with the President be appointed "to take into consideration the propriety of the Society's celebrating the Centennial of Thomas Moore which occurs in May next."⁸⁸ Sewell, a member of the firm of Sewell & Pierce, 206 Broadway, had been a member since 1874 but up to this time had not been conspicuously active. His motion was accepted and the President named a committee consisting of Messrs. Sewell, Barbour, E. Kelly, Savage, and H. L. Hoguet. On Hoguet's declining, Thomas Murphy

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⁸⁴ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 300.

⁸⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1879.

⁸⁶ *Vide Supra*.

⁸⁷ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VIII, 165.

⁸⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 10, 1879, No. 2 Astor House.

was appointed in his place. Thus was inaugurated one of the most pretentious efforts on the part of the Society since its inception.

This committee met at Judge Daly's offices, 84 Clinton Place, on April 15, 1879. Samuel Sloan, former president of the Society but who had not been a member for ten years, took part. The meeting decided that a celebration should be held to commemorate the centennial of Moore's birth on May 28, 1879; that the celebration be held under the auspices of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and that it "should assume the character of a Musical, Poetical, and Oratorical Entertainment" to be held at the Academy of Music. At a special meeting of the Society, April 18, 1879, the members adopted this report and authorized the President to add to the present committee sufficient names to bring its numbers up to twenty-five. The committee was to have entire charge of the proposed celebration. Judge Daly, president of the Society, was permanent chairman of the general committee, ex-officio member of sub-committees, with the power to add to its number persons not members of the Friendly Sons.⁸⁹

During the next six weeks the general committee and the various sub-committees met many times, working out the details of the celebration. Samuel Sloan remained identified with the project, and Joseph Cromien, a representative of Philo-Celtic Society, was added to the committee, attending practically all meetings. The Philo-Celtic Society was an organization dedicated to the preservation of the Irish language. It was decided that no Society's name should appear in the announcements of the entertainment, which should be known as "The Moore Celebration of New York." Any surplus derived was to be "made the initiation of a fund to be devoted to the erection in the Central Park of a statue of Tom Moore." A scale of prices was agreed upon as follows: General Admission, fifty cents; Reserved Seats, one dollar; box seats, two dollars; private boxes (seating four persons), six dollars; private boxes (seating three persons), five dollars. Three thousand memorial programmes were ordered. Leading citizens of the city, state, and nation were invited to attend. The music committee arranged for three solos, three quartettes, and a chorus of three hundred, with appropriate instrumental music. At the suggestion of Joseph Cromien of the Philo-Celtic Society the recitation of a poem in Irish and English, "Where's the Slave So Lowly," was added to the program. T. O'Neil Russell was the "recitationist." The advanced sales

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⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Apr. 18, 1879, special meeting at offices of Sewell & Pierce, 206 Broadway. The full committee was as follows: Judge Daly, Chairman; Messrs. Barbour, J. R. Brady, J. Devlin, Farrell, Foley, H. L. Hoguet, R. J. Hoguet, C. Johnston, E. Kelly, Lawrence, Thos. Murphy, Lummis, Jas. Lynch, D. McMahon, M. T. McMahon, O'Donoghue, O'Gorman, Quinn, Savage, Sewell, Shea, Smythe, W. Whiteside, Samuel Sloan, and Joseph Cromien. The Secretary of the Society, Dr. E. B. Murtha, served as the secretary of the Committee.

were good, the box office took in \$559 on the night of the affair, and the entertainment seems to have been a huge success. The gross receipts were \$1836.00, expenses \$1410.72, leaving a profit of \$425.28.⁹⁰

Contrary to general belief the Friendly Sons held no formal Anniversary Dinner in 1880.⁹¹ This was a famine year in Ireland, and members of the Society had been circularized on relief to the sufferers. The twenty-one members who attended the preparatory meeting of Feb. 5, 1880 evidently came prepared to dispense with the annual dinner, as treasurer William Whiteside had proxies of five members assenting to the proposal. The following proposal, moved by Thomas Barbour and seconded by Eugene Kelly was unanimously adopted.

Whereas, during the famine years in Ireland of 1847&1862 [sic], this Society omitted its annual dinner, & whereas the constitution of the Society requires that there shall be an anniversary meeting on the 17th of March of each year to celebrate St. Patrick's Day, be it therefore

Resolved, that in view of the distress which now prevails in Ireland, and the efforts that are being made to relieve it, that we will have no anniversary dinner this year; and that the sum annually expended for the dinner be devoted to the relief of the Irish people; that this Society contribute to the fund of the Irish Relief Committee of the Mansion House, Dublin, the sum of £500; and that we will celebrate the 96th anniversary of the Society on the 17th of March next, by founding on that day a special fund upon life memberships in the Society of \$100 each, the principal to remain inviolate, and the income only to be applied to the relief of cases of distress.⁹²

The individual contribution toward the Irish famine fund was fixed at \$15, which was an increase of five dollars over the cost of tickets for the last anniversary dinner in 1879. The Secretary was authorized to collect the same from the members.

Thus no Anniversary Dinner was held on St. Patrick's Day in 1880. A regular business meeting did take place at Delmonico's new restaurant, Fifth Avenue and 26th Street, at 4:30 P.M. on March 17, when twenty-five members were present. On this occasion the rules were suspended to admit to membership William R. Grace, head of the

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⁹⁰ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, April 18, April 23, April 29, May 3, May 7, May 12, May 31, 1879, and February 5, 1880.

⁹¹ *The Year Books* for 1899 and 1909 are in error on this point, and the error has been perpetuated.

⁹² *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 5, 1880.

great shipping firm of W. R. Grace and Company that was so influential in the affairs of the Peruvian government. Grace had settled in New York in 1865. Later on in 1880 he was nominated for Mayor by Tammany Hall and Irving Hall. His candidacy aroused bitter opposition which took on a religious note. Grace was not only a naturalized Irishman, but a Roman Catholic as well. It had not been customary even for the Democrats to nominate Irish Catholics for the highest offices in city and state, despite their dependence upon the so-called Irish vote. The New York *Herald* fiercely attacked the "Catholic church . . . in politics," and the election was very close.⁹³ Grace won over his Republican opponent, William Dowd, by the narrow margin of 3045 votes, considerably less than the normal Democratic majority in the city. The wealthy shipowner gave New York an efficient and honest administration, and the first Catholic mayor ranks among the reform mayors of the city.⁹⁴

At this meeting the Society drafted a letter, signed by Charles P. Daly as President, William Whiteside as Treasurer, and Eugene B. Murtha as Secretary, enclosing its contribution of £500 to the Right Honorable Edward Dwyer Gray, Lord Mayor of London and Chairman of the Mansion House Committee. Article 2 of the By-Laws was amended unanimously to provide for the proposed Life Membership, and the following gentlemen took advantage of the new rule; Thomas Barbour, Richard P. Charles, Charles P. Daly, James P. Farrell, Henry L. Hogue, Robert J. Hogue, Eugene Kelly, John Savage, Robert Sewell, George Shea, and William Whiteside. Following the business meeting twenty-two of the gentlemen present dined together "with Chief Justice Daly at the head and 1st Vice-President John Savage at the foot of the table."⁹⁵

The Society's Annual Dinners from 1881 to 1883, all held at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue and 26th Street, were well attended with members and guests numbering 142, 185, and 135 respectively. Many distinguished citizens were guests on these occasions. Mayor William R. Grace responded to the toast "The City of New York" in 1881 and 1882. Chauncey M. Depew, famed after-dinner speaker, addressed the Society on all three occasions. In 1882, General Ulysses S. Grant, ex-President of the United States, responded to toast "The United States." Other prominent speakers included General John B. Gordon, Frederick R. Coudert, General Horace Porter, formerly secretary to President Grant and later United States Ambassador to France, John Kelly, leader of Tammany Hall, Charles F. Jones, and W. Bourke

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⁹³ New York *Herald*, Oct. 24, 1880.

⁹⁴ Robert G. Albion, "William R. Grace," *D.A.B.*, VII, 463; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 174, 230.

⁹⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1880.

Cockran. The last named addressed the Society for the first time in 1883. He became a member of the Society two years later.

As the Centennial of the British Evacuation of New York approached, a holiday once celebrated with great fervor in the city but now almost forgotten, a special meeting of the Society was held in anticipation thereof. It was decided that the Friendly Sons should participate formally in the proposed celebration. A delegation consisting of: Messrs. O'Connell, Quinn, Farrell, Cuming, Charles P. Daly, Bradley, Savage, McCarthy, O'Gorman, J. R. Brady, Lynch, Devlin, and Sewell, was appointed to take part in the military and civic procession planned for the occasion. Four landaus were furnished for their use by a member, John J. Bradley. This is one of the very few times during its first one hundred years of existence that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, as an organization, took part in a New York civic celebration.⁹⁶

Preparations for the Centennial Anniversary of the founding of the Friendly Sons began as early as December 10, 1883, when a special committee was appointed to arrange for the celebration. The Centennial Dinner at the Hotel Brunswick, Fifth Avenue at 27th Street, was an occasion of great splendor. To a long list of guests, including prominent statesmen and jurists, was added the celebrated Irish actor-playrights, Augustine Daly and Dion Boucicault, and the equally celebrated Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore, musician and composer. Gilmore's Band had for many years been the outstanding band of the country. He was at this time bandmaster of the 22nd Regiment in New York, and between 1873 and 1876 had given more than 600 concerts at what was known as Gilmore's Gardens. He composed many dances, marches, and songs. One of the most popular of the last was "When Johnny Comes Marching Home."⁹⁷ Gilmore, who had been a member since 1880, furnished the musical entertainment for the evening, and both vocal and instrumental renditions were enthusiastically received. According to the minutes about 185 members and guests were present; but other sources give 200 in attendance.⁹⁸

President Charles P. Daly, who presided, made one of his fine speeches in which he congratulated the Society on its one hundredth birthday, retelling the story of its founding. He recalled that he had first attended a Friendly Sons Dinner some forty-five years before, when he was not yet a member of the Society. Undoubtedly the feature speaker of the evening was the Reverend Henry Ward Beecher, pastor of Plymouth Church in Brooklyn, one of the ablest pulpit

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⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 18, 1883; Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 219.

⁹⁷ Frederick H. Martens, "Patrick Sarsfield Gilmore," *D.A.B.*, VII, 312; Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 237; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, IV, pp. 83-4.

⁹⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1884; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-7.

orators of his time. Now in his seventy-first year, Beecher had apparently never before attended a Friendly Sons' Dinner. He delivered a witty and eloquent address, poking fun at his hosts, much to their delight. Beecher accounted for his presence on the occasion with the assertion that "the proverbial modesty of the Irish people" made it necessary to import a Yankee to "brag" for them. At the same time he denied the right of Judge Daly to speak for the Irish, since, having been born in New York, he too was a "Yankee." The speaker acknowledged English blood, perhaps some Jewish, an infusion of Welsh and Scottish, but disclaimed any Irish ancestry since, so he said, "if there had been a drop of Irish blood, there would have been spontaneous combustion." He then went on to discuss his subject "Ireland" in a serious and delicate vein. Like the fruit tree that never eats its own apples, "Ireland," he said, "raises men and all the world plucks them." "The Irishman is a successful man everywhere but in Ireland." Ending on a light note, Beecher offered to accept an invitation to speak at the Society's bi-centennial dinner. His address received a tremendous ovation. At a subsequent Anniversary Dinner it was stated that the Society elected Beecher an "honorary member" by acclamation. The minutes of the meeting, however, make no mention of such action.⁹⁹

Beecher was followed by Chauncey M. Depew, representing Governor Cleveland on this occasion. He paid a graceful tribute to the "superb effort made by the old man eloquent," who had preceded him. "Nothing," he said, "can be added in a serious way, nothing can be added in a jocose or humorous way to this most magnificent tribute to our common human nature and to the destiny and dignity of the Irish race." But, since "the parade must go on," he launched, with astonishing but delightful historical inaccuracy, into an account of the exploits of the Society whose Anniversary Dinners he had attended for so many years. Among other things he told the assembled guests:

Why, gentlemen, when the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick was founded a hundred years ago the first thing they did was to elect one of their members, George Clinton, the first governor of this State.

This slight distortion of the truth must have tickled the hearts of the members present. Other speakers included Judge Joseph F. Daly and Robert Sewell. United States Senator Charles W. Jones was introduced and spoke "without preparation" for more than twenty minutes. He

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⁹⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Mar. 17, 1884.

had "come to hear Mr. Beecher talk about Ireland." Although Irish-born, he had left Ireland as a little boy and for forty years had not returned until last summer. He didn't remain long in Ireland, and apparently had not liked conditions which he found there.¹⁰⁰

Thus ended the first one hundred years of the Society's existence. When the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick was founded New York had been a little village of scarcely 30,000 people; now it was a mighty metropolis of more than a million souls. In 1784 a member of the Society, James Duane, was giving to the city an honest and efficient administration as mayor. One hundred years later another member of the Society, Mayor William R. Grace was administering the affairs of New York with equal honesty and efficiency, and after breaking with Tammany was soon to be reelected on an independent ticket. In 1784 a member of the Society, George Clinton, was governor of New York, and while the Friendly Sons could not claim the same honor in 1884, the then incumbent, Grover Cleveland, would in later days become a member. The officers of the Society on its one hundredth birthday were: Charles P. Daly, President; Joseph J. O'Donohue, 1st Vice-President; James P. Farrell, 2nd Vice-President; Eugene Kelly, Treasurer; and John Savage, Secretary. These were all men of fine reputation upon whom the members could look with justifiable pride. Membership had not grown to any extent during the first century, as the seventy-two members in good standing in February, 1884 had been exceeded on many occasions in the past. The chief change to be noted in membership is to be found in the increasing influence of professional men. During its first fifty years the Society had been dominated by merchants, and all of its presidents had belonged to that class. In the second half of the century professional men had headed the Friendly Sons in no less than twenty-one years, and lawyers and jurists were among its most active members. This situation apparently was to continue for some time to come.

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¹⁰⁰ The principal addresses at the Centennial Dinner are reprinted in Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 305-321. Since 1879 the custom of having a stenographer report the proceedings of the Anniversary Dinners had been followed.

EMERGENCE OF THE MODERN CITY AND THE MODERN SOCIETY



IN 1884, when the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick began the second hundred years of its existence, New York City, although it had grown tremendously during the past century, was still a vastly different place from the mighty metropolis with which we are familiar today. In the late seventies the city's skyline, as seen from the Bay, continued to be dominated by the spire of Trinity Church and the tallest building over all was the hideous new Post Office, that had been built at the lower end of City Hall Park in 1875.¹ Brooklyn Bridge, completed in 1883, was then considered too utilitarian to be beautiful, and the grace and simple grandeur of its towers and curving cables would not be appreciated until a later day. The first steel-skeleton building in New York, designed by Bradford L. Gilbert and erected on a lot twenty-one feet wide at 50 Broadway, was not completed until 1889. Although its steel frame was only seven stories high, the top six being built of solid brick, this Tower Building is properly called New York's first skyscraper; but the new Washington Building, erected at No. 1 Broadway by Cyrus W. Field in 1882, is sometimes given that title.² Field's nine story structure occupied the site of the lovely old Kennedy Mansion, which, somewhat remodeled, had served the city for many years as the Washington Hotel. The Society had dined there in 1836 and 1837. Captain Robert Kennedy, it will be remembered, had married Jane Macomb, daughter of the third president of the Friendly Sons.³ In 1884 most of the business buildings in downtown New York were only three or four stories high and with few exceptions were cheap looking structures, that served as warehouses, third-rate hotels, and boarding houses. "Wall and Broad Streets were shabby in the extreme," and the office building as we know it had not yet come into existence.⁴ In this year, however, a "massive" eleven story

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¹ Henry Collins Brown, ed., *Valentine's Manual of Old New York*, New York, 1926, p. 1; Kouwenhoven, *Columbia Historical Portrait*, p. 401.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 394, 396; Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Gilder, *The Battery*, p. 218.

³ *Vide supra*.

⁴ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 9.

building was erected on Park Row for Whitelaw Reid's New York *Tribune*. Although there were some indications of what was to come, New York did not begin to "explode skywards" until the nineties.

"Greater New York" was yet a thing of the future in 1884 as the city was limited to Manhattan Island, though parts of what are now Brooklyn, Queens, and Bronx Boroughs were already considered mere suburbs and a section of Westchester adjacent to the Harlem River had recently been "annexed." Indeed upper Manhattan itself was at this time a suburb of the real city. In the late seventies one could feel the "atmosphere of half-village, half-town" when one reached Broadway and Twenty-Third Street on the old road to Bloomingdale, where so many of the Friendly Sons had once maintained summer homes. The famous old Apthorpe Mansion, built by Charles McEvers' brother-in-law about 1757, was standing as late as 1890 on the Western Boulevard (Broadway) between 78th and 79th Streets.⁵ The McEvers' house, however, had long since disappeared. In 1884, Harlem, once a village, still rejoiced in its "small town" atmosphere, and even in the nineties when it had been thickly built up impressed a visitor as being a city in itself.⁶ Harlem could be reached by the horse cars of the Third Avenue Railroad that ran up Park Row from Broadway to Third Avenue and thence north to the Harlem River. "Hill horses" — extra teams to drag the cars up steep ascents — were needed at many spots along the way.⁷ The cars started just where stood the *Times* Building, erected in 1857-58, on the site of the old Brick Presbyterian Church of which Daniel McCormick had been so proud.⁸ A speedier and pleasanter way of reaching Harlem was by way of the Harlem River boats. John Savage undoubtedly often took these "beautiful white steamers," the *Sylvan Stream*, *Sylvan Glen*, *Sylvan Dell*, and *Sylvan Grove*, on his way to his home in Fordham. These steamers connected at 130th Street with other boats that serviced points on the Harlem River itself — Fordham, Highbridge, Morris Dock, Kingsbridge, Marble Hill, Fort George, and Spuyten Duyvil.⁹ Spuyten Duyvil was a lovely spot in those days. A picture of Kingsbridge about this time shows a low rustic bridge crossing the stream on two masonry piles.¹⁰

Roadway traffic in lower New York, then as now, was immense. Innumerable horsedrawn drays, carts, vans, and wagons kept the city below Canal Street in a perpetual "traffic jam." Before 1884 there were

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⁵ Brown, *In the Golden Nineties*, p. 45.

⁶ Lloyd Morris, *Incredible New York*, N. Y., 1951, pp. 201-2.

⁷ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 4.

⁸ Kouwenhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 302.

⁹ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 5.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

no street cars on Broadway below 14th Street.¹¹ Broadway and also Fifth and Madison Avenues were served by omnibusses, drawn by two teams of horses in summer and often by three in winter when their wheels were replaced by snow runners. Always overcrowded the omnibus could seat thirty passengers with as many more standees. Lighted by evil smelling lamps, in winter they relied for heat on overcrowding and on straw liberally strewn upon the floor. Their drivers were odd characters, described as "a strange, natural, quick-eyed, and wondrous race" by Walt Whitman, who often came over on the ferry from Brooklyn to ride beside them.¹²

As early as 1852 the Common Council had wrangled about franchises to build a double track horse-car line on Broadway between South Ferry and Manhattanville, but nothing came of it until 1884.¹³ In that year one Jake Sharp, representing the Broadway Surface Railroad Company, succeeded in wresting a franchise from the Board of Aldermen, although an opposing bidder, the New York Cable Railroad Company, had offered the City \$1,000,000 for the franchise. Sharp is said to have paid \$25,000 to each of the eighteen Aldermen who voted in his favor. Hugh J. Grant, who was to become a member of the Friendly Sons in 1887, was the only alderman who protested against the "steal."¹⁴ In fairness to Sharp it should be noted that he had begun his fight for a surface railroad on Broadway as early as 1850, and no doubt by this time had grown desperate.¹⁵ Probably hoping to gain from Grant's newly gained popularity, "Tammany Hall nominated him for Mayor in the fall of the same year in an attempt to defeat Mayor William R. Grace, also a member of the Friendly Sons. Grant failed to achieve his ambition at this time, but remained prominent in Tammany Hall, soon aiding Richard Croker to dethrone "Honest John" Kelly as leader of the organization. After considerable litigation, Broadway finally got its street-car lines; but oddly enough the very newspapers that for twenty years had inveighed against the omnibus "nuisance" now bewailed the passing of the gaudy old bus that had become a Broadway "institution." However, the horse-drawn omnibus was not immediately lost to the city. It persisted on Fifth Avenue where it competed with the new motor bus until 1907, when finally the ancient horse-drawn vehicles were withdrawn from service.¹⁶

Transportation was just as vexing a problem in 1884 as it is today. For many years the most pressing need of the city had been "some

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¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹² Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹³ Gilder, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

¹⁴ Gibson, *Attitudes of the New York Irish*, pp. 391-392.

¹⁵ James Blaine Walker, *Fifty Years of Rapid Transit, 1864 to 1917*, New York, 1918, pp. 6, 10.

¹⁶ Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 276.

means of rapid transit between the upper and lower parts of the island." The inconvenience of overcrowded transit facilities bore upon rich and poor alike; but the rich were somewhat better able to cope with the problem. In 1871 the Third Avenue Line was furnishing a "drawing room" car on which the well-to-do could travel in relative comfort for an extra fare of ten cents.¹⁷ In 1875, under authority of a legislative act passed in the same year, Mayor William H. Wickham appointed a Rapid Transit Commission to see if something could be done to solve a problem that had become a "civic obsession."¹⁸ In 1864 Samuel Sloan of the Friendly Sons had been one of the incorporators of the Metropolitan Railway Company, a \$5,000,000 stock company with a well developed plan to build a subway under Broadway and Third Avenue from the Battery to Central Park.¹⁹ The enabling act for an underground railroad passed both houses of the legislature in 1865, only to be vetoed by Governor Reuben E. Fenton.²⁰ All subsequent efforts of this and other companies to obtain permission for an underground steam railroad were blocked, although an experimental pneumatic tube was actually constructed under Broadway from Warren to Murray Streets in 1867. Promoters were unable to overcome the opposition of surface lines, of great landlords like John Jacob Astor and A. T. Stewart, who feared that digging might cause their buildings to collapse, and when the Croton Water Board joined the opposition the subway project was doomed.²¹ Transportation was now forced to go overhead and the first experimental elevated railroad, a cable-driven affair, half-a-mile long from Battery Place northward in Greenwich Street was authorized by the state legislature in 1867.²² This pioneer elevated railroad went broke in 1871, but was reorganized and by 1874 was running with steam locomotives from Greenwich Street and Battery Place to Ninth Avenue and Thirtieth Street. Seven hundred thousand passengers were carried in that year at a fare of ten cents.²³ In 1876 the road was permitted to extend its tracks from Battery Place to South Ferry, much to the dismay of Battery Park lovers.

New York's Rapid Transit Commission, appointed by Mayor Wickham in 1875, set to work vigorously. It decided to build a system of elevated railroads, fanning out from the Battery, along Sixth Avenue to Central Park, along Third and Ninth Avenues, and later on along Second Avenue. Construction was pushed rapidly, and by 1880 the

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¹⁷ Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

¹⁸ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 20; Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 10-12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-35.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 43-45, 56.

²² Gilder, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

²³ *Ibid.*

new system had reached Harlem.²⁴ Most of this elevated mileage was built by John D. Crimmins, a member of the Friendly Sons since 1880.²⁵ Crimmins, one of the foremost builders and contractors in the city, often employed as many as twelve thousand men at one time. He usually worked for private capitalists, never sought city or county contracts, and thus avoided involvement in the somewhat unsavory politics of the day. He is said to have erected more than 400 buildings in New York City, most of them private but some public.²⁶ Both Crimmins and his colleague in the Society, Hugh Grant, eventually came to believe that the city's rapid transit system should be publicly owned. Crimmins was largely instrumental in persuading Mayor Grant, in 1891, to appoint a new transit commission, and it was Crimmins who personally persuaded the members to serve.²⁷ The Rapid Transit Act of 1891, which confirmed this Commission, was guided through the legislature by one of Crimmins' colleagues in the Society, William F. Sheehan, later a prominent traction lawyer and at that time Speaker of the Assembly.²⁸ It was the work of this Commission that eventually led to the building of the first New York subway, at the turn of the century. In the eighties, however, the Crimmins' built elevated rapid transit system, today rapidly passing into oblivion, not only stimulated the growth of the city northward but resulted in radical changes in domestic architecture, which in turn brought even more drastic revisions in the living customs of New Yorkers.

In the decades following the Civil War the architecture of New York's residential districts, as one observer puts it, "was largely the production of job carpenters and a few God-gifted plumbers," who revelled in what was known as brown-stone fronts. "Long rows of these atrocious structures afflicted the city for many years."²⁹ Even the dwellings of the wealthy on Fifth Avenue were so similar that they appeared to be carbon copies of an original model. In the seventies the outskirts of the city had been at 59th Street, where Central Park began, and for some distance south the town still had a "straggling, unfinished look." Within a year after the completion of the elevated lines 500 houses were built above 50th Street; but the most startling result was the construction on a vast scale of what were at first known as "French Flats." Middle income New Yorkers who had always considered ownership of a house the badge of respectability, soon found themselves living in what they preferred to call "apartments," since

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²⁴ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

²⁵ W. B. Shaw, "John D. Crimmins," *D.A.B.*, IV, 544.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-2.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

²⁹ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 25.

"flat" had a vulgar sound as they thought. These "French Flats" had the modern conveniences of "door openers, dumbwaiters, electric bells, and some of the better class, steam heat and hot water."³⁰ Even "gentlemen" condescended to live "on narrow shelves under a common roof," in buildings that were after all only superior versions of the "dumb-bell" tenements that were springing up along the avenues "made dark and incessantly noisy by the miracle of rapid transit."³¹ Param Stevens, the hotel proprietor, built a massive eight-story red brick "apartment house" on 27th Street, that occupied the whole block between Fifth Avenue and Broadway. Two large and fashionable apartment houses were built on the East Side of Park Avenue at 56th and 57th Streets, in a district that was "still a waste land of unpaved streets."³² On the west side of Central Park the million dollar Dakota Apartments were erected at 72nd Street and 8th Avenue. Everywhere north of 42nd Street, "French Flats" were springing up, unfortunately duplicating the sameness that had been the curse of the brown-stone front. The high cost of living was forcing traditional New Yorkers to become "shelf-dwellers."

In the eighties New York was very proud of its Central Park. Twenty years before it had been merely a vast tract of rocky hills, scrubby woods, and swampy wastes, far out of town. Ten years of hard work and the expenditure of nearly ten million dollars, under the direction of Frederick Law Olmstead and Calvert Vaux, had turned it into a triumph of the landscape gardener's art. English visitors noted that it was twice as large as Hyde Park in London, and generally admired its fine roads, smooth green lawns, shady groves, sparkling lakes, and beautifully wooded dells, and many thought its huge gray rocks, which no landscape gardener could disguise, to be things of "rugged majesty" that only added to the beauty of the scene. Yet even in the eighties some disgruntled tourists complained that Central Park was "in the center of nothing," that it was "ill-kept and ragged," and at night "unsafe for either sex;" the last charge only too familiar to New Yorkers of the present day.³³ John D. Crimmins of the Society, who was Park Commissioner 1883 to 1888, would hardly have liked this criticism, which seems to have been quite unfair.

An indication of the cosmopolitan character of New York in those days is to be found in the numerous statues of great men of all nations that studded the park, side by side with those of national heroes. In 1880 the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick had added to the international gallery by dedicating, as the concluding act of the Centennial Cele-

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³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Morris, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-110.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 114.

³³ Still, *op. cit.*, p. 242.

bration of Thomas Moore's birthday, a bust of the poet in Central Park. An original program of the occasion, still in the possession of the Society, reads as follows:

UNVEILING
of the
MOORE MEMORIAL

In Central Park, New York

Friday, May 28th, 1880.

As the concluding act of the Centennial Celebration of the
Poet's Birthday, held in the Academy of Music, May 28, 1879.

at half past 4 o'clock P.M.

1. John Savage, LL.D., First Vice-President of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, will call the meeting to order, and will unveil the Bust of Moore.
2. Hon. George Shea, on behalf of the Moore Memorial Committee, will present the Bust of Moore to the city.
3. His Honor, Edward Cooper, The Mayor of the City, will accept the Monument.
4. Words of thanks and dismissal, from the Presiding Officer.

The reverse side of the Program read:

Society
of the
Friendly Sons of St. Patrick

President
Hon. Chas. P. Daly, LL.D., Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.
Vice-Presidents
First. John Savage, LL.D.
Second. Robert Sewell
Treasurer
William Whiteside
Secretary
Eugene B. Murtha, M.D.
Physician
George Ford, M.D.
Almoner
Hon. Eugene Kelly, Commissioner of Public Education

One of the least attractive features of the city in 1884 was undoubtedly the files of gaunt telegraph poles that stretched mile after mile

along its principal streets.³⁴ A visitor in 1849 describes them as 30 feet high, about 100 yards apart, and says that their wires often traversed Broadway diagonally.³⁵ It was estimated that in 1879 there were 5000 miles of telegraph and telephone wires in the city strung loosely from between 9000 and 10,000 poles. Not only were the poles unpainted, they were untrimmed, crooked, often "sway backed." From them hung obstructive festoons of wires that gave the city the appearance of being "covered with gigantic cobwebs." Few visitors failed to mention the telegraph poles in derogatory terms, and they seemed to some to lend a "touch of the backwoods" to the great American metropolis.³⁶ A law, passed in 1884, required the placing of electric wires underground; but very little was accomplished until the administration of Mayor Hugh J. Grant in 1888, when the work was finally undertaken in earnest. Much of the subway system for wiring was built by John D. Crimmins.³⁷

What finally drove the electric wires underground on Manhattan Island was probably the invention in the seventies of the telephone by Alexander Graham Bell and the equally important invention of the incandescent electric lamp by Thomas Edison about the same time. The first advertisement for the telephone in New York City appeared in 1876 in a program of the American Institute Fair.³⁸ The first lists of subscribers of the Bell Telephone Company of New York were printed on single sheets of paper in 1877 and 1878.³⁹ So far as we have been able to ascertain no member of the Friendly Sons was included in these lists. By the nineties, however, the Bell System had nearly 20,000 subscribers in the metropolitan area. Few persons had a telephone in their home even at the turn of the century. One of the first buildings to use Edison's new invention was the office of the *New York Times* at the junction of Park Row, Nassau, and Spruce Streets, but by the late eighties the lobbies of the hotels and the façades of the theaters were beginning to be illuminated by the incandescent lamp although the streets continued to be lighted by gas lamps.⁴⁰ By the nineties electric lighting had expanded remarkably, with the Edison Company, largest of three competing systems, supplying more than 6,000 customers. It is obvious that such an addition to the overhead system of wiring could not be tolerated. So electric wires had to go underground. Once rid of the eyesore that had afflicted them for so many years New Yorkers thereafter refused to allow overhead wires

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³⁴ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 80.

³⁵ Still, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 209, 231, 362 n.

³⁷ Shaw, "John D. Crimmins," *D.A.B.*, IV, 504.

³⁸ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 12.

³⁹ The "Telephone Book" for 1877 is reproduced *Ibid.*, p. 13, and that for 1878 in Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

to return. Denizens of Manhattan found no charm in the new-fangled electric trolleys that delighted their neighbors in Brooklyn, and when electric cars eventually supplanted horse cars on the avenues of the city during the nineties their power cables were underground not overhead.

With the year 1884 begins a sustained drive to increase membership in the Friendly Sons, accompanied by increasing emphasis on the social features of the association, which unfortunately for a time seems to have had the effect of deemphasizing its benevolent character. At the regular meeting, May 1, 1884, twenty-one members were added to the rolls of the Society including David McClure, who later became president. At the meeting in February following, the rules were suspended to admit seventeen more.⁴¹ On this occasion there joined the Society one of the rising young publishers of the city and nation, Peter Fenelon Collier, who was to be quite active as a member in years to come. Born in Ireland in 1849, Collier had come to America at the age of seventeen, settling in Ohio, where he studied for the priesthood. In the early seventies he came to New York where he sold books from door to door for a Catholic publisher. Failing to interest his employers in a scheme of installment payments he went into business for himself and soon became successful as a publisher of Catholic books. Later on he began to publish standard works, such as Dickens and Shakespeare, at popular prices with installment payments, a field in which he scored an enormous success. He is said to have published more than 50,000,000 volumes during the last thirty years of the century. Since his capital was limited Collier at first had his books manufactured by local printers and bookbinders; but about 1880 he bought a plant of his own that shortly became one of the most complete and efficient printing establishments in the country, employing 700 persons. In 1888, some years after he joined the Society, Collier founded a periodical *Once a Week*, which renamed *Collier's Weekly* in 1896 became for over sixty years one of the leading periodicals in the nation.⁴²

At the meeting which admitted Collier to membership Judge Charles P. Daly retired from the office of president, being succeeded by Joseph J. O'Donohue, who had been a member of the Society since 1867. Only in the last few years had O'Donohue been especially active, but during this period he had apparently gained great popularity with the members. They reelected him in 1886 and, after a lapse of one year, insisted on returning him to office for two more terms in 1888. Secretary John Savage, a life member, also retired at this meeting, with Francis Higgins elected in his place. In 1875 Savage had been

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⁴¹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, May 1, 1884, Feb. 5, 1885.

⁴² W. B. Shaw, "Peter Fenelon Collier," *D.A.B.*, IV, 304-5; *Collier's Encyclopedia*, III, 60.

granted an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by St. John's College, Fordham, in recognition of his services to Catholic higher education and to Catholic publishing.⁴³ He had been for a time editor of the *Manhattan Monthly*, and was the original editor of the *DE LA SALLE MONTHLY*, a Christian Brothers publication.⁴⁴ It was after this meeting, apparently, that Savage removed to Pennsylvania where he died in 1888.

At the beginning of 1885 the Society had on hand a cash balance of \$13,016.34 plus securities whose par value was \$5800. Surprisingly enough only \$39 had been disbursed for charity during the previous year, and for some years to come the charitable disbursements continued to be very small. Perhaps the Irish immigrants of this period were more prosperous than hitherto, or more probably in a great city of over a million people they had lost touch with the members of a society upon whom they had once counted for aid. It may be, too, that organized charity was doing a better job than it had in the past and that such organizations as the Irish Emigrant Society now had sufficient resources to meet all demands upon them. Such had not been the case in the early days of the Emigrant Society, when not infrequently, exhausted funds caused its officers to refer needy cases to their colleagues of the Friendly Sons.⁴⁵ Whatever the reason may have been the cash that was mounting up in the coffers of the Society, invested now and again in bonds of the Equitable Gas Light Company and the West Shore Railroad, was disturbing to the consciences of some of its members. The market value of such holdings had reached \$29,764.44 in February, 1889. In December, 1892, Treasurer Kelly, in a letter to the Society since he could not attend its meeting as he was "prohibited from going out at night," suggested the legal possibility that the Friendly Sons might

dispose of a large portion of this fund to enable some of those few poor (Irish) tenants who are not in a position, on account of the want of funds, to pay their arrears to the landlords and thus avail themselves of the law which would give them the right and title to the land from the government.⁴⁶

Kelly thought that about \$4000 or \$5000 of the fund might be retained and the balance divided among a few of the poor tenants.

In a discussion aroused by Eugene Kelly's letter, James G. Johnson was "earnest" in the expression of the opinion that the Society was

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⁴³ *Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII, 830.

⁴⁴ *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 142; XI, 696.

⁴⁵ *Records of the Society*, Misc., Letter dated Jan. 4, 1849 from Gregory Dillon, President of the Irish Emigrant Society, to C. M. Nanry asking help for a Mrs. Cox, 228 Mott St.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Dec. 8, 1892, Delmonico's, Madison Square.

not living up to the original purpose for which it was organized. He thought that it seemed "to be degenerating into a mere dinner giving matter" and that the funds in its possession should be employed in the relief of indigent persons. On the other hand, James R. Cuming favored the erection of a building, "where not only the Society but also other societies in line with the nationality of the organization could not only be accommodated (sic) but from time to time be entertained."⁴⁷ Such a building, he thought, would at the same time afford facilities as a meeting and club house, where members of the Society could see more of each other, instead of waiting "from one year end to another to renew acquaintances." This discussion ended with no action taken; but by an odd coincidence the situation, presently decried, ceased to exist in the very next year when the return of "depression" to New York placed new demands upon the charity of the Society.

Meanwhile the Friendly Sons prospered, membership increased and Anniversary Dinners were better attended than ever. President Joseph J. O'Donohue presided in 1885 over a dinner at Delmonico's, Madison Square, at which more than 200 members and guests were present. Toasts were responded to as follows:

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|----------------------------|---------------------------------|
| The Day We Celebrate . | Hon. William McAdoo |
| The United States . . . | Congressman Abram S. Hewitt |
| Ireland | Hon. Chauncey M. Depew |
| The State of New York | Attorney-General Dennis O'Brien |
| The City of New York . | Mayor William R. Grace |
| The Army and Navy . | Judge G. P. Hawes |
| The Ladies | Frederick R. Coudert |
| | { R. J. Cortes |
| Our Sister Societies . . . | } Cornelius Vanderbilt, Jr. |

Among those present were Hugh J. Grant, Eugene Kelly, Morgan J. O'Brien, Robert Sewell, Judge Barrett, Elbridge T. Gerry, W. H. Peckham, David McClure, James W. O'Brien, Recorder Frederick Smyth, Senator Jones of Florida, R. J. Morrison, James P. Farrell, Walter S. Johnston, Henry E. Kavanaugh, and James J. Coogan.⁴⁸ Letters of regret were read from President Cleveland, Ex-President Arthur, Henry Ward Beecher, and Governor David B. Hill.⁴⁹

During 1885 thirty-six new members, including, W. Bourke Cockran and Henry McClosky, future Secretary of the Society, were added to the rolls and although some were dropped for nonpayment of dues,

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⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁴⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1885.



JOSEPH J. O'DONOHUE

membership was now well over one hundred. During this and the following year, as well as on later occasions, a number of amendments to the By-Laws of 1832 were proposed, some of which were adopted.⁵⁰ It gradually became evident to the members that the By-Laws were in need of a general revision to take care of the needs of an expanding association in a great city whose huge size required a more realistic approach to the problem of fulfilling the Society's charitable objectives. Finally in 1893 a committee, composed of James S. Coleman, Morgan J. O'Brien, and John P. Brophy, was appointed to revise the By-Laws.⁵¹ At this time the Society had 174 members, which represented a net gain of forty-five in the previous year.

The Anniversary Dinner of 1886, where once again more than 200 members and guests gathered at Delmonico's in Madison Square, saw Henry Ward Beecher respond for the second and last time to the toast "Ireland."⁵² In 1887 when President O'Donohue declined a third term the Society elected James R. Cuming, then a lawyer in active practice in the city. Cuming had been a member since 1880 and a life member since 1882. Born in Belfast, March 1, 1835, his parents were Scots so that he was a life member of the St. Andrew's Society as well as of the Friendly Sons. Cuming had emigrated to America at the age of fourteen, studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1860. Seven years later he became a member of the firm of Brown, Hall, and Vanderpool, a leading law firm of the day. Cuming remained identified with the firm until shortly before his death and contributed greatly to its success under the name Vanderpool, Cuming and Godwin. A director of various corporations he was an elder of the Fourth Presbyterian Church, very active in church work and charity. He was also a member of the Century, Manhattan, and Lawyer's Clubs, and for many years a school trustee. The new president of the Society was noted for his kindly and genial temperament, his fund of humor, and his deep interest in everything concerning Ireland and her prosperity. He is said to have been especially fond of Irish poetry and music.⁵³

President Cuming served only one term in that office, presiding over a successful dinner at Delmonico's, at which once more over 200 members and guests were present. Notably famous guests responded to the toasts. The Tammany orator, W. Bourke Cockran, spoke on "the Day we celebrate;" General William Tecumseh Sherman on the "United States;" and the distinguished lawyer Joseph H. Choate, now at the height of his reputation, responded to "The State of New York." The newly elected mayor, Abram S. Hewitt was not present and his

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⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 4, 1886; March 3, 1887.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 11, 1893.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1886.

⁵³ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-4.



JAMES R. CUMING

reply to the toast "The City of New York" had to be read for him. Other speakers were General Horace K. Porter, David McClure, and Morgan J. O'Brien.⁵⁴

In 1888, year of New York's most famous blizzard, Joseph J. O'Donohue once more had the chair at the Society's Anniversary Dinner. The blizzard, that occurred on March 11th, did not interfere with the dinner which was largely attended; but the presence of Mayor Abram S. Hewitt brought the Friendly Sons once again into the political limelight. Many distinguished speakers graced the occasion including Daniel Dougherty, a mighty-voiced orator who was to put President Cleveland in nomination at the St. Louis Convention in June; General Fitzhugh Lee, Governor of Virginia, Chauncey M. Depew, ex-Judge Noah Davis, Judge Barrett, General Sherman, and Mayor Hewitt.⁵⁵ Hewitt indeed was conspicuously present and his attendance probably caused consternation in the hearts of some of the members for he was at the moment engaged in a bitter controversy with Irish elements in the city. He had not only declined to review the St. Patrick's Day parade, but had refused to allow the Irish flag to fly over City Hall on the 17th of March.⁵⁶

Hewitt now took the opportunity of his reply to a toast "The City of New York" to explain his position to two hundred representatives of the Irish Nation, assembled to honor their patron saint. It is true that Hewitt had never been an enemy of the Irish, that in his youth he had been a great admirer of Thomas Addis Emmet, and that he had even been accused of truckling to the Irish vote when he introduced the "O'Donnell Resolution" while a member of the House of Representatives in 1883.⁵⁷ But Hewitt, as Mayor, apparently resented bitterly some undiplomatic remarks of a committee from the Convention of Irish Societies sent to invite him to review the St. Patrick's Day Parade. They had intimated that since Hewitt owed his election in great part to the Irish vote he was duty bound to review their parade. The Mayor promptly and angrily declined their invitation, declaring that he would review no parade, whether Irish, German, or Italian, as a Democratic politician seeking votes, but only "as Mayor of the whole city and irrespective of party considerations."⁵⁸ Some newspapers approved his stand; but the *Irish-American*, that had enthusiastically supported him in his campaign for mayor against Henry George and Theodore Roosevelt, now turned against him for his "curt and very ungracious

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⁵⁴ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1887.

⁵⁵ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 322.

⁵⁶ Gibson, *op. cit.*, pp. 404, 406.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 368.

⁵⁸ Allan Nevins, *Abram S. Hewitt with Some Account of Peter Cooper*, New York, 1935, p. 511.

refusal" which, however, it ascribed to his natural "dyspeptic surliness" rather than any attempt to affront.⁵⁹

The whole tempest might have died down had not the Board of Aldermen seized the opportunity to stir up trouble by passing a resolution, unanimously, that the Irish flag should be flown over the City Hall on St. Patrick's Day. The Aldermen well knew that only the year before, owing to an Italian demonstration, the Mayor had declared that during his term of office no national flag but the American flag would be flown over City Hall. He therefore ignored the Aldermanic resolution and ordered that only the flags of the United States, State, and City to be flown on the Hall on the 17th of March. All this Mayor Hewitt tried to explain to the Friendly Sons, claiming that government officials had a duty to recognize no difference between the native-born and foreign-born citizens of the country. He ended by telling them "that he hoped the day would come when they would see the Irish flag floating where it ought to float — over a free Ireland."⁶⁰ What the members thought of the incident we do not know, since the minute book of the Society ignores the whole occasion.

The 105th Annual Dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick at Delmonico's, Madison Square, on the evening of March 16th, 1889, was a grand affair with 246 members and guests in attendance.⁶¹ President O'Donohue presided over a guest table at which were seated Grover Cleveland, Ex-President of the United States, Charles P. Daly, John S. Wise, Everett P. Wheeler, John R. Fellows, Hugh J. Grant, Elbridge T. Gerry, Delancy Nicoll, Roswell P. Flower, Col. W. L. Browne, and representatives of the St. George's, St. Andrew's, St. David's, New England, St. Nicholas, and Holland Societies. Six great tables were headed by the Stewards, James S. Coleman, Joseph Leavy, David McClure, Henry McCloskey, Frederick Smyth, and P. F. Collier. Once again the Mayor of the City was a member of the Friendly Sons, Hugh J. Grant. He was present but having to leave early "to review the gallant 69th Regiment," his private secretary, Thomas C. T. Crain, spoke in his place in response to "The City of New York." Charles P. Daly made a magnificent address, of keen interest to members of the Society, and from which we have quoted at length in an earlier chapter. John S. Wise of Virginia reminded his hearers that his father had defended the cause of the civil and religious liberty of the foreign-born in the days of the Know-Nothing party. Elbridge T. Gerry, grandson of a signer of the Declaration of Independence, recalled to the audience the records of Thomas Addis Emmet, Charles O'Connor, and James T. Brady, celebrated Sons of Ireland and all members of their Society.

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⁵⁹ *Irish-American*, March 17, 1888.

⁶⁰ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 406.

⁶¹ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1889, pp. 1-4.

Everett P. Wheeler and Thomas Crain paid tribute to Charles Stewart Parnell, at that time Irish leader in the home-rule movement, and President O'Donohue read a cablegram sent by the Society to Gladstone and Parnell, greeting the united democracy of England and Ireland with the sentiment "Success to Parnellism and patriotism, and defeat to Toryism and crime."⁶²

The guest of honor, Ex-President Grover Cleveland, in a brief but feelingly worded address appealed for union and harmony, the setting aside of all prejudice, in order that America might fulfill her destiny. Upon the completion of his speech, Joseph J. O'Donohue arose to remark:

George Washington was the first honorary member of this society, Henry Ward Beecher was its second, why not make Hon. Grover Cleveland the third?⁶³

Naturally the members responded with an uproarious "Aye." Thus Grover Cleveland became not indeed the third but the first official honorary member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York. As there was no provision in the rules for honorary members it became necessary, once a precedent was established, to amend the By-Laws, which was done during the next few years. O'Donohue should certainly have been in a position to know whether Henry Ward Beecher had been elected a member by acclamation on one of the two occasions when he addressed the Society; but there is no official record of the incident. The reference to George Washington is a palpable error, since the Father of His Country was never a member of the Friendly Sons in New York, but rather an "adopted" member of the Philadelphia Society. Certainly it had not been the custom in the past to elect honorary members; but the absence of evidence is of course not proof that such action had never taken place. When, in the early days of the Society, James Duane resigned as Judge of the Federal District Court, to retire for reasons of health to his Duaneburg estate, he wrote to Robert Ross Waddell, Secretary of the Society, asking whether the rules would permit him to remain as an "honorary member" although of course no longer able to attend meetings.⁶⁴ Destruction of the Society's early records makes it impossible to know what action, if any, was taken on this request.

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⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁶⁴ The original of this letter, dated 17th March, 1794, is in the files of the *New York Historical Society*. In it Duane apologizes for his "involuntary absence on the celebration of the day," due to an illness of four months. He pays a fine tribute to the "honor, patriotism and benevolence" that have always been characteristic of the members of the Friendly Sons.

The Society ordered 250 copies of the proceedings of the Anniversary Dinner of 1889 to be printed and a copy sent to each of the gentlemen who had responded to toasts.⁶⁵ When in February of the following year, Joseph J. O'Donohue gave notice that he could not continue to serve as president, David McClure, a prominent New York attorney with offices at 22 William Street, was elected to succeed him.⁶⁶ McClure had often responded to the toast "The Bench and Bar" at Society Dinners. He had been a member only since 1884 but from 1887 on had served as First Vice-President. He was re-elected President by the members in 1891.

President McClure presided over a successful dinner at Delmonico's, March 17, 1890, when 218 members and guests were present. The speakers on this occasion were Mayor Hugh J. Grant, Chauncey M. Depew, Ellis H. Roberts, W. Bourke Cockran, Gen. Horace Porter, John S. Wise, Rufus B. Cowing, and John R. Fellows.⁶⁷ The continued presence of John S. Wise at the anniversary dinners was owing to the fact that the former Congressman from Virginia had taken up residence in New York in 1888.⁶⁸ The Society now had quite a contingent of Tammany Hall "greats" among its members, including, Grant, Cockran, and Richard Croker, who had been elected to membership in 1888. Croker was never active in the affairs of the Society although he frequently appeared at its anniversary dinners. Croker, with the aid of Grant, Cockran, and Thomas F. Gilroy, also a member of the Friendly Sons, had just a few years before wrested control of Tammany Hall from John Kelly. He was now busily engaged with William F. Sheehan, Democratic boss of Buffalo, and Edward Murphy, Jr., of Troy, in an attempt to block the nomination of Grover Cleveland for President, by substituting for him ex-governor David B. Hill.⁶⁹ Sheehan later moved to New York, becoming a member of the Friendly Sons in 1898. William R. Grace, of the Society, was equally energetic at this time in support of Cleveland, who had been practising law in New York since 1889. The Croker-Sheehan-Murphy trio, in 1891, were able to nominate and elect as Governor, Roswell P. Flower, a New York banker and philanthropist who had been a guest of the Society in 1889; but they failed in their attempt to prevent Cleveland's renomination in 1892. One is inclined to wonder just how successful the Friendly Sons may have been in preventing political discussions at their meetings during these years. In November, 1892 they were to see for the first time a member of their Society elected to the high office of President of the United States.

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⁶⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Sept. 26, 1889.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 6, 1890.

⁶⁷ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 323.

⁶⁸ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, X, 424.

⁶⁹ Gibson, *op. cit.*, p. 444.



DAVID McCLURE

In 1892 John Daniel Crimmins, wealthy New York contractor, became president of the Society, holding that office until February, 1895. He had been very active in the affairs of the Friendly Sons since 1882, and became a life member in 1893. Crimmins, an ardent Democrat, Catholic, and Irish nationalist, was not only a builder and contractor on a large scale, he was a writer of history as well.⁷⁰ For many years he was president of the American Irish Historical Society and his two principal works, *St. Patrick's Day — Its Celebrations in New York and Other American Places, 1737-1845* and *Irish-American Miscellany* contain much information not easily obtainable elsewhere. They have proved of great value in compiling this narrative. It was Crimmins who bought, while on a trip to Ireland, the famous death mask of Robert Emmet, which he presented to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, a grand-nephew of the Irish hero.⁷¹ One fact concerning him seems to have escaped his biographers. It was Crimmins who found in a shop in Norfolk, Virginia, the original "Frenchman's Map" of Colonial Williamsburg, which proved of inestimable value in the restoration of the colonial capital of Virginia by the Rockefeller Foundation. Crimmins presented the map to William and Mary College in 1909.⁷²

Late in 1892 Henry McClosky, secretary of the Society since 1887, died suddenly leaving his records in somewhat confused state. The minutes for 1892 are quite incomplete and there is actually no record in them of the election of officers for that year. The Society's *Year Book* for 1899 lists Eugene Durnin as secretary for 1892 and subsequent *Year Books* have followed suit. In fact, however, Durnin seems only to have served as secretary *pro tem* from December 8, 1892 to the following February when Bartholomew Moynahan was elected to that office.⁷³ In January 1893 the Friendly Sons shifted the locale of their stated and special meetings from Delmonico's Madison Square, where they had been held since 1885, to the new and luxurious Windsor Hotel. Built in the eighties on the east side of Fifth Avenue between Forty-sixth and Forty-seventh Streets, the location of the Windsor had at first been considered "inconveniently remote," but by now it had succeeded the Fifth Avenue Hotel as the uptown center of finance.⁷⁴ In its early days it was the home of Andrew Carnegie and the Shakespearean actor, Edwin Booth.⁷⁵ Its adoption as the scene of the Society's stated meetings probably indicates that most of the members had

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⁷⁰ For a more detailed account of Crimmins than is contained in these pages *vide* Edward J. Maguire, "A Memoir of John D. Crimmins," *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, XVII, (1918), 9-25.

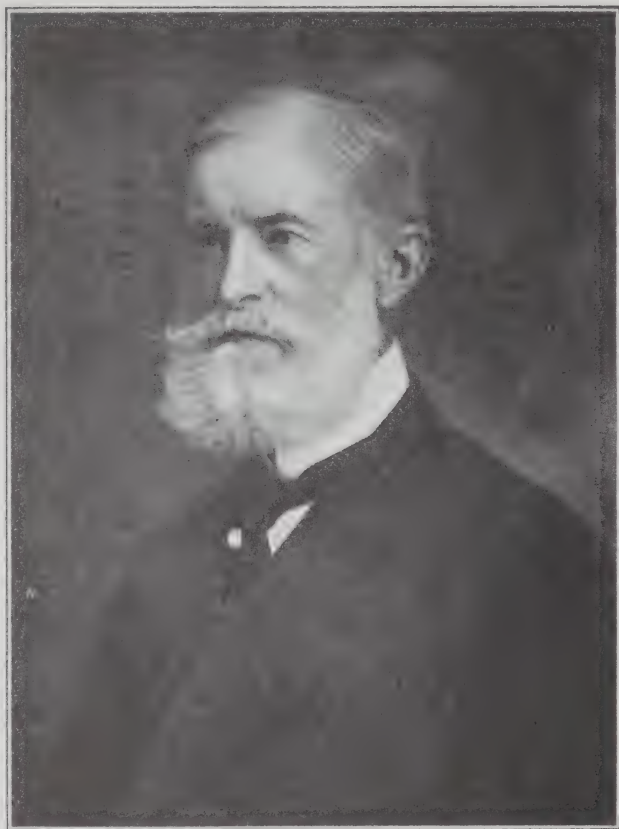
⁷¹ Emmet, *Incidents of My Life*.

⁷² A facsimile of the "Frenchman's Map" is exhibited in the Old Court House Museum at Williamsburg, where its discovery is credited as above.

⁷³ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Dec. 8, 1892; Jan. 18, 1893; Feb. 2, 1893.

⁷⁴ Morris, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

⁷⁵ Brown, *Valentine's Manual*, p. 102.



JOHN DANIEL CRIMMINS

moved so far uptown that the old Madison Square location was no longer convenient. However, the Friendly Sons continued to hold their Anniversary Dinners at Delmonico's for the next three years.

The Anniversary Dinner of 1893 was very well attended. Some 260 members and guests enjoyed a banquet over which James S. Coleman presided, as President Crimmins was absent owing to illness. The Rev. Henry A. Brann, D.D. responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate." He became a member of the Society in 1897. Other speakers included Judge Corcoran of Massachusetts, Joseph H. Choate, St. Clair McKelway, Editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Mayor Thomas F. Gilroy, a member of the Society, Rev. Wm. Lloyd, and William H. McElroy.⁷⁶ The music on this occasion was in charge of Victor Herbert.⁷⁷ During these years large numbers were added to the roll of membership including Col. George B. McClellan, son of the Civil War general and later Mayor of New York; Hugh Hastings, Editor of the *New York Times*; James McMahon, president of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank, and two judges of the State Supreme Court, Edward Patterson, and George C. Barrett.⁷⁸

In the December Meetings in 1893 there was considerable discussion about donations for charity and it was finally unanimously decided that "in view of the prevailing business depression and the consequent widespread distress among so many people" a special committee of charity should be appointed, and the Treasurer was authorized to place \$1000 of the funds of the Society at the disposal of this committee.⁷⁹ The President appointed John Crane, Edward W. Scott, Francis Higgins, James J. Phelan, and John F. Doyle, who threw themselves energetically into the task of aiding the needy. From time to time additional funds were turned over to this committee, notably \$819 in May, 1894 and \$381.50 in January 1895.⁸⁰ A special meeting of the Society was called in the Windsor Hotel, February 19, 1894, at the height of the depression, to consider "the propriety of dispensing with the annual dinner" on the coming 17th of March and devoting the proceeds to aid the "Distressed and Needy Poor of this City." After a long and animated discussion it was decided that the annual dinner should take place but that each member of the Society should be requested to contribute \$12 to the funds of the Society to be used for charity.⁸¹ Demands on the Committee of Charity continued to be high during the winter of 1894-1895; thereafter they began to taper off.

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⁷⁶ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1893.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 6, 1893. This is the first mention of the name of the famous musician in the records of the Society. He later became a member and eventually president of the Friendly Sons.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, January 22, 1891; May 11, 1893.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Dec. 18, 1893.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 7, 1895.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Feb. 19, 1894.

Shortly before the annual dinner in 1894 a special meeting was called at the Windsor Hotel, where thirty-four members were present. A report of the Committee on Charity was read and accepted, and various proposed amendments to the By-Laws prepared by the Committee appointed in the previous year were read to the members. Present at this meeting as the guest of P. F. Collier was the Catholic historian Mons. Bernard O'Reilly. A former Jesuit, for a time located at St. John's College, Fordham, Mons. O'Reilly had spent many years of his life in Rome, where Pope Leo XIII had created him Prothonotary Apostolic.⁸² He was the author of a life of Pope Leo XIII, using materials furnished to him by the Pontiff himself, and was also the author of a biography of Pope Pius IX. But recently returned to New York he was at present chaplain of the Convent of Mount St. Vincent, a position that he was to hold until his death. At this meeting the members suspended the rules to elect him to membership.⁸³ Subsequently, after the revision of the By-Laws he was elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

At this meeting on motion by Miles O'Brien a committee was appointed to present at the 110th Annual Dinner of the Society suitable resolutions in reference to the retirement of Gladstone as Premier of Great Britain. The committee, consisting of Frederick Smyth, Morgan J. O'Brien, Mons. Bernard O'Reilly, Howard Constable, Hugh J. Grant, R. Duncan Harris, and William L. Brown, drew up the following resolutions that were adopted by the Society on March 17.

Whereas, In the withdrawal from office as Premier of England of the Right Honorable William E. Gladstone, the civilized world sees, with equal regrets and admiration the close of an unusually long public career as a leader; devoted alike to the best interests of his native country and to those of humanity; and

Whereas, The last years of this memorable career have been most unselfishly consecrated to the cause of Ireland, in the heroic and persistent endeavor to win and secure for her people the simple need of political and social justice enjoyed by Great Britain and her Colonies; and

Whereas, In this peaceful struggle to restore to the Kingdom of Ireland its ancient Parliament with the rational measure of self-government granted by the Imperial Parliament to Canada, to the colonies of South Africa, Australia, New Zealand and the West Indies, Americans of every race and creed have always deeply sympathized;

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⁸² *Catholic Encyclopedia*, XI, 293.

⁸³ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 5, 1894.

Therefore, we the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, a society dating from the very birth of our Republic, having for founders Irishmen and sons of Irishmen of all denominations and for members some of the fathers of American Liberty, have never ceased to second, by voice, action, or purse the patriotic efforts of Mr. Gladstone, of the Liberal Party of Great Britain and of the friends of Home Rule in Ireland. It is therefore unanimously resolved:

That we recognize and regret the necessity for his retirement as Premier, but trust that, like his prototype, Nestor of old, he may live many years as the Great Commoner, to be the guide and counsellor of his country and see realized his most sanguine expectations in Ireland rejuvenated, with its laws reformed, its commerce restored, its mineral wealth utilized, its manufacturing industries revived, and its people happy and contented.

That, we hereby tender to Mr. Gladstone, with this expression of our admiration, respect and gratitude, the assurance that, in the future as in the past, the great English Liberal Party in their struggle for justice to the Irish Nation shall ever have our warm and active support.

In fine, while confidently trusting that Lord Roseberry, Mr. Gladstone's successor in office, will abate nothing of that statesman's zeal in the cause of Ireland, we cannot forbear from impressing on all to whom this cause is dear the imperious necessity of united action and undivided councils. The fate of Ireland as a Nation must be decided within the next decade. No man who loves her but must stand shoulder to shoulder with his brothers and friends in the supreme crisis.⁸⁴

These resolutions were signed by John D. Crimmins, President; J. S. Coleman, First Vice-President; Edward W. Scott, Second Vice-President; Eugene Kelly, Treasurer; Bartholomew Moynahan, Secretary; and by Frederick Smyth, George C. Barrett, Morgan J. O'Brien, W. L. Brown, Hugh J. Grant, Howard Constable, R. Duncan Harris, and Bernard O'Reilly, D.D., Prothonotary Apostolic. The address, beautifully engrossed, was presented to Gladstone at his home, together with a massive silver testimonial, by a committee appointed for the purpose.⁸⁵

The one hundred and tenth Anniversary Dinner of March 17, 1894 was attended by over 200 members and guests. President John D.

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⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, March 17, 1894.

⁸⁵ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-4.

Crimmins presided over the banquet which was held as usual at Delmonico's in Madison Square. Joseph I. C. Clarke, journalist and Irish-American playwright, responded to the toast, "The Day We Celebrate." Clarke later became president of the Society but at this time was not a member. Other speakers included Senator William Lindsay of Kentucky, Seth Low, former Mayor of Brooklyn but at this time President of Columbia University, Ashbel P. Fitch, J. Jeffry Roche, Catholic journalist and ardent Irish nationalist, and James L. Gordon. The minutes note particularly that, through the kindness of Edward Kelly, New York banker who had but recently joined the Society, the guests were "most pleasantly entertained" by the ballad singing of Harry Pepper. "At 12 o'clock midnight (Sunday having arrived) the Chairman declared the festivities at an end and all departed homeward after a most enjoyable evening."⁸⁶

At the regular meeting, December 5, 1894, held in the Windsor Hotel, Secretary Moynahan announced that he had succeeded in securing all the old records and journals of the Society dating from 1835 together with a mass of documents, reports, and vouchers. Among these was the old Constitution and By-Laws "with the original signatures" of the officers and members of the Society. Unfortunately this valuable document was subsequently lost and is no longer in the possession of the Secretary.⁸⁷ At this meeting Judge Morgan J. O'Brien's committee, that had been at work for a year on revision of the By-Laws, submitted its final report to the Society. Owing to the radical changes proposed, the revised By-Laws had previously been printed up and circulated among the members. Now, with some slight changes, they were unanimously adopted. It is interesting to note that of the thirty members voting "aye," only three could properly be called veterans of the Society, Francis Higgins, 1867, Edward W. Scott, 1878, and Morgan J. O'Brien, 1879. Two more, John D. Crimmins, 1882, and James C. Coleman, 1884 had been members for over ten years, while all the others were of comparatively recent election. Indeed eleven of the members present had belonged to the Society for only one year or less.⁸⁸

The revised By-Laws made provision for three classes of membership, Active, Life, and Honorary, and at first no limitation was placed on the number of active members. Qualifications for membership were relaxed somewhat to permit the admission of male natives and descendants of natives of Ireland twenty-one years of age and over, whereas the old By-Laws of 1832 had restricted membership to natives

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⁸⁶ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1894.

⁸⁷ Information conveyed to the writer by Mr. Richard C. Murphy.

⁸⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Dec. 5, 1894.

and the sons or grandsons of natives.⁸⁹ No qualifications or restrictions were placed on honorary membership although this section was soon amended to provide such, owing possibly to certain experiences of the Society during the next few years.⁹⁰ The Committee on Charity was reduced from five to three members together with the President and Almoner.⁹¹ The latter office was retained although in recent years many holders of the position as well as others had come to consider it superfluous. Membership dues were no longer automatically credited to the Charity Fund, which now consisted of "any sum which by resolution of the Board of Officers, may be set apart for that purpose out of the income of the Society, or from donations of members."⁹²

Under the new rules two secretaries, one Recording and the other Corresponding, were provided instead of the one hitherto found sufficient. This move was no doubt made necessary by the anticipated enlargement in membership. The informal committee system that had grown up over the years was formalized by adding to the original Committee on Charity, Committee on Accounts, and Committee on Finance a Committee on Admissions and a Committee on Anniversary Dinner, "to be otherwise known as 'Stewards'."⁹³ The Stewards and the "Dinner Committee" in the past had not always been the same body. Likewise the informal custom sometimes adopted in recent years of having a committee nominate officers for the ensuing year was incorporated into the By-Laws, which now provided for the election of a nominating committee at the November stated meeting in every year.⁹⁴ Election of officers soon became highly formalized and in time a regular progression from Second Vice-President to President was established, with the President usually serving for two years and no more. Secretaries and treasurer on the other hand generally remained in office for many years.

The adoption of the new By-Laws ushered in a distinctly new era in the life of the Society. In a sense the old Society ceased to exist and a new and quite different organization took its place. The old Society had been a small compact association of members who were personally and individually devoted to the cause of Ireland, which was to most of them the land of their birth, and just as personally and individually interested in dispensing aid to their indigent countrymen who in the past had looked chiefly to them for assistance. The expanded Society in an ever expanding metropolis, with a membership com-

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⁸⁹ Article II, Sect. 1 and 2, Revised By-Laws, 1894, *vide Appendix*.

⁹⁰ Article II, Sect. 3, By-Laws, 1894.

⁹¹ Article VI, Sect. 1, By-Laws, 1894.

⁹² Article VI, Sect. 3.

⁹³ Article III, Sect. 5.

⁹⁴ Article III, Sect. 3.

posed mostly of second and third generation Irish-Americans, was bound to lose the personal touch, hitherto considered so valuable. Inevitably, too, the future emphasis was to be increasingly on the social aspects rather than the benevolent objectives of the Society. Although the Friendly Sons in the twentieth century was yearly to disburse in charity sums far in excess of those possible in its early days, the time would come when fellow New Yorkers would look upon the Society as a purely social club, unaware of its benevolent objectives. This new emphasis on the social side is made clear even before the end of the century with the inauguration of the practice of offering testimonial dinners to prominent members and retiring officers of the Society.⁹⁵ Soon the Charity Committee will begin to dispense its funds through the medium of organized charity, giving lump sums to hospitals, orphan asylums and such like organizations. Something indeed had been lost in the life of the Society. It could never be regained.

Immediately efforts were made to bring membership in the Society up to the limits contemplated by the new By-Laws. The very meeting that adopted the revised rules saw twelve members elected and thirteen more proposed. By January, 1895 the membership numbered 202 of which ten were life members. A special committee on expansion was appointed, following which membership grew rapidly. By 1899 active members numbered 460, plus six life and six honorary members. About this time the rapid expansion of the Society apparently alarmed some of the members, for the By-Laws were amended to set a limit of 500 on active members. Ten years later active membership had reached this constitutional limit of 500, with an additional twenty-six life, three honorary, and four Army and Navy members. It seemed for a time that the expansion of the Society must cease unless the By-Laws were once again amended. But the device of electing large numbers of life members made possible the continued growth of the Society. Subsequently the number of life memberships was limited, but the active memberships was raised several times.

At the January meeting in 1895 John D. Crimmins signified his desire to retire from the presidency. The nominating committee reluctantly accepted his decision, and First Vice-President James S. Coleman was elected to succeed him. Coleman had been a member of the Society since 1884. Edward J. McGuire was elected Corresponding Secretary with Bartholomew Moynahan continuing as Recording Secretary. John Crane became Almoner. At this meeting the Society mourned the loss of its Treasurer, Eugene Kelly, who had passed away on December 19, 1894. Kelly had been a member for thirty-four years during most of which he had served as an officer. Suitable resolutions for the occasion were drawn up by the Society and pre-

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⁹⁵ *Vide infra.*



JAMES S. COLEMAN

sented to his bereaved family. His son, Eugene Kelly, Jr., was elected to membership in the following year, thus continuing his name on the rolls. John D. Crimmins was prevailed upon to accept the office of Treasurer left vacant by the death of its former occupant.⁹⁶

On March 4, 1895, the Secretary announced the death of Richard O'Gorman, "who at the time of his death, February 28, 1895, was the oldest living member of the Society having joined February 5, 1852."⁹⁷ He had been secretary in 1854, 1855, and 1856, and president in 1859. A veteran of the rising of 1848, O'Gorman had been a prominent corporation lawyer in New York, and a popular Irish-American orator. He never lost his interest in the affairs of his mother country, and his whole career is an excellent example of the intense personal efforts of members of the Friendly Sons to aid their suffering countrymen. When famine came to Ireland in 1862 O'Gorman returned to Dublin, where for more than a year he served on the Central Committee for Relief of Distress.⁹⁸ In 1863 his son, Richard, Jr., managed a Ball in New York the proceeds of which, amounting to £825 13s, were forwarded to the Central Committee. Later in the year the younger O'Gorman sent his father an additional £194 16s 10d, receipts from a lecture on Edmund Burke. It is interesting to note that at this time John B. Dillon, a former member of the Friendly Sons and now an Alderman of Dublin was a prominent member of the Central Committee.⁹⁹ For some years before his death the elder O'Gorman, owing to his advanced age, had become inactive in the Society, but his son Richard was elected to membership in January, 1895, upon nomination by his father.

The passing of Richard O'Gorman may be said to have rung down the curtain on the second act of the dramatic life of the Society, one that had begun in 1836. It is true that Judge Charles P. Daly, who was elected to membership only three months after O'Gorman, still survived. But the venerable Judge, now in his eighties, had retired from active participation in affairs and during the last five years of his life played little or no part in the proceedings of the Society. When he died, September 19, 1899, the last link that connected living members of the Friendly Sons with the founders of the Society was severed. No one now lived who could say that he remembered Daniel McCormick. The day of the modern Society had begun.

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⁹⁶ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Jan. 7, 1895.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 4, 1895. Richard O'Gorman had been Corporation Counsel at the time of the Tweed expose. In the name of the City Corporation he had filed suit against Tweed to recover \$6,000,000 which the latter was said to have misappropriated. By act of the New York State Legislature the suit was taken out of his hand and successfully prosecuted against Tweed by Charles O'Connor, as special deputy Attorney General, in the name of the People of the State of New York. Matthew P. Breen, *Thirty Years of New York Politics Up-to-date*, New York, 1899, pp. 543-551.

⁹⁸ *Report of the Central Committee for Relief of Distress in Ireland, 1862-3*; Dublin, 1864, p. 48.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

THE SOCIETY AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY



THE decade that followed the adoption by the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick of their new By-Laws of 1894 was indeed a period of great change and expansion for the modern Society itself, but for the City of New York these same years were marked by even more drastic and radical changes in the political, economic, and social life of the growing metropolis. Old New York became the "Greater City," and the first subway was begun and completed within this decade. Stimulated by improvements in transportation the city's business sections began to reach skyward. By 1900 the race for taller and taller skyscrapers was on. The St. Paul and Park Row Buildings, "tallest buildings in the world" in 1901, were surpassed in the following year by the twenty-one story Flatiron Building at Broadway and Fifth Avenue.¹ The latter remained a show place of the city and the world's most famous skyscraper until completely dwarfed by the 612-foot, forty-seven story Singer Building, erected in 1908.² Threat of war with Great Britain disturbed the city in the early years of this decade, while actual war with Spain in 1898 gave the United States for the first time a colonial empire. In all these events, members of the Friendly Sons were to play leading roles.

In 1895, William L. Strong, a reform candidate, was elected Mayor of New York, following the Lexow Investigation of police corruption in the previous year. Theodore Roosevelt, already a good friend and later an honorary member of the Society, resigned as United States Civil Service Commissioner in May to accept appointment as Police Commissioner of New York City.³ Mayor Strong addressed the 111th Anniversary Dinner in 1895, the last to be held at famous Old Delmonico's on Madison Square. President James S. Coleman presided over 278 members and guests, probably the largest number of covers

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¹ Kouwenhoven, *Columbia Historical Portrait*, pp. 14-15; Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 258.

² *Ibid*; Kouwenhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

³ Thomas H. Russell, *Life and Works of Theodore Roosevelt*, New York, 1919, pp. 132, 3.

ever laid in this hall for the Society.⁴ The great gathering tested to the limit the capacity of the famous old restaurant. The Honorable William McAdoo, not yet a member of the Society, responded to the toast, "The Day We Celebrate." Other speakers included Judge Joseph F. Daly, a member since 1880, and Elbridge T. Gerry, a wealthy New Yorker, who was said to have been prepared to serve a hundred dinner guests at an hour's notice in his palace on Fifth Avenue.⁵ The celebration was a great success thanks to the efforts of Edward J. McGuire, Corresponding Secretary, and an efficient Dinner Committee, consisting of Frederick Smyth, William H. Kelly, Thomas Fitzsimons, Howard Constable, and John J. Rooney.

In this same year, as previously noted, steps were taken to expand the Society as rapidly as possible. Among those elected at this time were George W. Young, President of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company of 59 Cedar Street, Judge James Fitzgerald, and James A. O'Gorman, at that time a justice of the District Court of New York, but later United States Senator. All these would be future "greats" of the Society. Patrick Farrelly, czar of the American News Company, and his brother Stephen Farrelly were elected in the same year and the two publishers immediately became active in the affairs of the Friendly Sons.

In January, 1895, the Committee on Admissions by a vote of four to one "transferred" three names from the list of active members to that of Honorary Members: Erasm J. Jerzmanowski, Randolph Guggenheimer, and Herman Oelrichs. Just why these gentlemen with the un-Irish names were so transferred is a mystery to present day members of the Society. The minutes give no explanation of any extraordinary services to the Society itself, to the cause of Ireland, or to the Irish in New York that would seem to justify placing them by the side of the distinguished Grover Cleveland, William E. Gladstone, and Chauncey M. Depew, at that time the only Honorary Members. Oelrichs, indeed, was a man of great wealth, head of a firm, Oelrichs and Company, that was the American agent for the North German Lloyd Steamship Company. He had some reputation as an amateur athlete and as a collector of art subjects and antiques. Mrs. Oelrichs was a leader of New York Society. Their villa, "Rosecliff," was a showplace in Newport, Rhode Island.⁶ Randolph Guggenheimer, a lawyer, was a large holder of real estate and at this time of some importance in Tammany Hall.⁷ He was senior partner of Guggenheimer, Untermeyer, and

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⁴ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1895.

⁵ Morris, *Incredible New York*, p. 235.

⁶ *Who Was Who in America*, Chicago, 1943, vol. I, p. 911; A catalogue of the art subjects at "Rosecliff," 110 pages, is in the New York Public Library. Oelrichs died in 1906, but the sale took place in 1941.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 494.

Marshall, of which Samuel Untermyer, already rising to a prominent position in the New York bar was a member.⁸ The transfer of these gentlemen to Honorary Membership seems to have been disapproved by some members of the Society, judging from the prompt amendments to the By-Laws that for a short time restored control over admissions to the complete membership, with the provision that seven negative votes would prevent admission.⁹

During the year 1895 the eastern part of present Bronx County was annexed to the city, foreshadowing further expansion to come, and the very important Harlem Ship Canal was opened to traffic. By this time the population of New York had passed the million-and-a-half mark, and already a state commission was at work on plans for a "Greater City," a scheme that had been advocated by Andrew H. Green of Brooklyn, since as early as 1868.¹⁰ In this year young William Randolph Hearst came out of the west to buy the *New York Morning Journal*, transforming it soon into the *New York American*. One year later he started the *New York Evening Journal*. The western publisher's mad scramble for circulation in competition with Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* was soon to have dire consequences for the peace of the nation, for the Hearst publications are generally credited with a major part in stirring up public opinion that finally led to war with Spain. But in 1895 without any particular help from Hearst a wave of jingoism swept over the nation, bringing the United States to the "brink" of war with Great Britain over the Venezuela boundary dispute. The "Irish National Alliance" pledged 100,000 volunteers to support a war. Theodore Roosevelt expressed the hope that war "will come soon," and that if it did, "we would take Canada;" while Charles A. Dana's *New York Sun* carried a headline, "War if Necessary."¹¹ The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick came promptly to the support of their colleague in the White House, adopting the following unanimous resolution:

Resolved, that the prompt action of the President and Congress in appointing a Commission to ascertain the facts in regard to the disputed Venezuelan boundary, meets with the hearty approval of the members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and they endorse the course of this Government in resisting encroachments of any foreign power upon the territory of friendly states in the Continent of America.¹²

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⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 494, 1264.

⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, May 6, Nov. 8, 1895.

¹⁰ "Manna-hatin," *The Story of New York*, p. 183.

¹¹ Thomas A. Bailey, *A Diplomatic History of the American People*, 6th Ed., New York, 1959, pp. 443-4.

¹² *Records of the Society*, Minutes, January 6, 1896.

The international crisis eased during the following year and New Yorkers became preoccupied with domestic affairs. Columbia College, whose president, Seth Low, had recently addressed the Society, became a university in 1896, and in the next year moved from Madison Avenue to its present location on Morningside Heights. The new buildings of the University occupied the site of the former Bloomingdale Asylum for the Insane, in whose establishment Thomas Eddy, an early member of the Society had played such a large part.¹³ The Stewards decided to hold the next anniversary dinner of the Friendly Sons at the glittering Hotel Savoy on the corner of 59th Street and Fifth Avenue, overlooking the Plaza at the entrance to Central Park.¹⁴ The banquetting hall at old Delmonico's, where the Society had dined for the past eleven years was too small to hold the members expected. President James S. Coleman, who had been re-elected in January, presided at a banquet at which no less than 392 members and guests sat down. The list of speakers was particularly distinguished. Popular Judge James Fitzgerald responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate," while the equally popular Chauncey M. Depew spoke for the "United States." Charles A. Dana, dear friend of the Society and of all New York Irishmen, responded to "The Irish in America," while Theodore Roosevelt and Mayor William L. Strong spoke for the State and City of New York, respectively. The dinner was a huge success, and "everything passed off pleasantly." According to the minutes, the large numbers present were

a striking indication of the great growth of the Society in recent years and the marvelous influence its name and fame possess not alone for its members of Irish birth and descent, but for many who have never cast their eyes on the sacred soil of the dear old isle beyond the sea.¹⁵

The year 1896 was a presidential election year and the city and nation were particularly stirred up over the issues involved in the candidacies of William Jennings Bryan and William McKinley. Banker members of the Friendly Sons for the most part were undoubtedly favorable to the gold standard, whereas Tammany Hall, whose principal leaders were all members of the Friendly Sons, was never very enthusiastic about Bryan. The Irish-American vote unquestionably split in this election as it not infrequently did on national issues. The year was one of depression in the city so that the Society, which had been disbursing about \$500 annually in personal charity, found it necessary

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¹³ Kouwenhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 415; *vide supra*.

¹⁴ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 2, 1896.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 18, 1896.

to appropriate an additional \$500 early in November.¹⁶ The *Irish World*, although blaming both parties for the financial troubles of the country, advised its readers to vote for the free silver candidate.¹⁷ That many did not take this advice is evident from the results of the balloting. On the Saturday before the election more than 100,000 McKinley and Gold Standard advocates paraded in New York, said to have been the greatest turnout of marching men since the Union Army mustered out in Washington at the close of the Civil War.¹⁸ The polls opened at six o'clock and before the city ordinarily awakened nearly half of the votes had been cast. McKinley carried the city by a small majority, an unusual event in normally Democratic New York.

Undoubtedly the most important event of the year for the city itself was the final passing by the state legislature of the Greater New York Bill, annexing to Manhattan and the Bronx, the territory now comprising the boroughs of Brooklyn, Queens, and Richmond. A commission was appointed to draw up a charter for the "Greater City." Old Castle Garden, scene of the activities of many of the Friendly Sons through the agency of the Irish Emigrant Society, was opened as the Aquarium in this year.¹⁹ Many new members were added to the rolls of the Society; but perhaps the most interesting addition was the reinstatement of Samuel Sloan, president of the Society from 1857 to 1859.²⁰ Five of the most distinguished members, Morgan J. O'Brien, David McClure, Hugh J. Grant, Frederick Smyth, and William R. Grace, were appointed to the Committee on Admissions.²¹ Shortly thereafter the amendments to the By-Laws adopted in November, 1895, were themselves amended to restore to this Committee full control over the election or rejection of candidates.²²

Grant's Tomb on Riverside Drive was dedicated in 1897 although not completed until later. It was erected on the site of the country estate of George Pollock, president of the Friendly Sons in 1796. New Yorkers will remember Pollock's old residence which survived for many years as the Claremont Inn.²³ It was finally torn down in 1952, giving way to a playground laid out on the site. In 1897, also, was completed New York's most famous hotel, the Waldorf-Astoria, at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-Fourth Street. Four years earlier William Waldorf Astor had erected the Waldorf Hotel on the Northwest corner of Fifth Avenue and Thirty-Third Street "as an act of vengeance against his aunt," Mrs. William B. Astor, whose brick and brown-

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¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, November 16, 1896.

¹⁷ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 178.

¹⁸ Still, *op. cit.*, p. 253; Kouwenhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 434.

¹⁹ "Manna-hatin," *The Story of New York*, p. 259.

²⁰ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, May 4, 1896.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Ibid.*, Minutes, January 18, 1897.

²³ Kouwenhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

stone residence next door was overshadowed by the new hostelry.²⁴ A. T. Stewart's marble palace, on the southwest corner of Thirty-Fourth Street had recently been leased to the Manhattan Club, where Tammany Hall members of the Friendly Sons hobnobbed with southern Democrats like Henry Watterson.²⁵ Perhaps the most lasting legacy of this club to New Yorkers was the invention of the Manhattan cocktail. Crowded out by politicians and taverns the elder Mrs. Astor, leader of New York Society, was forced to move uptown to a magnificent chateau at Sixty-Fifth Street, designed for her by Richard Morris Hunt. Her son, John Jacob Astor, now built on the site of her former mansion the Astoria Hotel. When joined to the Waldorf the new hotel was said to have been the largest and most magnificent "tavern" in the world. Its "Peacock Alley" became famous throughout the nation, and "Meet me at the Waldorf" a byword among New Yorkers. The mammoth hotel, whose gorgeous ballroom could accommodate more guests than Delmonico's, brought about the final eclipse of the famous old restaurant at 26th Street.²⁶

Once again Delmonico's moved uptown, this time to Forty-Fourth Street and Fifth Avenue. The Friendly Sons dined at the Waldorf in 1897, at the Waldorf-Astoria in 1898, returning thereafter for eleven years to the new Delmonico's at Forty-Fourth Street. Until prohibition, Delmonico's remained New York's most fashionable restaurant, unsurpassed for its excellent cuisine, in contradistinction to the more flamboyant "lobster palaces," such as Shanley's and Rector's, that were centers of the night life on Broadway. During these years three members of the Shanley restaurant family, famous along Manhattan's "Great White Way," were elected to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick; but the Society remained faithful to Delmonico's at whose various establishments no less than thirty-six of its anniversary dinners were held in the sixty-year period ending in 1910.

In January, 1897, New York Supreme Court Justice Morgan J. O'Brien was elected President of the Society with Judge Frederick Smythe and ex-mayor William R. Grace as 1st and 2nd Vice-President.²⁷ Judge O'Brien had been exceptionally active in all the affairs of the Friendly Sons since his election to membership as a young lawyer in 1879. He had married Rose Mary Crimmins, daughter of the former president and now treasurer of the Society. Born in New York, April 28, 1852, of parents who had emigrated from County Limerick some thirty years before, O'Brien had graduated from St. John's College, Fordham, in 1872. He received the degree of M.A.

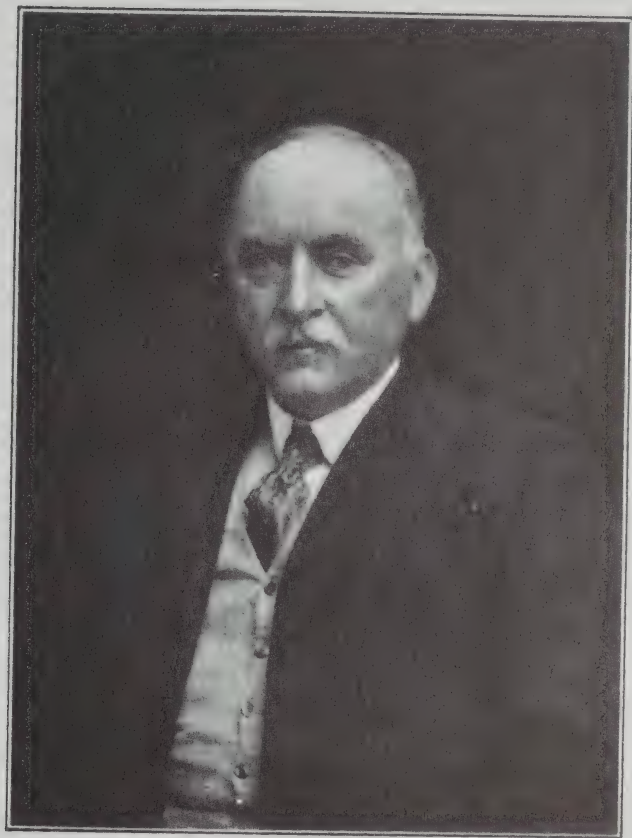
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²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 412.

²⁵ Brown, *Golden Nineties*, p. 312.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 317.

²⁷ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, January 18, 1897.



MORGAN J. O'BRIEN

from St. Francis Xavier College in the following year and two years later graduated from Columbia Law School. He soon began to build up a successful law practice, specializing in corporation and commercial law. Entering politics at an early age, O'Brien became a staunch supporter of Tammany Hall, whose leader, John Kelly, was an old friend of his father's. Although he rose to be Sachem of Tammany Hall and was always on intimate terms with its leaders, Croker and Murphy, O'Brien showed considerable independence of machine politics, and never hesitated to oppose the Hall on important matters when he thought it was wrong. Elected to a fourteen-year term on the State Supreme Court in 1887, the Judge had recently been appointed to the newly created Appellate Division by Republican Governor Eli P. Morton.²⁸

On February 2, 1897, the members of the Society and their guests to the number of 142 attended the performance of the opera "Shamus O'Brien" at the Broadway Theatre, that had been built about ten years before on the site of the Metropolitan Concert Hall, Broadway and Forty-First Street.²⁹ According to the minutes it was the intention of the Society "to do honor to a work, in which an Irish theme was sympathetically treated and whose music was drawn from the inspiration of the genius of Irish folk songs and melodies." The performance was apparently witnessed with great pleasure, and the ladies of the company were presented with bouquets of roses adorned with the colors of the Society. Among those who attended was the venerable Charles P. Daly, described as "still hale and vigorous," who had witnessed the celebration in a similar manner of St. Patrick's Day in 1837, sixty years before, when Tyrone Power, the famous Irish actor, and Daniel Webster had been the Society's guests.

After the theatre a collation was served at the Hotel Manhattan, with President Morgan J. O'Brien presiding. The Society passed a night "of innocent joy" listening to songs of the old land and to addresses by Mr. O'Sullivan of the Broadway Theatre Company. Mr. Jocelyn Johnstone, a Gaelic scholar who had been elected to the Society at the previous meeting, and others spoke on Irish music and literature. Upon adjournment "in the small hours of the morning" it was the unanimous verdict of the members that such occasions were too rare at sixty-year intervals and deserved annual repetition.³⁰

Apparently the Society liked the service at the new Hotel Manhattan for the next stated meeting in March was held there. 106 members present adopted the amendments to the By-Laws affecting the admission of members that had been proposed in January. At this

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²⁸ Mark D. Hirsch, "Morgan J. O'Brien," *D.A.B.*, XXII, 496-7.

²⁹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 2, 1897; Kouwenhoven, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

³⁰ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Feb. 2, 1897.

meeting among others the names of P. J. Kennedy, Barclay Street publisher, and Joseph P. Day, one of the best known real estate brokers of the city, were proposed for membership. About the same time the journalist Joseph I. C. Clarke, later president of the Society, was elected to membership. The Society was growing very rapidly so that when the one hundred and eleventh anniversary dinner was held at the new Waldorf on March 17, 1897, four hundred and eighty-six members and guests sat down to dinner.³¹ The Rev. D. J. Stafford, D.D., responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate," and the Hon. Joseph C. Hendrix to that of "The United States." Other speakers included Chauncey M. Depew, Simeon B. Ford, Ashbel P. Fitch, and Jocelyn Johnstone.³² Telegrams were exchanged with other Irish groups meeting in Charleston, S. C., Brick Church, N. J., and Savannah, Georgia.

For the stated meeting, May 3, 1897, the Society returned to the Windsor Hotel. The Recording Secretary announced the death of Robert Sewell on May 1. Sewell had been an active member of the Society from 1874 and a life member since 1880. He had served as 2nd Vice-President from 1880 to 1883, First Vice-President from 1885 to 1886, and had been chairman of the committee that had inaugurated the great musical festival held in the city under the auspices of the Society in celebration of the centennial of the birth of Thomas Moore in May, 1879. Most of the meetings of this committee had been held at the offices of Robert Sewell, No. 206 Broadway. Suitable resolutions commemorating the passing of a beloved colleague were drawn up. At this same meeting, on motion by Judge Frederick Smyth, and Colonel William L. Brown, the Very Reverend Bernard O'Reilly, papal biographer, who had been a regular member of the Society since 1894 was elected an Honorary Member, without payment of dues.³³

The regular meeting of November 15, 1897, held once again at old Delmonico's in Union Square, was very largely attended with 132 members present.³⁴ Judge Charles P. Daly was present at this meeting, probably the last function of the Society that he attended. The Society mourned the death on June 25 of Joseph J. O'Donohue, a member since 1867, who had served four terms as president, in 1885 and 1886 and again from 1888 to 1890. A committee was appointed to draw up resolutions commemorating this very popular member who had during all these years been "indefatigable in his labors for the Society, tireless in attendance, full of warmest enthusiasm for the objects of the Association; and among his fellow-citizens of the entire country, a credit

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³¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1897.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 3, 1897.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1897.

and glory to the Irish blood of which he was so proud.”³⁵

The year 1898 was one of great activity on the part of the Society. At the January meeting, Morgan J. O'Brien and Frederick Smyth were reelected President and First Vice-President; but when William R. Grace, Second Vice-President, declined reelection because of ill health, ex-mayor Hugh J. Grant “in the interest of the Society” accepted the office.³⁶ All other incumbents were reelected. At this meeting a communication was read from the Immigration Protective League asking the Society to pass a motion submitted, opposing the “Lodge Bill” then pending in Congress. This bill was no doubt the proposed legislation to restrict immigration by means of a literacy test that Senator Lodge had been urging in Congress since 1893. The bill had actually passed Congress in 1897, only to be vetoed by President Grover Cleveland, then a member of the Friendly Sons.³⁷ By this time members seem to have been in disagreement on immigration restriction, a proposal that in earlier days they would have opposed as a unit. A resolution, moved and seconded, to oppose the Lodge Bill met with some dissent. After an attempt to lay the resolution on the table it was finally decided to refer the matter to the officers as a committee with power to act for the Society. There is no evidence in the Minutes that any action was ever taken.

At the regular stated meeting of the Society, held at the Windsor Hotel, March 7, 1898, with 106 members present the Secretary was instructed that it would be unnecessary to write out in the minutes the names of members in attendance.³⁸ From this time on the custom was discontinued so that it becomes impossible to ascertain from the records all of the members present at a meeting. On this occasion the Secretary announced the death of Eugene Durnin, elected in 1889, who had served as temporary secretary in 1892 and 1893. The Stewards announced that arrangements had been made to hold the next annual dinner at the new Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

The one hundred and fourteenth anniversary dinner of the Society, held at the Waldorf-Astoria, March 17, 1898, was a huge affair. Six hundred and one covers were laid for the members and their guests. In addition one hundred and thirty-four ladies, friends and relatives of the members, occupied the boxes around the large banquet hall. Speakers included: Chauncey M. Depew, O'Neill Ryan, Augustus Thomas, and Addison B. Colvin. The toast “Ninety-eight,” was responded to by Patrick A. Collins, an Irish-born lawyer soon to be elected Mayor of Boston. This dinner was held on the centennial

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³⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 3, 1898.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Fred A. Shannon, *America's Economic Growth*, 3rd Ed., New York, 1951, p. 687.

³⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 17, 1898.

anniversary of the '98 uprising, in which Thomas Addis Emmet, William James Macneven, and other earlier members of the Society had been leaders. The stewards had made special efforts for the enjoyment of the large attendance. For reasons that are unrecorded the results seem to have been disappointing. Secretary Moynahan remarks that "as far as the number of members present and the number and respectability of their guests was concerned, the dinner was an unqualifiedly splendid success." The Society never returned to the Waldorf-Astoria for an anniversary dinner.

In April, 1898, war came once more to the United States. The New York Irish cannot be said to have been too enthusiastic about a war with Catholic Spain nor about the experiments in imperialism that followed it. The Catholic press in general did not welcome the war. Patrick Ford, in *The Irish World*, called Spain the land of saints, churchmen, and heroes, and expressed the opinion that she had been forced into war by a jingo-American press.³⁹ But when Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood organized the "Rough Riders," a regiment of volunteer cavalry that served with distinction throughout the Cuban campaign, very many Irishmen joined the ranks, if we can judge from the names on the regimental muster roll.⁴⁰ The Irish-American playwright and journalist, Joseph I. C. Clarke, a member of the Friendly Sons, wrote a poem, "The Fighting Race," to commemorate the many Irish names in the *Maine* disaster.⁴¹ This poem, better known as the "Kellys and Burkes and Sheas" became very popular in the post-war period. New York's Irish regiment, the "Fighting Sixty-Ninth," immediately volunteered for service, and once again, as in the Civil War, the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick adopted the regiment as its very own.⁴² Between May 2nd and November 21, 1898, the Society expended in behalf of the regiment \$2,667 and received in subscriptions for its fund, \$1,975.⁴³

According to its regimental commander Colonel Edward Duffy, who was elected a member of the Friendly Sons in 1898, when the call for volunteers came to the Sixty-Ninth, officers and men responded "with unanimous voice," declaring that "we are prepared at a moment's notice to undertake any duty to which, and in any quarter, we may be assigned."⁴⁴ The regiment entered Camp Black, L. I., with ten full companies and one thousand names on its muster roll.⁴⁵ While some

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³⁹ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 178.

⁴⁰ Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, New York, 1899, Appendix A, pp. 238-269.

⁴¹ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

⁴² *Records of the Society*, Minutes, May 2, 1898.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 21, 1898.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, "Reply of Colonel Duffy," Minutes, May 20, 1898.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

naturally failed to pass the medical examination, their places were immediately filled by others so that the regiment remained at full strength. Early in May the Friendly Sons had resolved to present to the 69th Regiment a stand of colors, National, State, and Irish flags, and the following committee had been appointed to carry this resolution into effect: James S. Coleman, James Fitzgerald, Maurice J. Power, John G. O'Keefe, and Edward W. Scott.⁴⁶

Presentation of the colors was made, May 20, 1898, at Camp Black, near Hempstead, L. I., where more than one hundred members of the Society participated in an impressive ceremony.⁴⁷ James S. Coleman, chairman of the committee, presented Judge Morgan J. O'Brien, who made a brief address recalling the Society's similar presentation of flags to the regiment in 1861. Following Judge O'Brien, the Hon. James Fitzgerald made the formal speech of presentation, to which Colonel Duffy replied for the Sixty-Ninth. In the evening the officers of the regiment gave a dinner at the Garden City Hotel to the visiting members of the Society and to General Charles F. Roe, Colonel George Moore Smith and the officers of other Regiments then stationed at Camp Black. The report of the presentation ceremonies made to the Society by Judge Fitzgerald in the absence of the committee chairman is worth recording here.

The Committee . . . went out to present the flags without any idea of what was going on at Camp Black. If we had endeavored to arrange it, we could not possibly have done better. Providence was exceedingly kind to us, and we approached that camp ground under circumstances that were auspicious and, I might say, will become historical. At the moment the Committee left the train the entire command of the 69th were being drawn up in line, and as soon as we got near where the regiment was, we found that we on behalf of this historical Irish-American Society giving to a representative Irish-American regiment, colors to entrust them with on their going forward to what we then thought might be a prolonged war — we found that by accident or within the designs of Providence, we arrived just at the moment when eleven hundred stalwart arms were being raised to high Heaven and the 69th N. Y. was being sworn in as the 69th United States Volunteers. It was exceedingly beautiful and appropriate and a thrill of patriotic pride went through the hearts of every member of the Committee and of every one who was on the ground. After that interesting ceremonial was finished, the

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⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 2, 1898.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 20, 1898.

regiment was again placed in position and the President of our Society and the Flag Committee were introduced and the presentation of the flags took place. After the flags were received by Col. Duffy on behalf of the command, the regiment marched past your Committee, and the scene was of a nature not soon to be forgotten by all who participated therein. It was a dark evening, very little sunshine — just in the gloaming, and as the men marched by where the Committee stood, in the full vigor of health with the swinging gait of soldiers, they presented an appearance that indicated that the flags we gave them were intrusted to worthy hands. As they marched past with their flags flying, they seemed to disappear into the darkness, the night was falling, and by the time the last company had gone by, the first company was scarcely visible. It was a good deal like a vanishing scene on the stage. And a gentleman of a poetic nature who wrote on the subject afterwards — Mr. J. I. C. Clarke — one of our members — was forced into expressions of the most poetic nature in which he said that the vanishing appearance of the first company before the last went by, typified the future into which they were going, which they knew not of, but which we and they felt, was a future that no matter what of danger, what of suffering it would entail the Irish blood and name as represented by that old gallant regiment of Corcoran and Meagher, would be maintained in the face of any enemy and against all odds . . .⁴⁸

At the same meeting, November 21, 1898, at which Judge Fitzgerald reported, General Charles F. Roe, a West Point graduate who had commanded at Camp Black when the flag presentation was made, was elected a member of the Friendly Sons. General Roe had been major-general, N.G.S.N.Y., but was at that time brigadier-general, United States Volunteers.⁴⁹ Both his parents were natives of Ireland.⁵⁰ During the war the Society had sent a congratulatory telegram to President William McKinley on the occasion of Dewey's victory in Manila Bay.⁵¹ When William E. Gladstone, an honorary member of the Friendly Sons, died May 19, 1898, the Society sent a cable of condolence to his bereaved widow.⁵²

After a "brief but glorious" war the "Rough Riders" returned to New York to be mustered out at Camp Wheeler, Montauk Point, L. I.,

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⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 21, 1898.

⁴⁹ Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VII, 45.

⁵⁰ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Nov. 21, 1898.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 2, 1898.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 19, 1898.

on September 15, 1898.⁵³ Thus Theodore Roosevelt was released from military service in time to be placed in nomination for governor of New York by Chauncey M. Depew, an honorary member of the Society, in the Republican state convention at Saratoga, September 27, 1898.⁵⁴ The Republicans set aside Gov. Frank S. Black in favor of the war hero, who won the election by a scant plurality of 17,786 votes over Augustus Van Wyck, the Democratic candidate.⁵⁵ The Sixty-Ninth Regiment did not return to the city until some time after the "Rough Riders." On January 9, 1899 the Society appointed a Committee, comprising the officers, Gen. Roe and Gen. George Moore Smith with power to look after their home coming. Gen. Smith had been a member of the Society since 1897. The Friendly Sons entertained the "Fighting Irish" on their return at a cost of \$410.⁵⁶

On the whole the Spanish war was too far away and of too brief duration deeply to affect the lives of New Yorkers. More important perhaps was the fact that Greater New York finally got its charter with Robert Van Wyck taking office as mayor of the greater city on January 1, 1898. The new charter, hastily drawn, immediately showed many grave defects, not the least of which was the establishment of a bicameral Municipal Assembly, consisting of a Council and a Board of Aldermen.⁵⁷ Governor Theodore Roosevelt soon found it necessary to appoint a Charter Revision Commission to which he named John D. Crimmins, treasurer of the Friendly Sons.⁵⁸ Under the revised charter of 1901 the city's bicameral legislature once again gave way to a single-chambered Board of Aldermen.⁵⁹ This body, however, never regained its former power and after 1905 when the Aldermen lost the right to grant franchises it yielded in importance to the Board of Estimate.

Randolph Guggenheimer, honorary member of the Friendly Sons, was president of the New York Municipal Council during its short existence. About this time he became famous or rather notorious throughout the nation because of a fantastically luxurious banquet which he gave to the elite of Tammany Hall and their wives at the new Waldorf-Astoria.⁶⁰ Although the function took place in the dead of winter when the city was suffering from exceeding cold, midsummer prevailed in the banquet hall. Forty guests sat down under an arbor "festooned with immense clusters of hothouse grapes," and surrounded with flowering rosebushes and rare caged song birds. The center of

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⁵³ Thomas H. Russell, *Life and Work of Theodore Roosevelt*, New York, 1919, p. 163.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁵⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Jan. 9, 1899.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 6, 1899.

⁵⁷ Frederick Shaw, *The History of the New York City Legislature*, New York, 1954, pp. 8-9.

⁵⁸ W. B. Shaw, "John D. Crimmins, D.A.B., IV, 544.

⁵⁹ Shaw, *City Legislature*, p. 12.

⁶⁰ For a description of the banquet *vide* Morris, *Incredible New York*, p. 243.

the table was a mass of orchids, acacias, lilies and American beauties. The lucullan repast, graced with the finest vintage wines, was the creation of the famous Oscar of the Waldorf. Favors were jeweled match-boxes for the gentlemen and jeweled perfume bottles for the ladies. The dinner cost \$10,000, or two hundred and fifty dollars a plate. Since the leaders of Tammany Hall were all members of the Society at this time, many of the Friendly Sons must have been present. One wonders what Judge Charles P. Daly, who never approved of the Tammany leadership, thought of this function.

The last great social event of the year 1898 was a testimonial dinner given by the Society to its popular member James Fitzgerald, Justice of the New York Supreme Court. This complimentary dinner, held at Delmonico's was a delightful success. Music was furnished by Bayne's Sixty-Ninth Regiment Band with several solos and choruses. President Morgan J. O'Brien, now Justice of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, presided for the occasion, which was attended by eleven Supreme Court Justices, the leading members of the New York bench and bar, several ex-mayors of the city, and Richard Croker, leader of Tammany Hall.⁶¹ This is probably the last function of the Society attended by Croker, who had been a not very active member since 1888. Thereafter he spent most of his time in Europe, yielding the leadership of Tammany Hall in 1902 to Charles Francis Murphy, also a member of the Friendly Sons. Murphy remained leader of Tammany Hall until 1924 and under his leadership that organization reached the zenith of its power. Murphy, who believed in the principle that "clean politics was judicious politics," is said to have made Tammany comparatively respectable.⁶² He filled the principal city offices with honest and capable men, and curbed the dishonest instincts of lesser lights with iron discipline. Men prominent in state and national politics like Alfred E. Smith, Robert J. Wagner, Edward J. Flynn, and James A. Foley, got their start under Murphy. Most of them became members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, and the Society could well be proud of the distinction with which they served the American people.

At the preparatory meeting, January 9, 1899, held in the Forty-Fourth Street Delmonico's, President O'Brien presided over a gathering of more than one hundred members.⁶³ The officers for the previous year were reelected. William Temple Emmet, a descendant of the hero of 1798, and a future president of the Society was proposed for membership by John D. Crimmins and James S. Coleman. At a March 3, 1899 meeting of the Admissions Committee, thirty-three new members

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⁶¹ Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, p. 325.

⁶² Shaw, *City Legislature*, p. 141.

⁶³ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Jan. 9, 1899.

were added to the rolls of the Society. So rapid was the growth of the Society that apparently some members became alarmed. At any rate without any seeming dissent at the next stated meeting, with ninety members present, Article II, Sect. 1 of the By-Laws was amended to limit active membership in the Society to five hundred.⁶⁴ This limitation was later changed.

The one hundred and fifteenth Anniversary Dinner of the Society was held March 17, 1899, at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue and Forty-Fourth Street, where President Morgan J. O'Brien presided over a gathering of 473 members and guests.⁶⁵ Speakers included Thomas B. Minahan, Chauncey M. Depew, the Rev. George E. Strobbridge, D.D., Governor Theodore Roosevelt, and Alton B. Parker, later Democratic candidate for President of the United States. The Society continued to grow, with seventy-nine members added during this year.⁶⁶ At the November stated meeting the Secretary announced the death of two life members of the Society: James R. Cuming, a former president, on June 11, 1899, and the venerable Charles P. Daly, who died September 19, 1899. At this meeting the members authorized a payment of \$300 to the widow of Charles H. Birney, a former officer of the Society, who was now in financial distress. The Society also resolved to endow a bed in St. Vincent's Hospital for the use of members and their immediate families, and the sum of \$2500 was appropriated for this purpose. At the conclusion of the business meeting an informal reception was tendered to the Hon. Daniel Tallon, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and the Hon. John E. Redmond, famous Irish member of Parliament, who were invited to be present.⁶⁷

A brief sentence in the minutes of this same meeting recalls memories of the early days of the Society: "On motion, duly seconded, the President was authorized to write to the Rev. M. J. Henry, Director of the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary, a letter endorsing the good work of said mission."⁶⁸ Members present could hardly have realized any connection between this Mission, founded for the protection of Irish immigrant girls, and an early member of the Society. No. 7 State Street where the mission was located is the only survivor of a row of houses owned and probably built by James Watson in 1791. Watson, a wealthy New York merchant, was a member of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick at least as early as 1805. The present building "with its three-foot-thick walls of beautifully laid red brick" is a tribute to the structural abilities of post-revolutionary New York. The mission,

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⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 3, 1899.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1899.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, January 2, 1900.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, November 27, 1899.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

established in 1883 through the efforts of Charlotte Grace O'Brien, daughter of William Smith O'Brien, Irish patriot of 1848, was for some four years under the direction of Father Joseph Riordan. The Rev. Michael J. Henry, mentioned above, had been director of the mission since 1896 and was to continue to his death in 1922. Between 1883 and 1936 No. 7 State Street played host to nearly one hundred and seventy thousand Irish girls. In a single night no less than three hundred and fifty-six girls were sheltered in the old brick house.⁶⁹ Small wonder that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick should endorse the work of this splendid mission, so dear to the heart of Monsignor Michael J. Lavelle, soon to become a member of the Society.

The last year of the century saw New York once more facing the problem of an inadequate transportation system. Great improvements indeed had been made in the last ten years and although cable cars and horse cars were common in the early nineties, by the end of the decade New York's rapid transit had been almost completely electrified. Yet much remained to be done. The time had certainly come for the construction of the city's first subway, projected so many years before, and electrification would seem to have removed the last obstacle in its path. Yet, even at this late date, the Board of Rapid Transit Railroad Commissioners found it exceedingly difficult to award a contract since many of the leading transportation men of the city, including Chauncey M. Depew, were skeptical of the financial success of any underground railroad if such indeed could be constructed at all.⁷⁰ Nor was John Whalen, a member of the Friendly Sons who had been appointed Corporation Counsel by Mayor Van Wyck, particularly helpful with his reluctance to approve the type of contract that had been drawn up by the Commissioners.⁷¹ That the project was actually undertaken at this time was owing to the courage and initiative of two men, John B. McDonald, a member of the Friendly Sons already in the front rank of American railroad builders, and August Belmont, apparently the only banker of his day with sufficient imagination and grit to risk his fortune on such a precarious venture. McDonald bid \$35,000,000 for the whole job, and in January, 1900 was awarded the contract to construct the road and to operate it under lease for fifty years. When other financial backers failed to keep their verbal agreements, August Belmont came to McDonald's assistance with the necessary financial backing.⁷²

John Bartholomew McDonald, born in County Cork, Ireland, November 7, 1844, had been brought to New York by his father three

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⁶⁹ Gilder, *The Battery*, pp. 162-6.

⁷⁰ Walker, *Fifty Years of Rapid Transit*, pp. 154, 163.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 157, 159-60.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 163, 164, 168.

years later. The elder McDonald had progressed from day laborer to contractor, alderman, and Tammany stalwart. John B., with only a common school education, was while still in his early twenties at first inspector of construction on the Vanderbilt tunnels of the New York Central and Harlem River Railroad, and later a sub-contractor on the 96th Street improvements of that road. When his father died, John took over the contracting business which he immediately began to expand. In that great day of American railroad building he soon was in the foremost ranks of railroad constructors. Among his principal contracts were the West Shore, from Weehawken to Buffalo, the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western from Binghamton to Buffalo, and branches of the Baltimore and Ohio and the Illinois Central Railroads. His latest and perhaps most spectacular feat had been the construction of the Baltimore Belt Railroad that connected with the Baltimore and Ohio by means of a two-mile tunnel bored through the heart of the city of Baltimore. This project had cost \$8,000,000. McDonald is described as a "quiet, unassuming man of retiring habits and disposition," but a born executive and a positive genius in the supervision of vast and complicated engineering projects.⁷³ After thirty years away from the city he had recently returned to New York, becoming a member of the Friendly Sons in 1900.

August Belmont, second of that name, had been head of the Wall Street banking house of August Belmont and Company since the death of his father in 1890. The first August, of German Jewish extraction, had come to New York in 1837 as the agent of the Rothschilds. A man of personal charm, great wealth, and a patron of the arts, the elder Belmont was very popular in his adopted country. He had married Catherine Slidell Perry, daughter of the Commander Matthew C. Perry, who had "opened up" Japan to the West. The Commodore's mother, Sarah Wallace Alexander, was a native of Ireland. Thus the younger Belmont had Irish blood in his veins. When he came to the rescue of McDonald he did so at considerable financial risk as it was necessary immediately to make payments to the city of over a million dollars with no security but a slip of paper signed by McDonald, who was sole owner of the contract. As Belmont said many years later, while he had implicit faith in McDonald's integrity "if anything had happened to him I would have been in a dangerous position."⁷⁴ August Belmont never became a member of the Friendly Sons; but his elder brother, Perry, was a member from 1897 to his death in 1948. The Irish blood inherited from his maternal ancestors was, under the By-Laws of 1894, sufficient to qualify him. Perry Belmont, a lawyer,

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⁷³ John I. Parcel, "John B. McDonald," *D.A.B.*, XII, 16-17; Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. 228; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, VI, 16.

⁷⁴ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

was also intimately connected with the execution of the subway contracts. All three Belmonts were very active and influential in the Democratic Party, to which they contributed a great deal of time and money. The first August was American minister to the Netherlands from 1853 to 1857; the second was frequently treasurer of the Democratic National Committee; while Perry Belmont had been United States minister to Spain in 1888.⁷⁵

Belmont and McDonald now organized the Rapid Transit Subway Construction Company to take over the construction of the subway. This was a \$6,000,000 corporation, to the stock of which August Belmont, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and George W. Young, President of the United States Mortgage and Trust Company and a member of the Friendly Sons, were heavy subscribers.⁷⁶ Belmont was Chairman of the Board and McDonald was vice-president of this company. McDonald had agreed to assign his operating lease to a second company to be formed by Belmont; but when they tried to get a charter from the State Legislature real difficulties were encountered. The old street car interests were very powerful in state politics and since they feared to lose revenue because of competition from the new subway, for a time they succeeded in closing the door in Belmont's face. The railways of the city were at this time controlled by two separate companies, the Manhattan Elevated Company and the Metropolitan Street Railway Company. The first was owned by the Jay Gould and Russell Sage interests and the second by Thomas F. Ryan and William C. Whitney, a power in the Democratic Party who had been Secretary of the Navy in President Cleveland's cabinet.⁷⁷

For a time it seemed that Belmont and McDonald would not be able to get their charter, so strong were the New York railway magnates with Tammany Hall and Albany. Indeed Belmont was forced, in desperation, to buy the City Island Railroads, a small company in the Bronx, intending if necessary to use its franchise to run his new subway.⁷⁸ But a personal appeal by Belmont to William C. Whitney caused that influential gentleman to call off the political "dogs of war," so that the Interborough Rapid Transit Company was finally incorporated in April, 1902.⁷⁹ This Company, which originally had a capital of \$25,000,000 included among its incorporators John B. McDonald and George W. Young. Both members of the Friendly Sons were named as directors.

Work on the new subway began March 24, 1900. The whole project

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⁷⁵ Allan L. Churchill, "August Belmont," *D.A.B.*, II, pp. 169-170; Collier's *Encyclopaedia*, I, 480; Harper's *Encyclopaedia*, I, 314.

⁷⁶ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 169, 171, 182.

had been divided into seventeen contract sections with twelve sub-contractors some of whom handled more than one section. The Degnon-McLean Contracting Company, whose two sections extended from City Hall to Great Jones and Centre Streets, were the first to begin work. Michael J. Degnon and Arthur A. McLean, partners in this company, were both members of the Friendly Sons. Many of their colleagues in the Society had a large share in the great work, including John Fox of John Fox and Company that handled all the cast iron requirements.

Construction progressed rapidly despite strikes and other obstacles so that on October 27, 1904, the first train left City Hall Station bound for 145th Street and Broadway.⁸⁰ It was operated by Mayor George B. McClellan, a member of the Friendly Sons since 1891, who had been called back from Washington after five terms in Congress to defeat Mayor Seth Low in the election of 1903.⁸¹ McClellan's prestige as the only son of the famous Civil War General was thus used by Charles F. Murphy, now leader of Tammany Hall, to combat the highly respected Seth Low who had wrested control of the city from the Democratic machine two years before. In this manner a member of the Friendly Sons, third mayor of the Greater City, came to preside over the ceremonies attending the completion of New York's first subway.

Another member of the Friendly Sons had an indirect but important connection with the city's underground transportation system. This was Thomas F. Ryan who had been a member since 1887 although never particularly active in the affairs of the Society.⁸² On January 1, 1903, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, operating agent of the new subway, leased the Manhattan Elevated Railway for 999 years. Two years later, after the death of William C. Whitney, Thomas F. Ryan, now in sole control of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company forced the Interborough to merge with his Metropolitan at a cost to the former of \$40,000,000.⁸³ He accomplished this by applying for a charter for a rival subway which would, he proposed, exchange transfers with his Metropolitan surface lines. Thus an astute financier succeeded in unloading upon the Belmont-McDonald interests New York's obsolescent street car lines which, as it turned out, were in much worse shape than Belmont had realized.⁸⁴ The old system had to be reorganized and put into shape for efficient operation. To do this a new holding company was formed, the Interborough-Metropolitan Company, with a capital of \$155,000,000. John B. McDonald was one of its five directors.

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⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

⁸¹ Harold C. Syrett, "George Brinton McClellan," *D.A.B.*, XXII, pp. 401-2.

⁸² We have found no evidence that Ryan ever attended a meeting of the Society. Of course the records are incomplete.

⁸³ Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

In January, 1900 Judge Morgan J. O'Brien retired from the presidency after three terms in office during which the Society had prospered to an extraordinary degree. Membership now totaled 507, including six honorary and four life members. James A. O'Gorman, now a Supreme Court Justice, was elected to succeed O'Brien, with Edward Patterson and Constantine J. MacGuire as Vice-Presidents, John J. Rooney replaced Edward J. McGuire as Corresponding Secretary, with other incumbents retaining their offices.⁸⁵ The Society decided to tender its retiring president a complimentary dinner and a committee of twenty-five was appointed to manage the affair.

The testimonial dinner to Judge O'Brien was held at Delmonico's on January 31, 1900. President O'Gorman presided over 350 members and guests that included eighteen Judges of the highest courts in the city, and the Most Reverend Michael J. Corrigan, Archbishop of New York. The speakers were Judge O'Gorman, Judge O'Brien, Judge Fitzgerald, Joseph C. Hendrix, Julien T. Davies, Judge Henry A. Gildersleeve, Ex-Senator Thomas C. O'Sullivan, a member of the Society, and M. Worley Platzek.⁸⁶ A beautiful gold and silver loving cup was presented to Judge O'Brien. According to the minutes, the proceedings "passed off very pleasantly, and everything fitted an occasion peculiarly appropriate to the deeds, character, and life of a peculiarly able and lovable man." Morgan J. O'Brien was at this time at the height of his judicial career. One year later he would be reelected to a fourteen year term on the Supreme Court bench, and in 1905 a Republican Governor appointed him presiding justice of the court's Appellate Division. Already a leader in Catholic Charities, in 1908 Pope Pius X made him a Knight of St. Gregory.⁸⁷

The 116th Anniversary Dinner of the Society took place at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue and 44th Street, on March 17, 1900. President O'Gorman had the chair with over 450 members and guests in attendance. So large was the gathering that it overflowed the restaurant's main dining hall so that an annex had to be put to use. Speakers included Judge O'Gorman, Michael J. Ryan, John A. Wise, Thomas C. O'Sullivan, John W. Kellar, General Wesley Merritt, and Michael Monahan. Active membership in the Society had about reached capacity. There was now a waiting list of thirty and only deaths or resig-

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⁸⁵ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Jan. 2, 1900.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, January 31, 1900.

⁸⁷ Hirsch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 496-7. In 1906 O'Brien retired from the bench to return to law practice. During three active decades that followed he attained a high position at the bar. Perhaps his best known case was *Hammer v. Dagenhart* (247 U.S., 251 (1918)) in which he persuaded the Supreme Court of the unconstitutionality of the Federal Child Labor Act of 1916. When Charles Evans Hughes retired from the U. S. Supreme Court in 1916, the living ex-presidents of the New York State Bar Association unanimously urged O'Brien's nomination to the nation's highest court. Political reasons in an election year prevented his nomination.



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nations could make possible any addition to the rolls. On March 12, 1900 the initiation fee had been raised to \$10, possibly with the expectation that applications for membership would thereby be slowed down.

In August, 1900 the Society lost by death a devoted member, Frederick Smyth, former recorder who at the time of his death had been serving on the State Supreme Court bench. Judge Smyth had been a member since 1871. At the November stated meeting the Society adopted resolutions mourning the loss of this "kind, considerate, and high-minded" gentleman who had "illustrated in his personality the highest type . . . of the ideal Irishman and the true American citizen."⁸⁸ At this same meeting Edward J. McGuire, of the committee appointed to draft a memorial for Charles P. Daly, reported as follows:

A Memorial of Hon. Charles P. Daly, who died at the City of New York, on September 19, 1899, aged eighty-five years. He joined the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1852. He was its President from 1860 to 1863 and again in 1870. In 1878 he was once more chosen as its highest officer. He served the Society as such for six years until 1885 — when having reached seventy years of age he refused re-election. His career as a Justice of the Court of Common Pleas ended at the same time, when after forty years of continuous service he laid off his judicial robes on reaching the limit of age fixed by law. The legal limitation of judicial service did not in his case coincide with any natural limitation by his intellectual powers or physical strength by advancing years. He continued for nearly fourteen years longer his active interest in the affairs of the community and in the close pursuits of his scholarly and beautiful life. His wonderful strength and vigor in age is further shown by this, that he was not willing to retire from labor in his profession of the law upon leaving the bench, although his means were ample, but became the head of an important law firm with which he remained connected until his death. His energy and strength of purpose, his sympathy and high honor were the prominent traits of a character which for nearly three generations filled the public eye in the City of New York. His career beginning in poverty and obscurity as a sailor before the mast, expanded by force of his native ability and honorable activity, joined with a spotless integrity until already a noted man at twenty-five years of age,

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⁸⁸ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1900.

his elevation to the bench at thirty fixed the lines which measure the stage upon which he played his noble part of a Christian Irish-American gentleman, until the day when full of years and honors, beloved and venerated, with not one to speak a word that was not in his praise, he answered the dread summons, that he had courageously waited for and desired in the hope of a blessed immortality.

To this Society, Chief Justice Daly held an unique relation. He linked its present with its past — besides he was a part of the life of New York and he confined his activity to no narrow sphere or circle, limited by race or religious conditions, and yet his heart, generous and sympathetic, went out wholly without reserve to the people of his own Irish blood and he honored and gloried in the race from which he sprang.

This Society was the ancient and leading Irish Society of the City was most dear to him. He valued its traditions and its history which he knew better than any other man. He appreciated its high purpose and he saw with keen and trained mental vision its great value. His zeal never flagged. No service was too hard for him to render to it. He kept it vigorous during times of apathy. He preserved it secure in its high character, and its complete service to its original purpose during his numerous terms as President, and while in charge of its administration.

The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick places upon its minutes this brief memorial of one of its most illustrious members and its most faithful servants to record its appreciation of his great service and of his spotless character and to show its just pride in one who made his Irish name and his Irish race an honor and an ornament to this great City during a life of great movement and important circumstances which covered troublous times and extended through three generations.⁸⁹

At a meeting of the Admissions Committee in December 1900, Sir Thomas Lipton, Irish tea merchant and famed international sportsman was elected an honorary member of the Society.⁹⁰ Lipton, representing the Royal Ulster Yacht Club was at this time a challenger for the America's Cup. His *Shamrock II* lost to *Columbia* in the following year. At the stated meeting of the Society, March 4, 1901, the Record-

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⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, The memorial is slightly in error regarding Judge Daly's age. He was born October 31, 1816 and would have been 83 not 85 years of age at his next birthday. When he declined reelection as president of the Society in 1885 he was in his seventieth year.

⁹⁰ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Dec. 31, 1900.

ing Secretary, Bartholomew Moynahan, reported that both he and the President had received several communications from the Hon. Percy Sanderson, British Consul-General in New York, and from E. N. Beddell, secretary of a memorial committee organized for the purpose of holding services in Trinity Church on February 2, 1901, in regard to the recent death of Queen Victoria of England, inviting the Society in conjunction with other societies to participate at such memorial services. The Secretary informed the members that he had replied on February 1, to the British Consul General's "courteous invitation," stating "that the Society has taken no action in the matter."⁹¹ To the historian of the Society this rather curt action is indicative of the political changes that have taken place during the past one hundred years. During the early years of the Society, when most of its members were native born Irishmen, the Sons regularly toasted the "King of Great Britain and Ireland" at its anniversary dinners, and were always on most cordial relations with his British Majesty's Consul-General, who seldom failed to appear as a guest on St. Patrick's Day. Now that the Society was composed for the most part of first or second generation Irish-Americans it was evident that one hundred years of struggle for freedom of the mother country from the English yoke had left their bitter mark. This bitterness was soon to be manifested in a particular manner by many of the New York Irish Americans on the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

The 117th Annual Dinner of the Society took place at Delmonico's on March 18, 1901. President O'Gorman, who had been reelected with the other officers in January, presided over a gathering of about 450 members and guests. In his presidential address Judge O'Gorman took occasion to explain the Society's refusal to take part in the Queen Victoria ceremonies, which had apparently created quite a stir in the city. As he put it, to Englishmen Victoria was a great queen, but "the Irish could take no part in the manifestations of grief and sorrow following her death without the grossest betrayal of their own nationality." Her reign to the Irish was a period of successive famines and desolation, unparalleled emigration, repeated suspension of the *habeas corpus* act and other assaults upon the liberty of the subject. When she came to the throne, Ireland's population had been 9,000,000. Now at the close of her reign it was reduced to 4,000,000. He expressed the hope that the King, her successor, would see to it that Ireland would have at least the same liberty as Australia and Canada.⁹²

Among the honored guests on this occasion was the Right Reverend John M. Farley, D.D., who in the following year became Archbishop of New York. Also present were John Daly, Mayor of Limerick, Sena-

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⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 18, 1901.

⁹² *Ibid.*, Proceedings of the 117th Annual Dinner, p. 15.

tor Thomas H. Carter of Montana, and the newly elected Senator Thomas Kearns of Utah. Among those who responded to toasts were Senator John Thurston of Nebraska, Rear-Admiral Albert Smith Barker, a veteran of both the Civil and Spanish Wars, Congressman Allan L. McDermott of New Jersey, James J. Walsh, M.D., of Fordham University, and Job E. Hedges. Chauncey M. Depew, although not on the toast list, attended the dinner unexpectedly. This distinguished honorary member of the Society had been elected United States Senator from New York in 1899, and Congress was now in session. However, Depew seldom failed to speak at the annual St. Patrick's Day Dinner, and this was not to be one of those occasions. Following the Nebraska Senator's response to the toast "The United States," Depew "rose to resent Senator Thurston's intimation that he was 117 years old." While denying that he had attended the Society's banquets from its inception Depew admitted that although absent for the past two years owing to Senatorial duties, "prior to that time for a quarter of a century there was no Seventeenth of March that did not find me with my brethren of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick."⁹³

President O'Gorman read a letter from another distinguished honorary member of the Society, Grover Cleveland, who explained his absence by the fact that he was celebrating tonight the sixty-fourth anniversary of his own birth, an occasion when his family naturally expected him to be at home.⁹⁴ Irish ballads, sung by William Ludwig gave great pleasure to the members and everything passed off in an "exceedingly satisfactory manner."⁹⁵

At the stated meeting of November, 1901 a number of important events were recorded. The Society drew up resolutions expressing its horror at the tragic death of President William McKinley, who "stricken down by an anarchist assassin in the City of Buffalo" had breathed his last on September 14, 1901. The resolution praised the deceased President for his "broadminded liberality of sentiment and action, his kindness and courtesy as a man" and expressed the profound sympathy of the members to his bereaved widow. Engrossed copies were sent to Mrs. McKinley and to the President of the United States.⁹⁶

At this same meeting a "beautiful bog oak harp," presented to the Society by Sir Thomas Lipton, new Honorary Member, was formally accepted and a letter of thanks sent to the donor. An amendment to the By-Laws proposed at the previous meeting was adopted unanimously, whereby an Army and Navy list was added to the Society,

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⁹³ *Ibid.*, Proceedings, p. 28; Minutes, March 18, 1901.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Proceedings, p. 15.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 18, 1901.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 18, 1901.

admission to which was to be governed by the qualifications of regular membership with the exception that "no annual fees or initiation fees shall be charged." This custom has been continued to the present day. On motion Brigadier-General Michael V. Sheridan was unanimously elected to membership on the Army and Navy list. Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, was unanimously elected an Honorary Member at the same meeting.⁹⁷ The following communication was sent to the President, notifying him of his election:

New York,
November 18, 1901

Hon. Theodore Roosevelt,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We have the honor to inform you that at its first regular meeting since your name was proposed in May, 1901, The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York, this day unanimously elected you an Honorary Member.

The Society is gratified to have you on its roll of membership, and begs to assure you that your kindly courtesies and companionship in many occasions in the past are well remembered and are reciprocated in the high regard ever entertained by its members whether as private citizen or filling the exalted position you so worthily occupy to-day.

We are directed also to present to you the accompanying medal of the Society, recalling the fact that the only other occasion on which similar action was taken was in 1782 when our parent society of Philadelphia elected to membership your illustrious predecessor, General Washington, who, in response to the Society's action, stated "I accept with singular pleasure the ensign of so worthy a fraternity as that of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, a society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the cause in which we are all embarked."⁹⁸

We have the honor to remain,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) James A. O'Gorman,
President

(Signed) Bartholomew Moynahan,
Secretary

120 Broadway

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⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 6, 1902.

At the preparatory meeting of the Society held at Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue and 44th Street, January 6, 1902, more than 250 members were present. Stephen Farrelly, Chairman of the Admissions Committee, reported that the active membership had once more reached the limit and that there was now a waiting list of sixty-seven. On recommendation by the nominating committee the incumbent officers were reelected for a third term. A communication from Judge Morgan J. O'Brien explaining this recommendation was read to the Society. Speaking for himself and the committee which included James S. Coleman, David McClure, Francis Higgins, and William Temple Emmet, Judge O'Brien expressed the opinion that the present administration should be carried over in order to put into effect certain "advantageous changes in reference to the property and income of the Society and the disposition thereof." These suggested changes he proceeded to summarize.

First and most important it was felt that the bonds and securities of the Society should be placed in a permanent form in the shape of "an irrevocable trust, so as to guard it in the future against dissipation," and that "since there is no necessity for further increasing it" the fund should not be added to except from natural increase in the value of the securities. Income or interest earned thereon should hereafter be paid over to the Treasurer and become part of the general or current funds of the Society available for its general purposes.

The second suggestion made was that the Initiation Fees should be increased to \$50 and the annual dues should remain as they are at \$5 per year, and that these too should form a part of the General Fund for general purposes. Since from these two sources a considerable sum would accrue yearly, more than enough to defray the ordinary expenses and those of the social entertainments at the quarterly meetings, there would be left a considerable amount that could be applied to the charitable objects of the Society. Speaking in the name of the committee and of many of the members who had expressed similar opinions, Judge O'Brien felt that the Society "could do much more in the way of charity" and believed that it was the desire of the members "that in a substantial and practical way we should carry out this which was the principal object that the founders of the Society had in mind when it was organized."⁹⁹

After some discussion Judge O'Brien's suggestions were referred to the officers with the request that they report on the subject at the next meeting. However at this time it was unanimously resolved that the Treasurer pay out of funds in his hands the sum of \$500 to the St. Vincent de Paul Society, \$250 to the Presbyterian Hospital, \$150

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⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

to St. Joseph's Hospital for Consumptives and \$150 to the Mission of Our Lady of the Rosary for the Protection of Irish Immigrant Girls.¹⁰⁰ No report of the officers is recorded in the minutes of the next regular meeting and what formal action, if any, was taken on Judge O'Brien's proposals is not known. Unfortunately there is a gap in the minutes between January 5, 1903 and November 12, 1915, which leaves us without detailed information regarding the proceedings of the Society for a period of over twelve years. During this period, while continuing to appropriate \$500 or more each year for disbursement by the almoner in personal charity, the Society inaugurated the practice of donating the sum of \$2,000 to various organized charities each year at Christmastime. Income from investments and fees from life memberships continued to be credited to the Permanent Fund; but regular membership dues were raised to \$10 annually. Thus the Society was able to meet the increased expenditures for charity as well as the cost of certain innovations of a social nature. The Permanent Fund grew rapidly so that by November 1, 1915, the assets of the Society totaled \$79,518.24 of which \$71,911.87 consisted of stocks and bonds, at cost, with cash deposits of \$7,603.37 in the Equitable Trust Company.¹⁰¹

Minutes for the anniversary dinner on March 17, 1902 are missing but the Dinner Book for that year shows that it was held as usual at Delmonico's with President O'Gorman presiding. The Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Conaty, President of Catholic University, Washington, D. C., responded to the toast "The Day." Other speakers included William M. Byrne, U. S. District Attorney of Wilmington, Delaware; Rev. Joseph H. Twichell of Hartford, Conn.; Thomas Francis Grady, Mayor Seth Low, and the Spanish War Hero, Captain Richard P. Hobson, USN. In his presidential address Judge O'Gorman took particular occasion to honor Samuel Sloan, "the oldest member of the Society," who had entered its ranks in 1843 "long before the birth of most of you."¹⁰² Among the honored guests was Alton Brooks Parker, Chief Justice of the New York Supreme Court who was to resign that office in 1904 to accept the Democratic nomination for President.

At the stated meeting of May 5, 1902, J. I. C. Clarke suggested the advisability of the Society taking action in recognition of the forthcoming visit to the United States of an official delegation sent by the French Government to attend the unveiling of the statue in Washington, D. C., of General Count de Rochambeau, who had commanded the French Army at Yorktown. It was resolved that the Society tender a dinner to the visiting French mission "in recognition of the fraternal ties binding the French and Irish peoples." The officers of the Society

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¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1915.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Proceedings of the 118th Annual Dinner.

were instructed to communicate with the French Ambassador, and were empowered to act in the name of the Friendly Sons.¹⁰³

The Rochambeau Monument was unveiled at Washington, D. C., May 24, 1902, and on May 29th the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick gave a reception and dinner at Delmonico's to the French governmental mission headed by Le Général de Division Brugère. So great were the social demands on the French delegation that they had been compelled to limit attendance at any one event to two hours. The entire evening, however, was given to the Society, owing, so the Dinner Book assures us to the expressed wish of President Theodore Roosevelt.¹⁰⁴ President O'Gorman presided at the dinner which was attended by Jules Martin Cambon, the French Ambassador, and by Herbert H. D. Pierce, third assistant Secretary of State, who represented the President of the United States. The Right Reverend John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, Minn., delivered the main address. Other speakers included the French Ambassador, W. Bourke Cockran, Judge James Fitzgerald, and Judge O'Gorman.

On his return to France General Brugère wrote a very cordial letter to President O'Gorman thanking the Society for its hospitality and informing him that he had asked the French Government to send to the Friendly Sons a vase "which I have chosen" from the National Manufactory of Sevres. General Brugère sent his photograph to President O'Gorman and requested the latter's in return. The vase, "a dignified, simple, and elegant piece," was subsequently placed by the Society in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, as was also a portrait of Daniel O'Connell by the Irish artist, Martin Archer Shee, a gift by John D. Crimmins.¹⁰⁵

The Society entertained Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, and the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Nugent of Liverpool, England, at its stated meeting of November 17, 1902. The Archbishop in a "delightful and eloquent" address urged upon the Society the duty of advocating the erection of a monument to the memory of Commodore John Barry, Irish-born "Father of the American Navy," suggesting that a statue be placed in a public square in Washington, D. C. The members decided to undertake this project and a committee consisting of Joseph I. C. Clarke, Daniel O'Day, Frank C. Travers, Hugh Kelly, and John J. Lenehan was appointed to carry it into effect.¹⁰⁶ Apparently this committee threw itself energetically into the work but due to the absence of minutes for the next few years it is difficult to follow the details of their efforts. The plan as originally developed called for

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¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 5, 1902.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Proceedings of the Rochambeau Dinner.

¹⁰⁵ Crimmins, *op. cit.*, pp. 326-7. There is a photograph of the Sevres Vase in the Society's Year Book for 1905.

¹⁰⁶ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Nov. 17, 1902.

the erection of a monument in the City of New York, the cost to be defrayed by popular subscription.¹⁰⁷ This plan was dropped when Congress became interested and announced its willingness to make the monument the expression of the grateful tribute of a nation. Several different sculptors were considered for the project including the Irish-born Augustus Saint-Gaudens; but the work was finally entrusted to John Boyle. It was not completed until the Spring of 1914.

At the preparatory meeting of January 5, 1903, Judge James Fitzgerald was elected President to succeed James A. O'Gorman, with Joseph I. C. Clarke and Michael J. Drummond as Vice-Presidents. John D. Crimmins remained as Treasurer; but John J. Lenehan and William Temple Emmet replaced Bartholomew Moynahan and John J. Rooney as Recording Secretary and Corresponding Secretary.¹⁰⁸ This slate of officials was subsequently reelected in 1904 and 1905. The new president, a Justice of the State Supreme Court, had been a very popular member of the Society since 1895. Born in County Limerick, Ireland, in 1851 he had been brought to New York by his parents. Here he attended De La Salle Institute, followed by night college at Cooper Union. Eventually he received his law degree from Columbia Law School. Fitzgerald had served in the State Assembly in 1877, and in the Senate in 1881 and 1882, where he became somewhat of a party leader. In 1884 he was appointed chief assistant District Attorney of New York County. In 1889 he was nominated as Judge of the Court of General Sessions and in the election that followed he defeated the very popular Judge Henry A. Gildersleeve, the Tammany candidate.¹⁰⁹ The two remained fast friends thereafter. Fitzgerald remained on the General Sessions bench until 1898, and upon his retirement the Friendly Sons had given him a testimonial. Now one of his first duties as president of the Society was to preside, on February 3, 1903, at a testimonial dinner tendered to James A. O'Gorman on the occasion of his retirement from the office of president after three very successful years.

The O'Gorman dinner saw some three hundred members and guests sit down to one of Delmonico's typical repasts. Among the guests were several ex-presidents of the Society including David McClure, James S. Coleman, Morgan J. O'Brien, and that "grand old man of the Society" Samuel Sloan, now in his eighty-fifth year. The Supreme Court bench was strongly represented by Charles H. Van Brunt, Edward Patterson, Frank C. Laughlin, Henry A. Gildersleeve, Edward W. Hatch, Charles H. Truax, Francis M. Scott and others. David McClure spoke on the history of the Society recalling many of its past

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¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1915.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 5, 1903.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Necrology, 1925, p. 39.



JAMES FITZGERALD

"greats," among them Richard O'Gorman whom he described as the greatest orator that he had ever heard. Hugh J. Hastings, former president of the Friendly Sons was recalled as "one of the brightest minds in journalism 'who' made a dead newspaper live." Hugh Hastings, State Historian at this time, was his son. McClure also reminded the members that American-born John Dillon, at this time with John Redmond a leader of the Irish Parliamentary movement, was the son of a former member of the Society. John Blake Dillon, who with other veterans of the rising of Forty-Eight had joined the Friendly Sons in the fifties. Justice Morgan J. O'Brien presented to the retiring president, James A. O'Gorman, a handsome silver set of 158 pieces as a token of respect from the members.¹¹⁰

The anniversary dinners of 1903 and 1904, both held at Delmonico's, were very well attended. In the former year some 600 members and their guests celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the death of the Irish patriot Robert Emmet. Archbishop John M. Farley made a brief address. In 1904 more than five hundred were present and "never was the vast banquet hall so resplendent with green flags, golden harps and gleaming lights, all interspersed with the glorious colors of the Union."¹¹¹ A telegram of congratulations and good wishes from a "fellow member," Theodore Roosevelt, President of the United States, was read on this occasion. Although the minutes for these years are missing, we learn from the Dinner Books that Francis Higgins was serving as Almoner, with David McClure, Daniel O'Day and John F. Carroll as Committee on Accounts. W. Bourke Cockran, Edward F. O'Dwyer, and the veteran Samuel Sloan formed the Committee on Charity, while William McAdoo, but recently became a member, had joined James O'Gorman, Constantine MacGuire, Howard Constable, and James Dunne on the Committee of Admissions. Membership now totaled 517, of whom 500 were active with a waiting list of 81. As of January 9, 1905, the assets of the Society included securities amounting to \$44,139.58 at cost, with a cash balance in the City Trust Company of \$2,232.57. During the year 1904 Charitable Disbursements by resolution had reached \$2,055.50 with an additional \$1,034.80 distributed through the Committee on Charity. It is interesting to note that the Society still owned sixty shares of Bank of the Manhattan Company stock, which, originally costing \$3,000 now had a market value of \$9,750. The total market value of securities held showed an appreciation of \$16,340.42. Evidently the Society was in excellent financial condition.¹¹²

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¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Proceedings of O'Gorman Banquet.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, Proceedings of 120th Annual Dinner.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1905.



President Theodore Roosevelt entering the banquet hall

MICHAEL J. BANNON
 JAMES TULLY
 THOS. P. WHITE
 JOS. F. RYAN
 VINCENT P. TRAVERS
 JOHN O'SULLIVAN
 EDWARD J. CURRY
 GEO. G. DE WITT
 ANDREW A. MCCORMICK
 JOHN F. CARROLL
 WM. T. EMMET
 WM. N. PENNEY
 JAMES A. O'GORMAN
 EDWARD D. FARRELL
 JOHN V. DONAHUE

W. BOURKE COCKRAN
 JOHN J. LENEHAN
 SAMUEL SLOAN
 DAVID McCLURE
 FRANCIS J. QUINLAN
 THOS. ADDIS EMMET
 JOHN D. CRIMMINS
 JOHN J. DELANY
 WM. T. McMANIS
 FRANK TYREE
 J. I. C. CLARKE
 PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
 CONSTANTINE J. McGUIRE
 FRANCIS A. CURRY
 HENRY L. BOGERT

M. J. LAVELLE
 THOS. H. HUBBARD
 EUGENE A. PHILBIN
 JOHN BYRNE
 MILES M. O'BRIEN
 JAMES FITZGERALD
 WILLIAM LOEB, JR.
 WILLIAM McADOO
 THOS. F. RYAN
 JOHN STEWART
 BARTHOLOMEW MOYNAHAN
 MARTIN J. KEOGH
 JOHN FOX
 FRANCIS HIGGINS
 M. J. DRUMMOND

CHAPTER XVII

THE SOCIETY IN WORLD WAR I



THE 121st Anniversary Dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick held at Delmonico's on March 17, 1905, was one of the great social events in the history of the New York Society. For the first time the Friendly Sons had the honor to entertain a fellow member while he actually held office as President of the United States. Months before Judge Fitzgerald had invited the President to attend the coming dinner. The following reply is characteristic of the great showman then occupying the White House. The original, typewritten on White House stationery but signed by the President with inserts in his own handwriting, is still in the possession of the Society.¹

White House,
Washington

November 29, 1904

My dear Judge Fitzgerald:

I thank you for your invitation of the 26th. It is a little difficult for a President to make definite engagements (so far in advance,) but I intend if it is possible to be with you at the dinner of my fellow members of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick on March 17th next. If by any accident I find myself unable to come, I shall, with the permission of the Society, attend the following year instead. Just at present I am not able to make a definite answer for next March. In a month I think I shall be able to tell you definitely. If I do come would it be possible to have Mayor Byrne and Mr. Travers on the committee of escort? I understand that Colonel Duffy of the 69th wishes to escort me to the dinner with his regiment, or a portion of it. Of course, if the Colonel so desires it would be a peculiar pleasure to me to have this done. (With many thanks,)

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

Theodore Roosevelt

Hon. James Fitzgerald

President, Friendly Sons of St. Patrick
New York, New York

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¹ *Records of the Society*, Miscellaneous, Letter of Theodore Roosevelt, Nov. 29, 1904.

The President found it possible to attend the 121st Anniversary Dinner of the Society, and upon his arrival in the city was escorted to Delmonico's by the 69th Regiment under the command of Colonel Duffy, a member of the Society since 1898. According to the *Proceedings* of the Dinner:

A great concourse filled the adjacent streets and the President's approach was heralded by resounding cheers. Having entered Delmonico's the President soon appeared upon the Fifth Avenue balcony, whence he received the Sixty-Ninth. The setting sun of a brilliant day smiled upon a cheering multitude and a regiment of Irish-American soldiers passing in review to the strains of Irish music before the delighted Chief Magistrate of the Republic.²

According to the *New York Sun* the President got the "warmest welcome New York ever gave him" on this occasion. As the regiment marched away the President was conducted to the Assembly Room where he held a reception before the dinner. Judge Fitzgerald, President of the Society, an old friend who had served with Roosevelt in the New York State Legislature many years before, stood beside him while he received the members, the Judge introducing them as they came forward. The President said a few words to each, and stopped dozens of old friends for a longer chat. When Roosevelt entered the golden dining room he received a tremendous ovation which shook the walls of the great hall moving Admiral Lord Beresford of the British Navy, who saw the climax from the gallery, to remark, "Quite an unusual demonstration." Six hundred and fifteen members and guests each waving an American flag and an Irish flag drowned out the orchestra that was trying to play the Star-Spangled Banner.³

Souvenirs for the occasion were plaques of golden bronze in bas-relief displaying an allegorical figure of Erin holding American and Irish flags above Washington and Roosevelt, thus recalling that the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1782 had entertained George Washington as victorious General in Chief of the Colonial Armies, and now extended the same warm Celtic welcome to the brilliant son of New York who was seated in the Presidential chair.⁴

A large and distinguished list of guests, only some of whom can be mentioned, attended the banquet. Among those seated on the dais were Colonel Edward Duffy, Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. J. Lavelle, Vicar General

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² *Ibid.*, Proceedings of the 121st Annual Dinner, March 17, 1905.

³ *New York Sun*, March 17, 1905; *Records of the Society*, Proceedings of 121st Annual Dinner; Crimmins, *Irish-American Miscellany*, p. 351.

⁴ *Records of the Society*, Proceedings of 121st Annual Dinner.

of the Archdiocese, Judge James A. O'Gorman, David McClure, Samuel Sloan, and Police Commissioner William McAdoo, all of whom were members of the Society. Seated close to the President was the eminent physician, Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet. After a lifetime devoted to the cause of Ireland this distinguished grandson of the hero of Forty-eight had finally joined the Society only the year before. Others seated at the head-table included Martin J. Keogh and James Fitzgerald, Justices of the State Supreme Court; W. Bourke Cockran, John J. Delany, Corporation Counsel; Hamilton Fish, Assistant United States Treasurer, and Lieutenant Colonel J. Duncan Emmet of the 69th Regiment. The oldest member present, after Samuel Sloan, was Robert J. Hoguet, who had been a member since 1860 and a life member since 1880.⁵

President Roosevelt made one of his typical speeches in response to the toast the "President of the United States." Judge Martin J. Keogh spoke on the "Irish Revival," and Joseph I. C. Clarke read a poem, "Rough Rider O'Neill," written especially for the occasion, honoring Captain "Bucky" O'Neill, killed at Santiago, whose father had died in Meagher's Brigade during the Civil War. At the special request of President Roosevelt, Clarke recited the popular "Kellys and Burkes and Sheas." The President, who had to return to Washington that same night was now compelled to leave, to the accompaniment of three cheers and "He's a jolly good fellow," sung by the entire gathering. Following the departure of the President the members listened to addresses by W. Bourke Cockran, and the esteemed Corporation Counsel John J. Delany who later became President of the Society.⁶

In 1906 Judge Fitzgerald was succeeded as president by Joseph I. C. Clarke, who presided over a testimonial dinner given by the members to their retiring president at Delmonico's on February 17, 1906. More than three hundred and fifty members gathered to honor the popular Fitzgerald. The dais was crowded with Judges, and graced with the presence of the venerable Samuel Sloan now in his ninetieth year. David McClure presented Judge Fitzgerald with a silver set as a tribute from his fellow members.⁷ This was the second testimonial dinner that the Society had tendered to its very esteemed member.

The new president of the Society, Joseph I. C. Clarke, had been born in Kingston, Ireland, July 31, 1846; but after the death of his father in 1858 he went with his mother to London where he earned his living as a copy boy. He early became active in the Fenian movement and in order to escape arrest came to New York in 1868. Clarke

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⁵ *Ibid.*, Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

⁶ *Records of the Society*, Proceedings of 121st Annual Dinner.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Proceedings of the Fitzgerald Dinner, Feb. 17, 1906.



JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE

had served on the editorial staff of the New York *Herald* from 1870 to 1883 and was managing editor of the New York *Journal* from 1883 to 1895 when it was taken over by Hearst. Subsequently he was editor of the *Criterion* and Sunday Editor of the *New York Herald*, a position which he held when elected President of the Friendly Sons. Shortly thereafter he became chief of the publicity department of the Standard Oil Company, a post which he occupied until 1913. Writer of a very considerable number of plays, including "For Bonnie Prince Charlie," "The First Violin," "The Prince of India," and "Robert Emmet," he was also a poet of considerable ability. He was President-general of the American-Irish Historical Society from 1913 to 1923. After his retirement from business in 1914, Clarke traveled in Japan and China, writing articles for the New York *Sun*. In 1925, the year of his death, he published "*My Life and Memoirs*."⁸

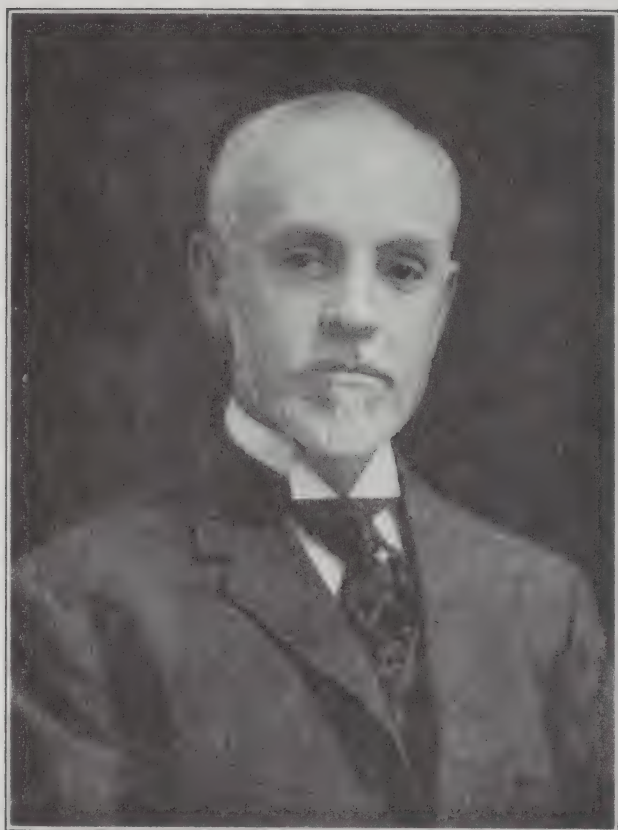
President Clarke presided over the 122nd Annual Dinner of the Society at Delmonico's on March 17, 1907, when Archbishop John M. Farley and Mayor George B. McClellan, a member of the Society, were present. Clarke in his presidential address called the attention of the members to the fact that in the past several years the Society had contributed \$15,000 to charitable institutions of various denominations from the Little Sisters of the Poor to the Presbyterian Hospital. But in 1906 the chief subject for discussion was the Barry Memorial which the Society had undertaken some years before. Three of the principal speakers, W. Bourke Cockran, Rear Admiral Joseph B. Coghlan, and Samuel Walker McCall made lengthy references to Commander Barry, the centennial of whose death had been celebrated in 1903. The Society's Year Book for 1906 reproduces the No. One Commission in the United States Navy granted to John Barry, as captain, and signed by G. Washington. President Clarke called upon his fellow members to open their purses and pledge their names for good round sums.⁹

After only one year in office President Clarke was succeeded in 1907 by Michael J. Drummond, who was elected to the Society in 1890 and had become a life member in 1903. Drummond, one of the best loved and respected members, had never up to this time held public office. His entire business career had been associated with the cast iron industry as merchant and manufacturer. He was head of the firm of M. J. Drummond and Company. Deeply interested in charities of all kinds Drummond was governor of the New York Catholic Protectory, of the New York Foundling Asylum, of St. Joseph's Day Nursery, and of many other charities. He was also Vice-President of the Emigrant

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⁸ *Who Was Who in the United States*, I, 227; *Records of the Society*, Necrology to 1925.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Proceedings of 122nd Annual Dinner, March 17, 1906.



MICHAEL J. DRUMMOND

Industrial Savings Bank, a director of the Broadway Trust Company, and of numerous industrial and business organizations. He was a prominent member of the New York Chamber of Commerce. In 1910 his boyhood friend Mayor William J. Gaynor appointed Drummond Commissioner of Charities for the City of New York. His four-year term of faithful and self-denying service gained for him universal love and praise. In 1915 he was elected a member of the New York Constitutional Convention.¹⁰

Owing to the absence of minutes for this period little is known of Drummond's term of office except that he represented the Society on August 23, 1907 at the unveiling ceremonies of a monument to the Irishmen who had fallen on the battlefield of Fontenoy, March 11, 1745. The monument, a Celtic Cross, was located on a plaza adjacent to the old church in Fontenoy, Belgium. It bore the inscription in Irish and French:

To the memory of the soldiers of the Irish Brigade who on the plain of Fontenoy, avenged the broken Treaty of Limerick.

The monument was unveiled by J. P. Nannetti, Lord Mayor of Dublin. President Drummond and his old friend David McClure made speeches on this occasion. The Friendly Sons had contributed heavily to this project which would never have been possible but for their aid.¹¹ At the end of his term Drummond was succeeded by Stephen Farrelly who in turn gave way to William Temple Emmet in 1909.

Stephen Farrelly, when elected President of the Society was the managing head of the American News Company, having succeeded his brother Patrick on the latter's death in 1904. The Farrelly brothers had joined the Society in 1895 and had been thereafter very active and enthusiastic members. Stephen, born in Cavan, Ireland, in 1844, had been brought by his family to America five years later, settling in Penn Yan, New York, where he was educated. Later he went into business in Savannah, Georgia, where in 1866 he founded the National News Company in which he became a director. For years he was resident head of a subsidiary company, the Central News, located in Philadelphia. A man of charming personal qualities, active and energetic, he remained at the head of American News until his death in 1923. An unselfish philanthropist he was very prominent in Catholic Charities. The Archbishop of New York presided at his funeral.¹²

Stephen Farrelly presided over the 124th Anniversary Dinner of the Society at Delmonico's in 1908, when William Howard Taft, then

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¹⁰ *Ibid.*, "Memorial of Michael J. Drummond," Minutes, May 1, 1916.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1908.

¹² *Ibid.*, Necrology to 1925.



STEPHEN FARRELLY

Secretary of State, responded to the toast, "The United States." In November of the same year Taft was elected President of the United States. The musical program on this occasion was particularly noteworthy, C. L. Van Baar's "Old Guard Orchestra" playing many numbers of old Irish airs arranged by Victor Herbert, who had recently joined the Society and was already making his presence felt. Nearly 600 members and guests attended this dinner.¹³

William Temple Emmet, one of the many descendants of the original Thomas Addis Emmet, several of whom were at this time members of the Society, held the office of President for two terms. Emmet had joined the Friendly Sons in 1899, had been Corresponding Secretary from 1903 to 1905, and subsequently Second and First Vice-President. Born in New Rochelle, New York, July 28, 1869, Emmet made his home in South Salem; but had practiced law in New York City for many years. A graduate of Columbia Law School in 1890, he had been a member of the State Constitutional Convention of 1894, and a member of the Board of Education of New York City from 1899 to 1901. Subsequent to his election as President of the Society, Emmet served as New York State Superintendent of Insurance from 1912 to 1914.¹⁴

The 125th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, March 17, 1909, at which more than 650 members and guests were present was an outstanding occasion. Two archbishops, John M. Farley of New York, and John J. Glennon of St. Louis, Missouri, were guests of the Friendly Sons, as was Major-General Leonard Wood of Spanish War fame. The members had the pleasure of listening to two of the most eloquent speakers of the day in the persons of Senator Chauncey M. Depew, a fellow member, and Woodrow Wilson, then President of Princeton University. Van Baar's "Old Guard Orchestra" rendered Herbert's "American Fantasy" to the great pleasure of the audience. In his presidential address Emmet called attention to the fact that the Society was contributing \$3500 each year to non-sectarian charities and that the last year had been exceptional with \$1000 extra sent to the Red Cross Society for relief of sufferers at the Messina earthquake. He spoke of the extent of suffering and poverty which existed in the country during the last two years following the Panic of 1907, during which period the Society had made donations to "upwards of fifteen hospitals and other kindred institutions and to several hundred individuals."¹⁵

Chauncey M. Depew, who was within three weeks of seventy-five years of age, was in fine fettle for this occasion. He made a graceful

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¹³ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1908.

¹⁴ *Who Was Who*, I, 372.

¹⁵ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1909.



WILLIAM TEMPLE EMMET

reference to an attorney general of the State "who shed lustre upon the office" nearly one hundred years ago and whose descendant is "our presiding officer this evening." Times change and customs vary. He had just left Washington after listening to President Taft's Message to Congress which was 300 words long and took three minutes to read. The last message he had listened to was that of Mr. Roosevelt, which was 30,000 words long and took three hours to read. In the South it was considered an insult to the audience to speak for less than three hours and half-a-day was expected. Here forty minutes was the limit and fifteen appreciated. "Everything depends upon the point of view." His first speech before the Friendly Sons was made forty years ago and for twenty-five years afterwards he had spoken annually. "Then you elected me an honorary member to shut me up." Some historians who have credited Depew with initiating efforts to restrict immigration might have been surprised to hear him refer with disapproval to

Much loose talk about restricting the privileges of immigrants who have come here and depriving those who arrive later of the same privileges which belong by law and right to the Yankee whose ancestor was more fortunate or more enterprising and so immigrated more than 200 years ago.¹⁶

Senator Depew recalled many former presidents of the Society whom he had known. To hear Judge John R. Brady tell a story, he said, "was worth a trip from Washington"; but to listen to the eloquence of that wittiest and most inspiring of speakers, James T. Brady, "was worth a trip around the world." The Senator apparently agreed with David McClure that Richard O'Gorman, President of the Society in 1859, was the foremost orator of his time; to hear him was a delightful experience and a charming memory.

The English language was never more beautifully phrased, nor contained more exquisite sentiments nor presented more brilliant imagery than when used and enriched with the delightful brogue of this accomplished orator.¹⁷

Depew's own Irish ancestor, he told the members, was on his mother's side. He had come here 160 years ago and had married a Miss Ogden of partly English descent. His French ancestor had come to America by way of Holland, and had married a Dutch girl in New York.

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¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

Dr. Woodrow Wilson of Princeton University followed Depew with a speech whose delightful humor might have surprised his enemies but never his friends.¹⁸ He greeted the Sons of St. Patrick "who prove yourselves most friendly." He assured them that he hesitated to follow Chauncey Depew because "I am a Democrat," and that he particularly hated to follow him so late at night, because "there is no telling where he might lead." He amused the audience with a story of a Seventeenth of March at Princeton where the Senior Class organized a St. Patrick's Day parade and the Junior Class an Orangeman's parade. There followed a "preconcerted and most interesting meeting between the processions." Consequently the President of Princeton received a fierce letter from an Irish gentleman who considered it outrageous that a great university should permit the Irish to be insulted. Wilson's reply admitted one cause of misgiving that "The Irish were losing their sense of humor."

Wilson went on to say that he was happy to believe "That there runs in my veins a very considerable strain of Irish blood."¹⁹ He could not prove it from documents but had "internal evidence" of "something delightful that takes the strain off my Scotch conscience." His beloved father and six uncles were of North of Ireland stock, but "not pure Scotch-Irish." "They did not resemble other Scotch-Irish that I have known except in their belligerency." This belligerency, Wilson asserted, rendered him as he grew older more and more unsuitable as an after dinner speaker, an avocation that needed a "light heart and an easy conscience."

The President of Princeton referred to race prejudice that he believed was passing away in America. As for himself, he had never objected to the race, to the blood of other men, but he had objected to their opinions. He delighted his hearers by proclaiming

All that I require of a man is, not that he should be of the same blood as myself, but that he should hold the same sound and sensible views. If he holds the same sound and sensible views I am perfectly willing to regard the documents as authentic which show him to be an American citizen.²⁰

This statement, humorously made and received, would doubtless be remembered a few years later by many of those present, when the

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¹⁸ Josephus Daniels, who knew Wilson well, emphasizes his "saving grace of humor" in which he compares Wilson to Abraham Lincoln. Josephus Daniels, *The Life of Woodrow Wilson*, Phila., 1924, p. 28 *et passim*.

¹⁹ William Allen White, in his biography of Wilson, insists upon his Irish rather than Scotch characteristics, the latter coming mostly from his mother's side. William Allen White, *Woodrow Wilson*, Cambridge, Mass., 1924, pp. 4-41.

²⁰ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1909.



JOHN J. DELANY

strain of a great war would have caused not only Woodrow Wilson but some of his hosts of the evening to "lose their sense of humor."

In 1911 President Emmet was succeeded by Judge John J. Delany with Edward E. McCall as 1st Vice-President, and the popular Victor Herbert as 2nd Vice-President. John G. O'Keefe was elected Treasurer to replace John D. Crimmins who had retired, with William J. Clarke as Recording Secretary, Walter J. Drummond, Corresponding Secretary, and Timothy Murray, Almoner. This slate was continued in office for two years. Judge Delany had been elected to the State Supreme Court in 1910. A graduate of St. Francis Xavier College and Columbia Law School he had been associated in most of the important municipal legislation in New York since 1890. He had been Corporation Counsel of the City of New York from 1904 to 1906.²¹

During Judge Delany's terms in office two important innovations that were to be of lasting duration were recorded. The first was the establishment of the Friendly Sons' Glee Club that has been a source of great pleasure to the members down to present day. The second was a change in the locale of the Anniversary Dinners from old Delmonico's to the new Hotel Astor at Broadway and Forty-Fourth Street. Since then the annual dinners of the Society have been held at the Astor every year with the single exception of 1919 when the Friendly Sons dined at the Hotel Commodore. The Year Book for 1915 credits President Delany with founding the Glee Club, but undoubtedly most of the inspiration came from the 2nd Vice-President Victor Herbert. Although the Society engaged a professional conductor to train the Glee Club, Herbert continued to devote a great deal of time to an enterprise so close to his heart.

At the 127th Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1911, in the Hotel Astor, the Society had as one of its guests the Archbishop of New York, John M. Farley, who had been made Cardinal in the same year. The Cardinal made a brief speech. The principal speakers were Martin H. Glynn, Comptroller of the State of New York, and Governor John A. Dix. Music was furnished by Van Baar's Orchestra in conjunction with the grand organ of the Hotel Astor.²² At the dinner in the following year, when more than 700 members and guests attended, Cardinal Farley was also present. The principal speaker was Dr. James T. Guerin of Montreal, former Canadian Minister of State and Mayor of Montreal. He foreshadows the great war that was already feared by intelligent observers when he referred to a recent speech by Winston Churchill in Ulster, and another by W. Bourke Cockran in Montreal, both condemning the folly of the super-armaments then being piled

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²¹ *Who Was Who*, I, 362.

²² *Records of the Society*, Proceedings of Annual Dinner, 1911.

up by the various nations of Europe.²³

In 1913 Judge Edward Everett McCall was elected President of the Friendly Sons with Victor Herbert First Vice-President and Thomas M. Mulry Second Vice-President. The Treasurer and Recording Secretary retained their offices; but John F. Joyce and Nicholas J. Barrett were elected Corresponding Secretary and Almoner respectively. Thus Nicholas Barrett began a long and notable career of service to the Society. Elected to membership in 1897 he was to hold office continuously as Almoner, Treasurer, and Treasurer Emeritus from 1913 until his death in 1957. Judge McCall, a native of Albany, New York, was a graduate of New York University and had practiced law in New York City from 1894 to 1902, when he was elected Justice of the State Supreme Court for the First District. Later on in 1913 McCall was reluctantly prevailed upon to resign from the Court to accept the Democratic nomination for Mayor. He was defeated in the November election by the Republican-Fusion candidate John Purroy Mitchell, himself of Irish descent.²⁴

President McCall presided over a successful Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1913, with about 700 members and guests in attendance. Music on this occasion included a double quartet from the new Glee Club. The Society inaugurated the custom of having but one set toast on the card, and response to "The Day" was entrusted to David I. Walsh, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts and later Senator from that state. Walsh made a graceful reference to James A. O'Gorman, a former President of the Society, now United States Senator from New York and to Dudley Field Malone who had "helped name the present President of the United States."²⁵ The Society drank the health of the new President with great enthusiasm, remembering that Woodrow Wilson, who had occupied the White House less than two weeks, was a man of Irish blood who had addressed them only four years before. Unfortunately O'Gorman soon disagreed with the President over the Federal Reserve Bank bill, the repeal of the Panama Tolls Act, and matters of local patronage.²⁶ Wilson's support of John Purroy Mitchell, whom he had appointed Collector of the Port of New York, in the later mayoralty election naturally turned Tammany Hall members of the Society against the administration in Washington.

It is interesting to note that one of the speakers at the 129th Anniversary Dinner was William Sulzer, Governor of the State of New York, whose subsequent break with Charles F. Murphy of Tammany

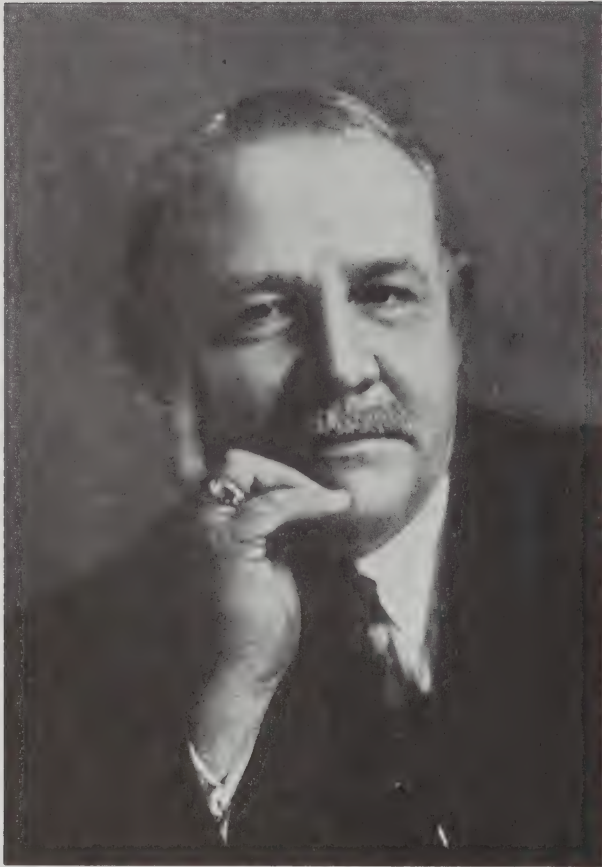
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²³ *Ibid.*, Proceedings of Annual Dinner, 1912.

²⁴ *Who Was Who*, I, 797.

²⁵ *Records of the Society*, Proceedings of Annual Dinner, 1913.

²⁶ Arthur G. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era*, New York, 1954, pp. 51-52, 92-93.



EDWARD EVERETT MCCALL

Hall was to lead to his successful impeachment and removal from office.²⁷ About this time Murphy is said to have become a convert to social reform, and for a dozen years thereafter, or as long as Murphy lived, younger Democrats like Alfred E. Smith, Robert F. Wagner, James A. Foley, and Frances Perkins were assured of the political support that was all-important for the success of their progressive program. Indeed during the eight years as governor, Al Smith, a member of the Friendly Sons, New York was to undergo the most thorough renovation of a state government that the nation had seen until then.²⁸ But for a few years after 1913 the Irish-Americans of New York were to be split assunder by differences involving local, national, and international affairs. The Friendly Sons during this period would find it exceedingly difficult to maintain their traditional neutrality in political matters.

Perhaps the desire of the Society to avoid all political disputes accounts for a certain change in emphasis at the Anniversary Dinner in 1914. President McCall, who presided over some 600 members and guests, had retired to private life after his defeat at the polls in the previous year, and politicians and statesmen were conspicuously absent. The Governor of the State was expected but was unable to come. The chief speaker of the occasion, Irish-born M. P. Mooney of Cleveland, Ohio, was a stranger to New York politics. Other speakers included Reverend Doctor W. W. Giles, three-fourths Irish, who was teaching "a doctrine of reform in a Reform Church," James V. Barry, an officer of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, and the Reverend Doctor Nehemiah Boynton of Brooklyn. "As a little departure from the usual program" the President introduced William P. Oliver who entranced his audience by his version of "Mr. Dooley on the subject of oratory," which was received with great applause and "loud and continued laughter." Van Baar's Orchestra furnished the music as usual and the Glee Club, under the direction of Wilbur A. Lyster, rendered a number of selections, which included Victor Herbert's "The Hail of the Friendly Sons," and "The New Ireland," words to which had recently been written by Joseph I. C. Clarke. Herbert conducted his own compositions and received an ovation. Little or no attention was given to vital issues that were agitating the nation about this time. Indeed they may be said to have been carefully avoided by all speakers on this occasion.²⁹

Meanwhile the nation had become embroiled with Mexico in a dispute which aroused the interest of New York Irish-Americans

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²⁷ Warren Moscow, *Politics in the Empire State*, New York, 1948, p. 10.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

²⁹ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1914.

although they were by no means united in their support or opposition to the administration in Washington. President Taft had failed to recognize the government of Victoriano Huerta in Mexico, and Wilson continued to withhold recognition on the ground that Huerta was not the "*de jure*" president of that republic, having seized power by murder and violence. Most Irish-Americans probably supported the President's attitude toward Mexico, if only because they shared Wilson's suspicions that British oil interests were backing Huerta.³⁰ But when Wilson asked Congress to repeal the Panama Tolls Act, which, by exempting American coastwise steamers from tolls, had apparently violated the "no discrimination" clause of the Hay-Pouncefote Treaty, some Irish-Americans began to change their minds.³¹ This was especially true when Republican Anglo-phobes accused the President of making a deal with England, promising repeal of the Tolls Act in exchange for support of his Mexican policy. Senator O'Gorman former President of the Friendly Sons, undoubtedly with much Irish backing, led the fight in the Senate against repeal but without success.³² Yet the dispute threatened to split the Democratic Party, and the administration forces were able to push through repeal only with Republican help, June 11, 1914.

Meanwhile the Tampico incident and American seizure of Vera Cruz forced Huerta to abdicate, leaving Mexico in a state of chaos with Carranza, Obregon, and Villa struggling for dominance. Although Wilson had favored Carranza and his "Constitutionalist" party while Huerta was in power he now refrained from recognizing the Carranza regime, partly owing to the opposition of Roman Catholics to such action since Carranza was hostile to the Church. Catholic influences succeeded in forcing the dismissal of John Lind, former Governor of Minnesota, whom Wilson had sent to Mexico as his confidential agent.³³ Lind was considered too friendly to Carranza and hostile to the Catholic Church. He was replaced by Paul Fuller, a leading New York Catholic layman and an authority on Latin-American affairs. For a time, indeed, the Washington administration favored Francisco Villa who had broken with Carranza.

When the European War lessened foreign pressure on the administration thus giving the United States a free hand in Mexico many Americans began to demand active intervention there. Since 1913 the Hearst newspapers had been trying to arouse a war fever against Mexico. Now they renewed their efforts, and were joined by Theodore Roosevelt who launched his campaign for intervention on December

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³⁰ Bailey, *Diplomatic History of the American People*, 6th Ed., p. 556.

³¹ Link, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

³² *Ibid.*, Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 551.

³³ Link, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

6, 1914. Many Roman Catholics, clergy as well as laymen, came to his support.³⁴ Most of the pressure upon Wilson came, however, from business interests that had investments in Mexico. When the President finally decided to recognize the Carranza regime as the *de facto* government, Roman Catholics in the United States were greatly displeased.

Eventually Francisco Villa's depredations along the border caused Wilson to send a military expedition into Mexico to capture the bandit leader. This expedition, which in time numbered 12,000 men under General John J. Pershing, failed of its purpose, and in June, 1916, Wilson called all the state militia into federal service, massing them along the Mexican frontier to protect the border. In February, 1917, after nine months in Mexico, Wilson withdrew Pershing's army.³⁵ These activities or lack of activity on the part of the administration probably account for a great deal of the Irish-American opposition to Wilson in the election of 1916. This factor has often escaped writers of text book histories, obsessed as they are with problems of neutrality in World War I.

When war broke out in Europe in the summer of 1914 it was quite natural that many Americans of German birth or extraction should favor the Central Powers out of love for their mother country, and perhaps quite as natural that extremists among the Irish-Americans should take a similar attitude though for a quite different reason — an abiding hatred of England. To your true Irish-American Anglo-phobe "England's need was Ireland's opportunity," and they now looked to Germany for help to free their mother country as they had once looked in vain to France. Undoubtedly some Irish and German societies, representing only a small minority of both national groups cooperated before 1917 in anti-British propaganda, which earned for them the epithet "pro-German." There is evidence of such cooperation with German propagandists on the part of Jeremiah O'Leary's American Truth Society and the Clan-na-Gael.³⁶

It should be realized that the attitude of many Irish-Americans toward freedom for their mother country had changed during the twenty years before World War I. Where once they would have been satisfied with almost any kind of Home Rule for Ireland, now they were demanding complete independence. Some of them were bitterly disappointed with the Home Rule Bill which John Redmond, leader of the Irish party, had extorted from the British Parliament in 1914. President Victor Herbert of the Friendly Sons at an anniversary dinner of the

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³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 132, note 33. He cites Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Cardinal O'Connell of Boston, Bishop Joseph Schremb of Toledo, and the American Federation of Catholic Societies.

³⁵ Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 561.

³⁶ Wittke, *The Irish in America*, p. 276.

Society called it a "check without a date" and hoped that if the State Legislature passed a Home Rule Bill for New York City that it would be "a better one than the English Parliament passed for Ireland."³⁷ Redmond was criticized when he consented to postpone Home Rule until the end of the War.

In the spring of 1914, before the outbreak of war in Europe there occurred an event which all men of Irish blood could unite without fear of disagreement. This was the unveiling in Washington, D. C., of the monument to Commodore John Barry. It will be remembered that the Friendly Sons had originated the idea of a memorial to this illustrious Irishman, who had been called "the Father of the American Navy." Now the Society took a leading part in organizing the ceremonies and in the actual exercises attending the unveiling.

A special train carried the members to Washington on the afternoon of May 14. On the following day they made a pilgrimage to the Tomb of George Washington, where appropriate exercises were held. In the evening the Society's Glee Club gave a concert in the ball room of the New Willard Hotel. Assisting artists were Mary Jordan, contralto; Edith Mae Conner, harpist; and John Finnegan, tenor. One Washington newspaper expressed the belief that it was "the greatest concert of Irish music ever given in America."³⁸

On Saturday, May 16, a bright sunny day, a grand review was held of all the soldiers and sailors stationed in the vicinity of the Capital, together with Annapolis cadets and various civic organizations. President Woodrow Wilson took part in the unveiling ceremony that followed. Among the thousands that packed the three great stands around the monument were members of the cabinet, a notable gathering of the diplomatic corps, and official and military representatives of the city. Miss Elise Hepburn, great granddaughter of John Barry, unveiled the statue. President Edward E. McCall, on behalf of the Society, placed a wreath at the foot of the monument. Joseph I. C. Clarke, former president of the Friendly Sons, at the request of the War Department had written the ode of the occasion. It was read by his son, William J. Clarke, Recording Secretary of the Society. That evening a banquet was held at the New Willard Hotel, and on the following morning a high military field Mass was celebrated on the grounds of the Washington Monument with 20,000 people present. This concluded a notable national gathering. Incidentally the monument was the work of a member of the Friendly Sons, the sculptor, John Boyle.³⁹

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³⁷ *Records of the Society, Year Book, 1915.*

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*



VICTOR HERBERT

Victor Herbert was elected President of the Society for 1915 with Thomas M. Mulry, 1st Vice-President, and Victor J. Dowling, 2nd Vice-President. Other officers were retained. The Glee Club gave its second annual concert and dance at the Hotel Astor on January 26, with Victor Herbert conducting four of his own compositions. Some 700 members of the Society and their friends were present. The quarterly meetings for this year were more largely attended than ever before and the Glee Club was heard many times. Following the retirement of Edward E. McCall as president, he was presented with a solid silver vase "the finest example of the craftsman's art obtainable," as a token of regard from his fellow members.⁴⁰

The new President of the Society, Victor Herbert, needs no introduction to Americans who lived in the first half of the twentieth century. Born in Dublin, Ireland, February 1, 1859, of Edward and Fanny (Lover) Herbert, his maternal grandfather was the Irish novelist and poet, Samuel Lover. Victor began his musical education in Germany at the age of seven under the leading masters and later studied composition with Max Seifritz in Austria. After concerts as a solo 'cellist in Germany, France, and Italy, he went to Vienna in 1882 as first 'cellist in Strauss' orchestra. From 1883 to 1886 he was first 'cellist of the Court Orchestra at Stuttgart. Herbert married Therese Foerster, prima donna of the Viennese Opera. He came to America in 1886 as first 'cellist of the Metropolitan Opera Company. After playing in various symphony orchestras he became assistant conductor to Anton Seidl of the New York Philharmonic Society. He succeeded Gilmore, a member of the Friendly Sons, as bandmaster of the 22nd Regiment in 1893 and in the same year launched upon his career as a composer of comic opera. After 1904 he had his own orchestra in New York. A composer of great versatility, Herbert wrote the scores of an amazing number of pieces from songs to grand opera, but is best known for his light operas. Always devoted to the cause of Ireland he was president of the Friends of Ireland as well as of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. It is said of him that "as a musician . . . he attained a popularity which no other American had won," and when he died in 1924 the critic Deems Taylor wrote that Herbert had "raised light opera music to a degree of harmonic sophistication that it had never before reached."⁴¹

The year 1914 had been one of depression in the city, aggravated by the outbreak of World War I. The New York Stock Exchange closed down for several months, and savings banks taking advantage of a panic law would only pay deposits upon sixty days' notice.⁴² The

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⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Frederick H. Martens, "Victor Herbert," *D.A.B.*, VIII, 573-4; Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 237-38.

⁴² Still, *Mirror for Gotham*, p. 286.

Society "aware of the appalling conditions of want prevailing throughout the city during the past year" had practically doubled its customary appropriations for charity, and as the Anniversary Dinner of 1915 approached it decided to dispense with the customary souvenir and to devote the net proceeds of the banquet to the poor.⁴³ The dinner that year was not quite so well attended as those immediately previous, only 540 members and guests were present.

Nevertheless the Anniversary Dinner for 1915 was a notable occasion. President Victor Herbert presided, with Van Baar's Orchestra and the Glee Club furnishing the musical entertainment. George F. Monaghan, a lawyer of Detroit, Michigan, responded to the first set toast "The Day," and Governor Charles S. Whitman to that of the "State of New York." The Governor proved himself a poor historian for in a reference to two early members of the Society who had been governors of the Empire State, he was under the impression that De Witt Clinton was the son of George Clinton, and that the latter had been born in Ireland. On both points he was of course in error. Mayor John Purroy Mitchel, "grandson of an outlawed Irish patriot" spoke for the city of New York. He claimed that his descent was "chiefly Irish" and referred to the man of Irish lineage in the White House, whose staunch supporter he was.⁴⁴

Other speakers included two representatives of the theatre, Augustus Thomas and Wilton Lackaye, "thorough Irishmen," and the popular Job E. Hedges. Thomas referred to the present position of the Irish in the government of the nation with a man of Irish descent in the Presidential Chair, an O'Gorman in the Senate, and a Mitchel in City Hall. But when he mentioned "a Bryan and a McAdoo in the Cabinet," laughter mingled with applause, although both, it is true, were of remote Irish ancestry. Job E. Hedges, who had addressed the Society on many occasions in the past, was the only speaker of the evening who made no claim to Irish blood. He was, so he said, English by extraction and had an ancestor "who signed the Declaration of Independence." His audience was amused when he asserted that moreover he was a "graduate from a University where the predominating color is Orange." Thus Hedges ended the evening on a lighter note that was welcomed by his hearers. Indeed most of the speakers had carefully avoided the international situation and Augustus Thomas' one reference to it was favorable to "Woodrow Wilson and his much abused Secretary of State" who "are keeping this nation in the Peace Column while all the world is bleeding."⁴⁵

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⁴³ *Records of the Society*, Report of W. J. Clarke, Rec. Sec., April 19, 1915.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1915.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

As the year 1915 wore on many Irish and German-Americans launched a program of propaganda, condemning what they called Wilson's lack of "impartial neutrality," and demanding an embargo of war materials to the Allies and insisting that American citizens be forbidden to sail on merchant ships of belligerent nations. When the *Lusitania* tragedy occurred in May, 1915, it was feared that the United States would enter the war on the side of the Allies. William Jennings Bryan's resignation as Secretary of State rather than sign the second *Lusitania* note which he feared would lead to war made him a hero in the eyes of many of the very Irish who, hitherto, had laughed at his "grapejuice diplomacy" and had even considered him a British sympathizer. Jeremiah O'Leary's American Truth Society and the Clan-na-Gael were so anti-English that they could justly be called "pro-German." Yet Irish-Americans were far from united in their attitude toward the war. Patrick Egan, former Ambassador to Chile and a most respected Irish-American leader, felt that his countrymen were the tools of German propagandists in the United States. Mayor James M. Curley supported Great Britain against the Central Powers early in the war, and some Irish newspapers called him "a yellow dog" and "a contemptible cur" who had forsaken the country of his parents. The Ancient Order of Hibernians was sharply divided over the issues at stake. Many Irish could not stomach German violation of Belgian neutrality. A number of Irish-American financiers and industrialists were pro-Ally. So bitter was the conflict that it sometimes erupted into violence on the streets of New York, so that Mayor Mitchel, himself of distinguished Irish lineage, had to forbid the anti-Ally speeches of Clan-na-Gael soapbox orators.⁴⁶

Amid all this confusion the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick tried to keep an even keel, carefully refraining from taking an official stand on the controversial issues of the day. Not so with many of its officers and most prominent members. Theodore Roosevelt, beloved honorary member of the Society, headed the Republican interventionists, was blatantly pro-Ally, and condemned Woodrow Wilson and "hyphenated Americans" alike, who would "keep us out of War." Former Mayor George B. McClellan, now a professor at Princeton University, was accused of being "pro-German," because of a pamphlet "The Hell of War," that he published.⁴⁷ It is worthy of note that when the United States entered the war, McClellan volunteered for military service and spent the rest of the conflict as a major in the American Expeditionary Forces. In March, 1916, President Victor Herbert of the Society opened a convention of the "Irish Race

⁴⁶ Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 274, 276, 278; Still, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

⁴⁷ Harold C. Syrett, "George Brinton McClellan," *D.A.B.*, supplement II, pp. 401-2.

in America" at the Hotel Astor, where 2300 Irishmen demanded that America keep out of war and warned the government not to hamper German submarine action "by unwarranted action."⁴⁸ Justice John W. Goff and Judge Daniel F. Cohalan, prominent members of the Society were speakers in this convention. Indeed Judge Cohalan in the early years of the war was so indiscreet in his cooperation with Jeremiah O'Leary and the Friends of Irish Freedom that Mayor Mitchel and Theodore Roosevelt, a fellow member of the Friendly Sons, denounced him as disloyal.⁴⁹ Cohalan's bitter criticism of the administration gained for himself the lasting enmity of Woodrow Wilson.⁵⁰

The gap in the minutes of the Society previously noted, comes to an end with the record of a meeting of the Admissions Committee on November 12, 1915. Thus we are able to gain a better knowledge of the proceedings of the Society during the next few crucial years, as well as to learn of certain changes in the By-Laws and customary procedures that had been initiated in the previous decade. Dues of active members had been raised from \$5 to \$10 per annum, and the stated meeting in November of each year had been assigned for elections. At the meeting of November 15, 1915, with the Secretary W. J. Clarke in the chair owing to the illness of President Herbert, the Nominating Committee recommended the reelection of the present slate of officers, which was duly carried. It is perhaps worth noting that the nominating committee for this year was composed entirely of former Presidents of the Society, including John D. Crimmins, James A. O'Gorman, Morgan J. O'Brien, Stephen Farrelly, Michael J. Drummond, William Temple Emmet, J. I. C. Clarke, and Edward E. McCall.⁵¹

The annual report of the Treasurer for the year ending November 1, 1915, showed a "flourishing and prosperous condition" with investments in stocks and bonds at cost \$71,911.87 and cash on hand \$7,603.37. There were no bills unpaid, and only current dues uncollected. It had become customary to appropriate annually \$500 for the expenses of the Glee Club, and the sum of \$150 had been set aside for the use of the treasurer for "clerical services." To date, however, the Treasurer had refused to accept any compensation. During the year \$750 had been paid to the Almoner for personal charity, most of which had been expended to pay the rent of families facing dispossession, or for a week's lodging for individuals at the Lawrence House. A few interesting exceptions are listed such as \$10 to C. O'F, "clothes for graduation," or \$50 to "help transport the O'S family to Chicago." The

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⁴⁸ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 279.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

⁵¹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1915.

usual \$2,000 in Christmas donations had been distributed to various organized charities, and \$370.34 net proceeds of the March dinner had been given to the Holy Name Mission in the Bowery.⁵²

As had become the custom the Glee Club entertained the meeting with popular Irish selections. District Attorney elect Edward Swann made a few remarks, as did John Boyle, sculptor of the Barry monument in Washington. Boyle described the difficulties that he had experienced in depicting correctly the features of the Commodore and of attiring him in a costume which was both historically accurate and pictorially effective. Joseph I. C. Clarke explained what he had in mind in writing "New Ireland," the music for which had been composed by Victor Herbert.

During the past year eight life members had been added to the roll of the Society, and, on recommendation of the Admissions Committee, a motion was offered to raise the fee for life membership from \$100 to \$200. At a subsequent meeting this motion was defeated, as was also a proposed amendment to increase the limit on active memberships from 500 to 700.⁵³ There seems to have been considerable difference of opinion on both these proposals, some apparently desiring to increase the size of the Society and others wishing to keep it as it was. The two votes seem to have had opposite effects, as the number of life members increased greatly thereafter.

Within a year the Society lost by death two former presidents, John J. Delany and Michael J. Drummond, and its current 1st Vice-President, Thomas M. Mulry, who would normally have become President in 1917. Suitable Memorials were drawn up and ordered printed. That for Michael Drummond was particularly eloquent.⁵⁴ He had been well loved by the rank and file of the Society.

The 132nd Anniversary Dinner of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick on March 17, 1916, was described as "one of the most inspiring gatherings in the years of the Society's existence." The large ball-room of the Hotel Astor was never more artistically decorated, the screening of the boxes with heavy banks of smilax being a noticeable feature. Distressed by the differences that were splitting the ranks of Irishmen in the United States, the Stewards had decided to make "Americanism" the keynote of the evening. As the members entered the ball-room the lights were lowered and the keynote was struck when it was seen that the dominant feature of the scene was a large, brilliantly lighted American flag floating in the breeze over the dais. When the band in the balcony swung into the strains of the "Star-Spangled Banner," the

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⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 7, 1916; May 1, 1916.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 1, 1916.

nearly seven hundred diners joined heartily in singing the national anthem and concluded with a rousing cheer. Later the health of the President of the United States was drunk amid a scene of great enthusiasm. The President of the Society in his opening remarks referred to the part members of the Irish race had played in the opening chapter of American history and the other speakers of the evening emphasized the note of patriotism and devotion to the country.⁵⁵

Ireland, the motherland, was of course not forgotten. Van Baar's Orchestra and the Glee Club, rendered stirring selections of Irish music, and towards the end of the evening Victor Herbert yielded the chair to Vice-President Victor Dowling, to lead the Glee Club in two of his compositions. The Souvenir of the Dinner was a reproduction in miniature ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches high) of the Ardagh Chalice, a fine example of Celtic metal and enamel work dating from the ninth century. The Menu frontispiece was a portrait of Ireland's greatest bard, Thomas Moore, and a reproduction of a signed copy of his immortal verse "Let Erin remember the days of Old." The original portrait was presented to the Society by William N. Penny.

As a matter of historical interest it may be recorded that this dinner cost \$8081.80 as compared with \$5942.16 in the previous year. It should be remembered that the 1915 dinner had come at the end of a period of depression, while the 1916 banquet was held in the midst of the greatest peace time prosperity that the nation had ever enjoyed. Of the amount expended \$5,619.25 went to the Astor for the meal; Souvenirs cost \$1,325; printing and engraving which included the elaborate menu \$590.95; orchestra \$125; flowers \$200; and the Society of course took care of the subscriptions of 31 members of the Glee Club. After all expenses were paid and tickets collected the dinner account for 1916 showed a deficit of \$356.80.⁵⁶

When in the summer of 1916 Woodrow Wilson called the State Militia into the national service to defend the border, the Friendly Sons immediately thought of the needs of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment. Judge Victor Dowling, 1st Vice-President, in the absence of President Herbert, telegraphed Colonel Louis D. Conley of the regiment, which was at first encamped at Camp Whitman, Green Haven, New York, to inquire if there was anything that the Society could do to promote the welfare of the officers and men. Colonel Conley's telegram and explanatory letter suggested that the Friendly Sons might help by organizing an enlisted band of twenty-nine men. Up to this time the regiment had employed a hired band; but union rates of pay made continued use of a hired band almost prohibitive. In another letter

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⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1916.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 1, 1916.

to Richard R. Costello forwarded to Judge Dowling by John D. Crimmins he further suggested that the Friendly Sons and other Irish-American organizations might raise a fund for the relief of the families of the men of the regiment. Some of these would undoubtedly suffer hardship and privation through their breadwinner's military service, since the pay of an enlisted man in those days was a mere pittance of from \$15 to \$18 per month. Colonel Conley also suggested that Victor Herbert might be able to induce John Philip Sousa, the famous band-master, to enlist his band in the regiment.⁵⁷

Conley's telegram and letters were spread on the minutes of the special meeting. Judge Dowling immediately wired Victor Herbert, who was at Willow Grove, Pa., and the President replied on the same day. He believed that "Bayne, the enlisted Band-master of the Sixty-Ninth" was the logical man to engage a band, but said that he had written to Sousa in the matter. What came of it we do not know. Evidently the regiment never got its band, for when the Sixty-Ninth returned to the city some eight months later, a committee of the Society was directed to engage a band and arrange a luncheon for the troops.⁵⁸ On the matter of aid for the families of the soldiers the Society took prompt and effective action, as it had on at least two occasions in the past. A "Committee on Plan and Scope" was appointed to solicit subscriptions from the members for a fund to be expended by them to provide for the necessities of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment and such families as may be found dependent. A committee of twenty-one of the most prominent and influential members, headed by Henry L. Joyce later President of the Society, was appointed for this purpose. \$1,000 of the funds of the Friendly Sons was voted to be used at discretion of the Almoner for relieving individual cases of want in the interim.⁵⁹

At the stated meeting of November, 1916, the Almoner reported that to date he had expended \$958.15 for relief of families of members of the Sixty-Ninth. Chairman Joyce of the Plan and Scope Committee presented a report which showed that the Committee had collected from the members the sum of \$5,032, of which \$1,434 was still unexpended. The Committee was instructed to continue its work.⁶⁰

In accordance with the recommendation of the Nominating Committee headed by Alfred J. Talley, Judge Victor J. Dowling was elected President for the following year with Daniel F. Cohalan 1st Vice-President and Henry L. Joyce, 2nd Vice-President. The Treasurer

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⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Special Meeting, July 5, 1916.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 5, 1917.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, July 5, 1916.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 20, 1916.

and Almoner were retained but James J. Hoey was elected Recording Secretary and Joseph Rowan, Corresponding Secretary. The Committee expressed its belief that since "there are so many members who are ready to serve the Society as officers" that, with the possible exception of Treasurer and Almoner, there should be a change of officers at the end of every two years. As six members had been lost by death during the previous year and a member had been dropped for non-payment of dues, twenty-eight members were added to the rolls at this time.⁶¹

The new President, Victor J. Dowling, was a fortunate selection for the war years to come. Born in New York, July 20, 1866, a graduate of Manhattan College and New York University Law School, he was one of the most respected men in the political life of the city. He had served two terms in the New York State Assembly after 1894, was State Senator from 1901 to 1904, and had been Democratic leader of the Twenty-Fourth Assembly District from 1896 to 1899 and again in 1903 and 1904. In 1905 he had been elected a Justice of the State Supreme Court, and when he became President of the Society was a Justice of its Appellate Division. In the following year, while still President of the Friendly Sons, Dowling was reelected for a fourteen-year term. In 1927 he became Presiding Justice of the Appellate Division, a position that he held until 1931 when he retired to become a partner in the prominent law firm of Chadbourne, Stanchfield and Levy. Judge Dowling was unquestionably the most "decorated" man who had held office in the Society. The list of honors that he received from American Universities, the Roman Catholic Church, and Foreign Governments, is too long to mention here. They are a tribute to his integrity, charity, civic virtue, and patriotism.⁶²

At a meeting held in the Hotel Astor, March 5, 1917, the officers were directed to hold a suitable reception for the 69th Regiment upon its return home from the Mexican border. A Committee was appointed to secure positions for members who had been discharged by their employers while on Federal service. This Committee subsequently reported that every man, who had applied for work, had been placed in a position.⁶³ On motion by John P. O'Brien eighty-seven members indicated their intention to march in the parade at noon on March 6th in honor of the homecoming of the regiment.⁶⁴

The 133rd Anniversary Dinner of the Society was held during the eight weeks that elapsed between Germany's announcement of a renewal of all-out submarine warfare and the declaration of war by the

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⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, "Memorial for Victor J. Dowling," Year Book, 1934.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 7, 1917.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 5, 1917.



VICTOR J. DOWLING

United States. The dinner was described by Recording Secretary James J. Hoey as

... the most successful in the history of the Society. The attendance crowded the large banquet hall of the Hotel Astor to its utmost capacity. The addresses were brilliant, the music inspiring, the decorations superb and the enthusiasm displayed was of a kind which evidenced an everlasting adherence to the principles for which the Society stands.

All of the speakers referred to the critical period through which the nation was passing and sounded a warning and a keynote, a warning to the country of the impending dangers and a keynote of lofty patriotism in meeting the issues thrust upon us. The speakers were most distinguished and representative men.

The decorations of the banquet hall were typical of the patriotic spirit which animated the gathering and which are reproduced in the photograph of the scene. As the diners filed in and took their assigned places, the Glee Club of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick sang — "The Hail of the Friendly Sons." All this was in a dim light. At a given signal the room was flooded with the radiance of every available electric bulb: the central panel with its quotation from "Kelly and Burke and Shea" (hitherto covered by American flags) was revealed as the flags fell back, and above it an American flag, with a spot-light illuminating its folds, was blown defiantly in the breeze caused by a continuous current of air, while the Glee Club sang the "Star-Spangled Banner," in which the great assembly joined enthusiastically. It was a scene of genuine patriotic fervor which will never be forgotten by the participants, and it was long before the applause ceased.⁶⁵

The minutes of this meeting of the Society are quoted in full to show what contemporaries actually felt at the very time of our entrance into war. In later years revisionist historians alleged that the United States rushed into war to save the Allies, to preserve the balance of power, to keep the sealanes open to England. They believed or pretended to believe that America had been stampeded into war by the propagandists, the bankers, and the munition manufacturers. The men of that day knew, as one historian has so well expressed it, that "in the final analysis America fought because she was attacked — the war was 'thrust' upon her."⁶⁶

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⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 17, 1917, Year Book, 1917.

⁶⁶ Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 595.

It must be admitted that Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, on this occasion, made an impassioned appeal for continued neutrality at a time when all those present must have known that the United States was about to enter the war. His words may have reflected the opinions of a few of his hearers. When Judge Dowling offered the toast to "The President of the United States," nine hundred and twenty gentlemen rose to drink it with enthusiasm. The Judge read a letter from Woodrow Wilson explaining that he was unable to accept the Society's invitation to be present but sent his warm thanks and best wishes to the President and members of the Friendly Sons. The principal address of the evening, in response to the toast "The Day We Celebrate," was made by the Right Reverend Patrick J. Hayes, Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese who represented Cardinal Farley, unable to be present because of his "years." Major-General Leonard Wood, U.S.A., made a briefer address. The steel magnate Charles M. Schwab spoke, greeting the members as "fellow Irishmen." Ambassador James W. Gerard, but recently recalled from Germany, was physically unable to make a speech, but assured the members that the "best half" of him was Irish because of his wife.⁶⁷

At the regular quarterly meeting of the Society, May 7, 1917, the first since the United States entered the war, the following resolution, offered by James A. O'Gorman, was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, Congress has declared that a state of war exists between our Country and the German Empire, and

Whereas, we are mindful of the solemn duty now confronting every citizen, and recall with pride that members of this venerable Society have taken part in every war of the Republic, therefore be it

Resolved that we, the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, tender this expression of our unfaltering loyalty to our Commander-in-Chief, the President of the United States, in his devoted and patriotic effort to uphold the honor and integrity of the nation, be it

Further Resolved that we pledge to the President and Congress all our strength, power and influence to the end that the cause in which we are embarked may be successfully maintained, and that our participation in the World War may aid in preserving the blessings of Civilization.⁶⁸

The meeting at which this resolution was adopted was an interesting

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⁶⁷ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1917.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 7, 1917.

one. Senator O'Gorman in an eloquent address presented to the retiring President, Victor Herbert, a fine silver punch bowl as a tribute from the members. John McCormack the great Irish tenor was elected to life membership and when escorted to the dais proved himself an orator as well as a singer. Colonel William N. Haskell the new commanding officer of the 69th Regiment was introduced and made a brief address. The Reverend Francis P. Duffy, chaplain of the regiment and soon to become famous for his services in the American Expeditionary Force, gave a witty and interesting talk.

The Glee Club entertained in its usual good style, but the feature of the evening came when John McCormack favored the members with several songs in his own inimitable manner. One of them was "The Irish Emigrant's Farewell," which with McCormack playing his own accompaniment, brought forth "vociferous applause." Then Victor Herbert played the accompaniment from his latest opera "Eileen" as John McCormack sang. Thus the members got a preview of the entertainment they would enjoy in the following week when the Society was holding a theatre party to hear "Eileen," but recently opened in New York. Thus ended "the largest and most thoroughly enjoyed meeting held by the Society in many years."⁶⁹

Of course most of the members of the Friendly Sons were too old for military service but many volunteered and many more had sons in the service. The service flag of the Society bore 451 stars, which included the sons of members.⁷⁰ A list of members in service was printed in the Year Book for 1918, and includes Thomas H. Barry, Major General of the 86th Division, who had been an Army and Navy member since 1909. George B. McClellan, as previously noted, served overseas as Major in the Ordnance Department, returning to this country a Lieutenant-Colonel.⁷¹ Several members died in military service including Vincent Arnold in France, Gilroy Mulqueen at Camp Upton, Captain James A. McKenna, Jr., in France, Major Philip H. Sheridan and Brigadier-General Michael V. Sheridan in Washington. General Sheridan had been an Army and Navy member since 1902. The famous Father Duffy, Chaplain of the Sixty-Ninth, was elected to membership in January, 1918.

Many of the members served the war effort in civilian capacities, notably Martin Conboy and Bainbridge Colby. Conboy was Director of Selective Service for New York City. Colby, an old "Bull Moose" Progressive, who had supported Woodrow Wilson for reelection in 1916, became a Life Member in January, 1917. President Wilson appointed him a member of the United States Shipping Board and later,

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⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1918.

⁷¹ Syrett, *loc. cit.*, p. 402.

in November of 1917, sent him to France, as a member of an inter-allied conference.⁷² In the spring of 1920, when Lansing resigned, Colby was appointed Wilson's last Secretary of State.

The Society continued to aid the families of soldiers of the Sixty-Ninth during the war. John McCormack gave a benefit concert and Harry Hempstead, President of the New York "Giants," a benefit baseball game for the good cause. During 1918 the Society itself contributed \$3,000, evenly divided among the Catholic War Fund, the YMCA, and the Jewish Welfare Board.⁷³ Individual members contributed heavily to the Knights of Columbus Fund. The Glee Club gave freely of its services to entertain the armed forces, and in May, 1918, alone held concerts at the Pelham Bay Training Station, Fort Hancock (Sandy Hook), and The Columbia Base Hospital, where soldiers wounded in France were being cared for.⁷⁴

The regular meetings for the war period were well attended and all struck a patriotic note. At various times the Society entertained Conde Pallen, Editor of the Catholic Encyclopedia, William J. McGinley, National Secretary of the Knights of Columbus, and Walter Kernan, Commissioner General of the K. of C., who had just returned from France. William J. Clarke, former Secretary of the Society, who had served in France as a member of the Ambulance Corps, in an interesting discourse related many thrilling and tragic incidents which he had witnessed while at the front.⁷⁵ Returned soldiers were entertained and on one occasion where they were present John McCormack sang two of his favorite songs for their pleasure. Chauncey Olcott was present at one meeting as was Benjamin B. O'Dell, former Governor of the State. Military strategists and propagandists gave illustrated lectures urging war support and describing German "frightfulness."⁷⁶ Several motion pictures were shown including the Universal Film Company's "Pershing in France."

The 1918 Anniversary Dinner was a relatively quiet though very well attended affair. The menu had been submitted to the Food Administration for approval before the dinner. The Grand Ball Room was hung with American Flags exclusively, draped gracefully from the top tier of boxes reaching down to below the lower tier, while several small Irish flags adorned the top of the large picture of St. Patrick set in its customary place over the dais. The Service Flag of the Society was unfurled to the organ strains of "The Minstrel Boy to the War Has Gone." The Reverend John Cavanaugh, President of Notre Dame University responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate." Other

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⁷² *Collier's Encyclopedia*, III, 51-52.

⁷³ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, May 6, 1918.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 18, 1918.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 7, 1918.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 7, 1918.

speakers were Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, J. Hamilton Lewis, United States Senator from Illinois, and Bainbridge Colby, then a member of the United States Shipping Board. Irvin S. Cobb had been invited, but had not yet returned from France.

The keynote of this dinner as engraved on the cover of the menu was "Liberty, Democracy, and Humanity." A number of high ranking officers of the Army and Navy were introduced, as was Edward N. Hurley, Chairman of the United States Shipping Board. A letter of regret from Jules Jusserand, Ambassador of France, was read. The original is still in the possession of the Society. The toast to the President of the United States "that gallant, honorable and unselfish statesman" was drunk with tremendous applause. The audience rose and sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." Secretary Daniels made a long address on the United States Navy, paying a glowing tribute to Commodore John Barry and other Irish heroes of the past. For himself Daniels said, "I was not born in Ireland nor am I of Irish descent, but that is not my fault." His wife's grandfather, however, was a Cleary of County Cork so "I come to you tonight, my friends, on my wife's ticket."⁷⁷

On November 11, 1918, World War I finally came to an end with the signing of an Armistice with Germany. It is a remarkable fact that the minutes of the stated meeting of the Society on November 18th contain not a single reference to this event which the members like other New Yorkers must have celebrated hilariously but a week before. On recommendation of the Nominating Committee the current slate of officers was reelected for a second term. The usual Christmas donation of \$2,000 was voted, and the equally usual \$500 each for the Almoner and Glee Club were appropriated. A motion was made, seconded, and carried that a committee, consisting of the President and other officers of the Society, should draw up a suitable memorial to the President of the United States urging upon him the great necessity for the Freedom of Ireland. The Glee Club entertained as usual, after which a collation was served. The Society had returned to normal.⁷⁸

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⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1918.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 18, 1918.

THE SOCIETY BETWEEN TWO WARS



WITH the World War successfully brought to an end the Irish at home and in America once more turned their attention to the cause so dear to their hearts, freedom for Ireland. Most Irish-Americans now considered home rule a thing of the past and were demanding complete independence for the mother country. They felt keenly that the principle of "self-determination," adopted by Wilson in his Fourteen Points should be applied to Ireland as well as to sections of the former German and Austrian Empires. At its first meeting in 1919 Judge Cohalan reported to the Society that its committee had drawn up and unanimously adopted a resolution to that effect, which was delivered to the President of the United States by James J. Hoey, Secretary of the Society.¹ The members were informed that since the last meeting of the Friendly Sons six of the oldest Irish societies in the United States had adopted similar resolutions and sent them to President Wilson. Failure to get any consideration for Ireland at the Peace Conference undoubtedly accounts in large part for the subsequent opposition of many Irish-Americans to the ratification of the Versailles Treaty.

Meanwhile the death of John Redmond in Ireland had weakened the moderates in that country and put the extremists led by Eamon de Valera, a former resident of New York, in complete control of the independence movement. Only the irreconcilable attitude of Ulster seems to have stood in the way of Irish unification at this time. The elections of 1918 won for de Valera's Sinn Fein Party seventy-three seats in the British Parliament. But the successful Sinn Feiners refused to take their seats in London. Instead they set up a parliament of their own in Ireland, the Dail Eireann. When the Dail in January 1919 proclaimed an Irish Republic there was great rejoicing among Irish-Americans. However, the British Government promptly arrested de Valera and the other Sinn Fein leaders.²

These events are reflected in the Friendly Sons' huge anniversary dinner of March 17, 1919, held at the Commodore Hotel, where over

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¹ *Records of the Society, Minutes, January 6, 1919.*

² Wittke, *Irish in America*, p. 286.

1,000 members and guests were present. Planned as a victory dinner to celebrate the happy completion of the World War, the principal subject of discussion turned out to be freedom for Ireland. The chief speaker, Martin Conboy, a former director of the draft in New York City, called attention to the new Republic of Ireland that was in vain seeking recognition from the "free peoples of the world." "We are asked," he said, "to guarantee the political integrity of the British Empire . . . a pledge to maintain England in perpetual possession of Ireland."³

Other speakers included the Reverend John J. Brady, Distinguished Service Cross, Chaplain of the Fifth United States Marines, and the Reverend Peter E. Hoey, C.S.P., Chaplain of the 107th United States Infantry, the old Seventh Regiment, New York guard. Also among the speakers were Marcel Knecht, of the French High Commission who had been the guest of the Society at its previous regular meeting, and Irvin S. Cobb, noted writer, orator, and humorist. Among those on the dais were Major-General John F. O'Ryan and Major-General Thomas H. Barry, a member of the Society. The Irish tenor John McCormack was present and had intended to sing but was unable to do so owing to a cold which had compelled him to cancel a concert engagement at Scranton. It was announced that on that very day McCormack had become an American citizen.⁴ Incidentally, probably for the first time in its history, the banner of the Society had been displayed in the St. Patrick's Day parade, and members had taken part officially in that celebration. The wording of the minutes authorizing this action indicates that it was considered quite a departure from past practices.⁵

The Friendly Sons had lost three prominent members by death during the war period: John D. Crimmins, William Temple Emmet, both ex-presidents, and William F. Sheehan, former Lieutenant-Governor of the State. At its regular meeting of March 3, 1919, the Society adopted resolutions regretting the death of its Honorary Member, Theodore Roosevelt, former President of the United States, and at the same meeting the death of the distinguished Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet was announced.⁶ Since life-members had been increasing rapidly in numbers during the last few years, amendments to the By-Laws were carried limiting that form of membership to two hundred and fifty. The fee for life membership was raised to \$120, with the exception of active members so elected who still paid the old fee.⁷ The election

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³ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1919.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 3, 1919.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 5, 1919.

of large numbers of life members had helped build up the Permanent Fund which had increased from \$50,000 to \$100,000 during the past ten or twelve years, through the efforts of the late Treasurer John D. Crimmins and the present Treasurer, John G. O'Keeffe.⁸

For its regular annual meeting in November 1919, the Society returned to the Hotel Astor, after having held its Anniversary Dinner and two previous stated meetings in the Commodore. Reasons for this change are not clearly indicated in the minutes; but it seems to have been the "general feeling among the members" that the Hotel Astor "was more suited for the Society's meetings than any other hotel in the city."⁹ President Dowling reported that the Society had been invited by the Sulgrave Institute to participate in a dinner to the Prince of Wales to be given by the British Societies in New York. He stated that he had declined the invitation with the explanation that the Friendly Sons was an American not a British Society. Dowling also told the members that he had declined a personal invitation to speak at the dinner. A motion was made, seconded, and unanimously carried approving the action of President Dowling in the matter.

Alfred J. Talley called the attention of the Society to the signal honors that had been bestowed upon its President during the past few months. The French Government had made Victor J. Dowling a Chevalier of the Legion of Honor and Albert, King of the Belgians, had made him a Commander of the Order of the Crown. These facts were recorded in the minutes of the meeting.¹⁰

On recommendation of the Nominating Committee Judge Daniel F. Cohalan was elected President for the year 1920, an office which he was to hold for three terms. Henry L. Joyce and James J. Hoey, became Vice-Presidents, with Morgan J. O'Brien, Jr. and William J. Colihan, Secretaries. Treasurer O'Keeffe and Almoner Barrett retained their offices. The new President, Judge Cohalan, was at this time at the peak of his career, called "the peerless leader of 20,000,000 of the Irish Race in America."¹¹ Although a palpable exaggeration the appellation indicates Cohalan's great prestige and influence with fellow-Americans of Irish blood. During the next three years he was to become nationally significant if only because of his opposition to the League Covenant whose Article X he described as "a League to Preserve the British Empire."

Early in 1919 de Valera, the Sinn Fein leader, escaped from prison coming to America as a stowaway. When here he immediately launched a campaign for Irish-American political and financial support for the

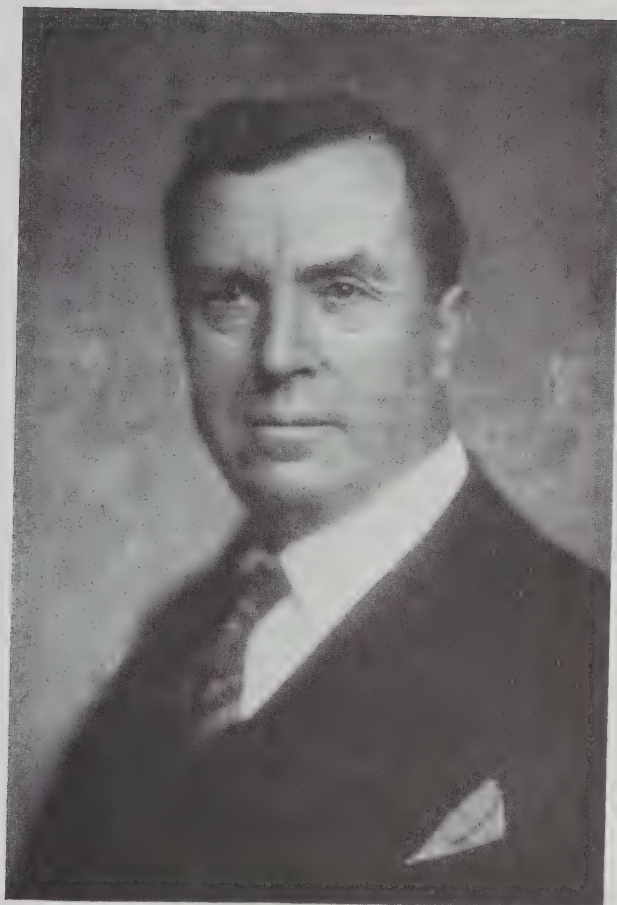
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⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, November 17, 1919.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 290.



DANIEL F. COHALAN

Irish Republic. At first universally welcomed — the Friends of Irish Freedom advanced him \$100,000 from its "Victory Fund" — he soon ran into opposition but eventually succeeded in raising \$5,000,000 by the sale of bonds of the Irish Republic.¹² Unfortunately he became involved in bitter factional fights with other Irish leaders who accused him of trying to form his own organization in America. Although Daniel F. Cohalan, President of the Friendly Sons, invited de Valera as guest of honor to the Society's Anniversary Dinner in 1920 the two men never seem to have been friends.¹³ When Cohalan failed in his efforts to induce the Republican National Convention of 1920 to endorse Irish independence, de Valera blamed Cohalan and Cohalan blamed de Valera.¹⁴ But the rift between them had begun earlier. They had each maintained separate headquarters in Chicago. De Valera's new American Association for the Recognition of the Irish Republic cut heavily into the membership of the older Irish-American societies and his independent action was bitterly resented. Some of his enemies even accused him of misappropriation of funds.

The reasons for the cooling of ardor for de Valera on the part of many Irish-Americans lay much deeper. De Valera's movement had brought civil war to Ireland, with Sinn Feiners and "Black and Tans" shooting each other from ambush. As had happened only too often in the past, Irishmen were murdering Irishmen in the name of liberty for the country that they loved. It was impossible to blame England for all the atrocities committed. Civil war as usual brought distress to the poor people of Ireland and once again famine struck. Conservative Americans of Irish blood could not approve of the situation. They gradually came to believe that peace, even at the price of "partition," was what the mother country needed most. Eventually they realized that what the British government proposed in 1920, a fourth edition of home rule with two Parliaments and two executive councils — one for Ulster and the other for the rest of the country — was the best that could be obtained under the circumstances.¹⁵ The Irish at home agreed. On December 6, 1921 a "treaty" was signed between Britain and Sinn Fein representatives, creating the Irish Free State, with Ulster remaining outside. The new Free State had Dominion status similar to Canada. When de Valera refused to accept the agreement and his followers continued the guerilla warfare many Irish-Americans turned against him. Even the *Gaelic-American* that had previously supported him blamed de Valera for continuing "civil war over a quibble."¹⁶

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¹² *Ibid.*, p. 289.

¹³ Charles Callan Tansill, *America and the Fight for Irish Freedom, 1866-1922*, New York, 1957, p. 365.

¹⁴ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 291-2.

¹⁶ *The Gaelic-American*, April 22, June 24, 1922; Cited by Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

The activities of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick during this period reflect the change that was taking place in Irish-American public opinion. The Society enthusiastically welcomed Eamon de Valera "President of the Irish Republic," at its huge Anniversary Dinner of March 17, 1920, which the great hall of the Hotel Astor was unable to accommodate. Judge Cohalan, in his presidential address, emphasized the fact that there was never a time in the history of the Society "when its membership was made up of men who were at once more sturdily American and more desirous, at the same time, of helping the old cradleland of their race."¹⁷ De Valera, himself, after a short introduction in Irish, which probably few of his hearers understood, tried to explain away the intransigent attitude of Ulster toward his new Irish Republic. There is no real difference, he maintained, "as far as an Irishman is concerned with our Orange Brothers of the North." No doubt few of those present believed him. Sinn Fein, he explained, although literally translated meant "We ourselves," actually signified "self-reliance."¹⁸

A distinguished list of speakers was heard by the large audience. W. Bourke Cockran responded to the toast, "The Day We Celebrate," and ex-governor Martin H. Glynn to that of "The State of New York." United States Senator Medell McCormick of Illinois spoke on Carl Marx, his communist doctrines, and the Russian dictator Lenin. Incidentally, a few months later a member of the Friendly Sons, Secretary of State Bainbridge Colby, reaffirmed our policy of not recognizing a Russian regime that had subverted popular government saying:

We cannot recognize, hold official relations with, or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions, whose diplomats will be agitators of dangerous revolt.¹⁹

Governor Alfred E. Smith, an active member of the Society, was present at this dinner, responding briefly to a toast in his honor. The large and enthusiastic gathering was probably at the height of its support of the Sinn Fein movement on this occasion. Little had yet occurred to destroy unanimity. One of the guests on the dais was J. L. Fawcett, Consul to New York of the Republic of Ireland, who had addressed the Friendly Sons at a previous stated meeting when he was very well received.²⁰

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¹⁷ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1920.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Oscar T. Barck, Jr. and Nelson M. Blake, *Since 1900*, New York, 1947, p. 348; Bailey, *Diplomatic History*, p. 633.

²⁰ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Nov. 17, 1919.

In the year that followed many differences began to show up. Undoubtedly large numbers of Irish-Americans abandoned the Democratic Party in the November elections to support Warren G. Harding against James M. Cox, and the shift affected local as well as national candidates. The campaign was a bitter one and Irish sentiment was far from united. When that popular member of the Friendly Sons, Bourke Cockran, spoke at Tammany Hall in favor of Cox, he was badly heckled by some of his Irish-American confreres. Many Irish newspapers supported isolationists and anti-League candidates of whatever party, and *The Gaelic-American* opposed even Al Smith for governor of the state because he favored the League of Nations. In large cities where the Irish vote was significant Democratic majorities were cut sharply. Harding carried New York City by 434,000 votes and Smith's normal majority in his own home town was reduced so drastically that he lost the governorship to Nathan L. Miller.²¹ Members of the Society apparently shared in the isolationist trend of the times, for Senator James A. Reed of Missouri, one of the most outspoken leaders of the "America First" movement, was invited as a principal speaker at the Anniversary Dinner of 1921.²²

Meanwhile in the early twenties the members turned increased attention to charities, stimulated by poverty at home during the post-war depression and by increased distress in Ireland. The kindly expressions of appreciation by Jewish leaders for the Society's substantial contributions to their War Relief Fund seem to have made a deep impression on the members for they included a gift to the United Hebrew Charities in their Christmas donations of 1919.²³ This donation was continued in the following year when the Society raised its Christmas contribution to \$2,500, and in March 1922, the members voted unanimously a special contribution for Jewish Relief of \$250.²⁴ In May 1920, the Society pledged \$500 a year for three years to the Charity Fund of the Arch-diocese of New York. In January 1921, the Friendly Sons had voted \$5,000 to the American Committee for Relief in Ireland and in May of the same year supported a concert given by a member, John McCormack, for the same purpose. In November of 1921 the Society voted \$500 to make up a deficit incurred by the festival "America's Making" in which Irish societies had participated.²⁵

The 137th Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1921, at which President Cohalan presided, was described as the greatest in the history of the Society and "probably the most successful dinner held by an organization to mark any event in the history of New York." The Glee Club

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²¹ Wittke, *op. cit.*, p. 291.

²² *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1921.

²³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 5, 1920.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 3, 1921; March 6, 1922.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 3, 1920; Jan. 3, 1921; May 2, 1921; Nov. 20, 1922.

entertained magnificently and Victor Herbert, former president, played the 'cello, the instrument which had first brought him musical fame. Four "great speeches" were made by Senator James A. Reed, M. J. Ryan of Philadelphia, Rev. Matthew C. Gleeson, first Fleet Chaplain of the United States Navy, and Patrick H. O'Donnell of Chicago, who spoke on "The Day We Celebrate." No souvenirs had been provided for this celebration as the sum usually appropriated for that purpose had been set aside for the Relief of Distress in Ireland. President Cohalan made an appeal for personal contributions to the fund.²⁶

Senator James A. Reed's address on this occasion was of undoubted historical significance. He bitterly attacked the League of Nations which he termed the "Holy Alliance of Geneva."²⁷ Each nation, he maintained, having seized all the territory it could bring within its grasp "immediately began preparation for another war." He condemned the naval race on the part of England, France, Japan, and Italy who were, so he intimated, arming obviously against the United States. His speech was strongly anti-English in the best traditions of mid-western isolationism. Senator Reed doubtless intended his address as part of the propaganda campaign to force the Harding administration to call a disarmament conference, a movement begun in the Senate by William E. Borah in December, 1920.²⁸ Advocates of this movement succeeded in arousing such great public sentiment in favor of disarmament that by July 1921, Harding was compelled to call the famous Washington Conference.

During the remaining months of 1921 members of the Friendly Sons continued to be distressed by the woeful conditions in Ireland to the relief of which they were contributing heavily. A spirit of conciliation was in the air which no doubt influenced them to invite as their principal speaker at their next annual dinner Ulster-born Lindsay Crawford of Montreal, who responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate."²⁹ This was the third and last Anniversary banquet at which Judge Cohalan presided. Held on Friday, March 17, the Catholic members enjoyed a special dispensation to eat meat, in the days before such a dispensation became diocesan-wide. The large gathering equalled any in the past and taxed the facilities of the Hotel Astor to the utmost. Hundreds who desired to attend could not be accommodated. Other speakers included the junior Senator from Massachusetts, David I. Walsh, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith.

This spirit of conciliation, so evident at the 128th Anniversary

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²⁶ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1921.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 629.

²⁹ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1922.

Dinner, and the rising tide of disapproval of continued civil war in Ireland culminated in May, 1922 in the following resolution, proposed by Dr. Constantine MacGuire, a veteran member of the Society, which was adopted and cabled to Ireland.

The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York, instituted in 1784 by officers of Washington's Army and of which George Washington himself was a member, at a regular meeting held tonight at the Hotel Astor in the City of New York unanimously adopted the following resolution.

Resolved: That it is the considered judgment of this Society — in line with the ideals of ordered liberty for which the Irish Race has struggled for centuries — that the parties in Ireland which are now standing in opposition to each other should compose their differences and end the condition of unrest and chaos which is losing to them that good opinion of mankind which is one of Ireland's greatest assets.

We see in the continuance of the present condition the certainty of grave peril to all the people and the failure of a great opportunity to continue their successful march to liberty and prosperity.³⁰

This resolution, signed by Daniel F. Cohalan, President of the Friendly Sons, unquestionably represents the changed opinions of the members and of Judge Cohalan himself. It could hardly have been adopted without his approval. Peace eventually came to Ireland and after ten years of government by a moderate party, de Valera himself came quietly into power. By the outbreak of World War II under his regime Ireland had become completely independent.

After three terms in office Cohalan retired as President in 1923, being succeeded by Henry L. Joyce with James J. Hoey and Joseph Ferris Simmons as Vice-Presidents. Almoner Nicholas J. Barrett was elected Treasurer, an office which he continued to hold until 1947.

Mr. Barrett was born in Brooklyn in 1869 and attended local schools and Polytechnic Preparatory. He was graduated from St. Francis Xavier College in 1895 with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy. He entered his father's paper business and the firm became known as Thomas Barrett & Son. He later became the President. He was a Charter member of the National Paper Trade Association, a member of the Board of Education of the City of New York from 1902 to 1915, during

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³⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 1, 1922.



HENRY L. JOYCE

which time he was Chairman of the Hunter College Committee. In 1906 he was elected a Trustee of the Italian Savings Bank, where he served as Vice-President and Treasurer until 1932. When the bank merged with the East River Savings Bank he remained Treasurer until his retirement in 1943. On March 29, 1949, he was made a Knight of Malta and decorated by Pope Pius XII in recognition of his services in Catholic action and Catholic charities. He was a member of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society, the Catholic Club, the Knights of Columbus, the American Irish Historical Society, Lavelle School for the Blind, The New York Athletic Club, Winged Foot Country Club, the Westchester Country Club and the Holy Name Society. He was a pioneer member of the Knights of Columbus and assisted in installing Councils in the Cities of New York, Troy and Philadelphia. He was the oldest Trustee of the New York Foundling Hospital and for many years was a member and supporter of The Metropolitan Museum of Art and The Catholic Actors Guild. When he died at the age of 87 years, he was Treasurer Emeritus of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

Joseph T. Ryan and William J. Colihan were the new secretaries, with Judge John G. McTigue accepting the duties of Almoner. President Joyce, born in old Greenwich Village, April 23, 1863, was the son of an Irish father and an English mother. Educated at Cooper Union he started life as a page boy in the House of Representatives where he was befriended by Congressman John H. Starin of the Starin Lighterage Company from whom he got his start in the marine field which was to be his life's work. In 1911 he became manager of a ferry company operating between Roosevelt Street, Manhattan, and Broadway, Brooklyn. He later employed his knowledge of marine engineering with numerous organizations including the Central Railroad of New Jersey whose Marine Department he managed until 1921. While President of the Society Joyce was Foreign Freight Agent of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western, and also Director of the Coal and Iron Bank and a Trustee of the West Side Savings Bank.³¹

President Joyce presided over the Anniversary Dinner in 1923, whose proceedings seem to have been the first in the history of the Society to be broadcast over radio. The veteran member Chauncey M. Depew, then in St. Augustine, Florida, tuned in just in time to hear his own letter of regret for inattendance being read to the members by President Joyce. The principal speaker of the evening was J. Washington Logue of Philadelphia; but Governor Alfred E. Smith and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., also addressed the Society. John M.

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³¹ *Ibid.*, Necrology, 1931; Year Book, 1935.

Wall recited the Declaration of Independence. Some 1150 members and guests were present.³²

During the rest of the decade of the "Golden Twenties" the Friendly Sons continued to grow and prosper. Regular quarterly meetings were better attended than ever before. Charming entertainment by the Glee Club including solos by such artists as Victor Herbert, Chauncey Olcott, and John McCormack delighted the members and proved a great drawing card. It was a rare privilege indeed, worth coming great distances, to hear fellow-member McCormack sing "A Tumble Down Shack in Athlone."³³ On one occasion Chauncey Olcott rendered "My Wild Irish Rose" and "Mother Machree," while on the same evening "Lora Lee" with music by Victor Herbert and words by J. I. C. Clarke, was sung publicly for the first time.³⁴ The Glee Club in addition to performing at regular meetings and annual banquets was now holding yearly concerts at the Hotel Astor, which were attended by the members in great numbers. Appropriations for the Club's expenses, originally \$500 then \$600 per year, reached \$1,000 in 1924 and after 1926 passed the \$2,000 figure.³⁵

The custom, inaugurated many years before, of inviting outstanding speakers to address the stated meetings was continued. Among those who spoke during this period were the Canadian statesman, Lindsay Crawford, Dr. James J. Walsh, Judge Alfred J. Talley, Bainbridge Colby, Brigadier-General Henry J. Reilly, Morgan J. O'Brien, former Lieutenant-Governor Thomas F. Conroy, Joseph P. Tumulty, Rev. Francis P. Duffy, Claude G. Bowers, and General Hugh A. Drumm. Probably the two largest meeting of the decade were those of May 4, 1925 and November 19, 1928. At the earlier meeting a certificate of Honorary Membership was presented to Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York.³⁶ The proceedings were broadcast over station WJZ. At the 1928 meeting the Society held a reception for three international flyers — Major James Fitzmaurice of Ireland, Captain Hermann Koehl, and Baron Gunther Von Huenefeld of Germany — the first to fly across the Atlantic from East to West. Mayor James J. Walker spoke, and Father Duffy of the Sixty-Ninth presented each of the flyers with a handsome wrist-watch. Fifteen hundred members and guests were present and the proceedings were broadcast over Station WNYC.³⁷

During the 'twenties membership in the Society was greatly enlarged and fees from members raised so as to make possible increased dona-

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³² *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1923.

³³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 25, 1925.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 8, 1924.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 3, 1926.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 4, 1925; Year Book, 1925.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1928; Year Book, 1928.

tions for charity. At the beginning of the decade the regular Christmas donations were \$2,500 but by 1923 the appropriation was increased to \$3,000, only to be raised again to \$4,000 in 1926.³⁸ As previously noted the Society had been making large contributions to Irish relief during the same years. In 1921 the By-Laws had been amended to raise the limit on active membership to 600 and on life membership to 300. At the stated meeting in November, 1925, the veteran member Dr. Constantine MacGuire made a plea for St. Vincent's Hospital, which was in dire need of additional funds. A resolution was proposed to contribute \$7,500 to St. Vincent's Hospital in five yearly payments of \$1,500 each for the purpose of establishing a bed to be known as the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick Bed.³⁹ This resolution was adopted at the subsequent March meeting.⁴⁰ Before it could be passed provision had to be made for additional income on the part of the Society. So once again the By-Laws were amended to raise the limit of active membership from 600 to 700 and to increase the initiation fee from ten dollars to twenty-five dollars and the annual dues from ten dollars to twenty dollars. Dues for life membership were also increased from \$120 to \$150, and the payment for transfer from active membership to life membership from \$100 to \$125. At this same meeting, 114 names were added to the roll of the Society from its large waiting list.⁴¹

With the greatly enlarged Society it was quite natural that deaths among the 1000 active and life members should become more and more frequent. Scarcely a meeting was held at which the Secretary did not report the passing of several members. During these years some of St. Patrick's most distinguished Sons were lost to the Society, including the beloved Victor Herbert and Edward E. McCall, former presidents, Judge John W. Goff, the orator Bourke Cockran, and the Tammany Hall leaders Richard Croker and Charles F. Murphy. So much time at the stated meetings was taken up by the numerous and lengthy memorials that it became necessary in 1925 to suspend the practice of reading them.⁴² Henceforth memorials were published in the Year Books of the Society.

Efforts to write the history of the Society during these years met with no success. When Victor J. Dowling became President in 1917 he had appointed a committee on the history of the Society; but after reporting "progress" in several subsequent meetings this committee fell by the wayside. On November 16, 1925, President James J. Hoey appointed a five-man History Committee to provide for writing the History of

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³⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1926; Jan. 3, 1927.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 16, 1925.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 1, 1926.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 4, 1925.



JAMES J. HOEY

the Society.⁴³ The new committee at first showed some enthusiasm, but after reporting progress at several meetings in the following year, it too accomplished nothing. It was not until after Richard C. Murphy was elected Recording Secretary in 1930 that any serious effort was made on this arduous and necessary task. As the Society grew older its principal officers came to know less and less about its history, and, unfortunately, what they thought they knew was frequently untrue. The addresses of the Presidents of the Friendly Sons at its own Anniversary Dinners are full of misinformation about its early history which they passed on to younger members. Facts accumulated by Charles P. Daly and John D. Crimmins became quite confused by the passage of time. It would be years before this condition was remedied.

The annual dinners held during the presidency of Henry L. Joyce were exceptionally well attended. At the 1923 Dinner, where hundreds who wished to be present had to be turned away, the receipts and disbursements showed a surplus of \$2,645, quite an unusual event in the history of the Society.⁴⁴ Attendance at the 140th Anniversary Dinner in 1924 was even greater. The resources of the Hotel Astor were taxed to capacity and rooms adjoining the great Banquet Hall had to be used. John W. Crosby responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate," and other speakers included Colonel William J. Donovan and Colonel William N. Haskell. The speeches were broadcast over Station WJZ.⁴⁵

President Joyce was succeeded by the popular James J. Hoey in 1925 with Joseph Ferris Simmons and John P. O'Brien as Vice-Presidents. Joseph F. Higgins became Corresponding Secretary, the other officers retaining their positions.⁴⁶ James J. Hoey was at this time at the height of his career. Born in New York, December 15, 1877, of Irish parents, he had lived for some ten years in the west where his father made a reputation as a pioneer contractor. About the turn of the century the family returned to New York where Hoey entered the insurance business. In 1906 he became a Democratic member of the State Assembly where he proved himself a keen and forceful debater. One of his closest friends was Republican Speaker James W. Wadsworth, Jr., who later became United States Senator from New York. Hoey's colleagues in the Assembly considered him largely responsible for the passage of New York State's first successful Workman's Compensation Act in 1911, by which dependents of those who died through occupational accidents were cared for. He supported legislation for improvements of factory conditions for workers and restrictions on child labor. In 1911 he resigned from the Assembly to accept an

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⁴³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 16, 1925.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 7, 1923.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1924.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 17, 1924.

appointment from William Temple Emmet, then State Superintendent of Insurance, as Second Deputy Superintendent in charge of the Metropolitan area. Through Emmet's influence he was elected to the Society in 1914, and from 1917 had served continuously as Recording Secretary, 2nd and 1st Vice-President. Since 1918 he had returned to active participation in the insurance business, serving as vice-president and director of a number of insurance companies. He was Chairman of the Board of Directors of the New York Board of Fire Underwriters.⁴⁷

An ardent Democrat, although he always claimed that he was "not a politician," Hoey was on intimate terms with Tammany Chieftain Charles F. Murphy, a fellow member of the Friendly Sons. He was one of the closest friends of that other famous member of the Society, Alfred E. Smith, who often at Society dinners went out of his way to express his affection and high regard for his old friend James Hoey. Smith had recently appointed him Chairman of a Commission to study and recommend laws granting home rule to New York City and other state municipalities which resulted in the City Home Rule Law of 1924. Hoey had been present in San Francisco in 1920 when Governor Smith's name was first placed in nomination by W. Bourke Cochran. In the very month in which he was elected president of the Society, Hoey had been floor leader for Smith in the National Convention at Madison Square Garden. Four years later he was to serve in a similar capacity at Houston, Texas, where Smith received the nomination for President and was the personal selection of the Governor as Campaign Manager in the election that followed.⁴⁸

The 141st Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1925, at which President Hoey presided, was a most successful occasion. The decorations were most artistic and the musical program of an unusually high order. The Divine blessing was invoked by Rt. Reverend John J. Dunn, Auxiliary Bishop of New York. The Hon. Joseph Scott, "of Irish stock but born in England," journeyed from California to respond to the toast "The Day We Celebrate." James V. Barry, who had addressed the Society a decade or so before, in the time of Edward E. McCall, spoke on "Irish Wit and Humor." Barry had been State Commissioner of Insurance for Michigan and was presently Vice-President of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company. Governor Alfred E. Smith was present and had intended to respond to the toast "The State of New York," but was compelled to leave before speaking because of urgent state business in Albany. His Grace Patrick Cardinal Hayes, Archbishop of New York left with him, both receiving a tremendous ovation while the band played "The Sidewalks of New York." A

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⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 5, 1942.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1942.

few months later, as previously noted, the "Cardinal of Charity" was to be elected an Honorary Member of the Society. At this same meeting another famous "Son of St. Patrick" sent greetings to "my fellow members" — John McCormack from Memphis, Tennessee, where he was fulfilling an engagement.⁴⁹

At the Anniversary Dinner of March 17, 1926, when President Hoey presided with 1200 members and guests in attendance the feature speaker was United States Senator Samuel G. Bratton of New Mexico, who responded to the toast "The United States." The Reverend Peter E. Hoey, C.S.P., Chaplain of the 107th Regiment, World War I, a member of the Society and the brother of its President, spoke on "The Day." Other speakers included former Congressman Eugene F. Kinkead and Alfred J. Tally of the Society who gave an appreciation of the services of the late Joseph I. C. Clarke, former President of the Society. President Calvin Coolidge had been invited to be present but was unable to attend. The following letter was read to the gathering.⁵⁰

The White House,
Washington, D. C.
December 11, 1925

My dear Mr. Hoey:

The President has received your kind invitation to be the guest of honor at the One Hundred and Forty-Second Annual Dinner of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, to be held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on the evening of March 17th.

It would be most pleasing to him to meet the members of your association, which has had such a long and honorable history, but he has been to New York three times since becoming President, and as you will appreciate, feels that he cannot in justice to other parts of the country, go there again at so early a date.

Furthermore, he does not want to leave Washington while Congress is in session.

Please extend the President's regrets and greetings to the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.

Everett Sanders,
Secretary to the President

This letter is reprinted as an illustration of the tremendous change that had taken place in the office of President of the United States in a short period of twenty years. As late as 1904 a President of the

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⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1925.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1926.

United States, Theodore Roosevelt, in accepting an invitation from the Society had written in the first person, made inserts in his own handwriting, and had signed the letter himself.⁵¹ Today a letter from the White House is written in the third person and signed by a secretary. Perhaps it is reading a little too much between the lines to sense a certain impersonality into the toast with which the Society responded "health and happiness of the President of the United States (unnamed) and peace and prosperity to our beloved country." There is no question, however, that the warm personal tributes so often expressed in the past are lacking here.

By a coincidence, interesting to the historian, the principal speaker of the evening took occasion to emphasize in a long address other changes that were taking place in government. Senator Bratton of New Mexico referred to as "lurking in America tonight" as it "has been for several years, that which has been well called the creeping paralysis of democracy — the centralization of governmental power in the Federal Government." Twenty-two years ago, he said, there were less than twenty-two bureaus of our National Government; but now there are approximately ninety-five in Washington alone at an annual cost of \$4,000,000,000. This, he claimed, had been achieved by constant encroachment on States' rights. "We have wandered far afield from the Constitution" and "I appeal to an aroused and militant citizenry (to) see to it that this practice shall stop."⁵² It is rather amusing to reflect that these words were spoken long before the days of the "New Deal" in a period that has been conveniently labeled a "Return to Normalcy."

It is regrettable that space will not permit a reprinting of Judge Alfred Talley's tribute to Joseph I. C. Clarke, former president of the Society. To present members he is practically unknown, for history has a way of burying the truly important men of the past unless they have political connections. Suffice it to say, as Talley pointed out, that Clarke was a playwright of such prominence that he wrote "Heartsease" for Henry Miller, "Bonnie Prince Charlie" for Julia Marlowe, "First Violin" for Richard Mansfield and "Her Majesty" for Grace George, the very greatest names in the theatre of his day.⁵³

At the November meeting of 1926 Surrogate John P. O'Brien who had been a member of the Society since 1894 was elected to succeed President James J. Hoey, with Lawrence Maguire and Francis Martin as Vice-Presidents.⁵⁴ George Keegan became Recording Secretary, while other officials retained their offices. The new president had been born

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⁵¹ *Vide Supra*, Chapter XVII.

⁵² *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1926.

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1926.



JOHN P. O'BRIEN

in Worcester, Massachusetts, February 1, 1873, of parents who were both natives of Ireland. A product of the public schools, he was a scholarship student at Holy Cross College, from which he graduated with honors at the head of his class in 1894. He later received the degrees of M.A. and L.L.B. from Georgetown University, and later still in 1920, the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from Fordham University and Holy Cross College. Admitted to the bar in 1898 he was associated for a time in private practice with John J. Delany, a former President of the Friendly Sons, who later was elected Justice of the State Supreme Court. O'Brien was appointed Assistant Corporation Counsel in 1901 and spent the next twenty years in the City's Law Department. John F. Hylan appointed him Corporation Counsel to succeed William P. Burr, also a member of the Society, who had been elevated to the New York State Supreme Court. In 1922 O'Brien was elected Surrogate of New York County, where in association with James A. Foley, his colleague in the Society, he proved himself an indefatigable jurist.⁵⁵

President O'Brien spent two very successful terms in office. Always deeply interested in the affairs of the Society he had been Chairman of its Committee to care for the families of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment while on the Mexican border and later in France and in Germany with the Army of Occupation. His son, Lawrence J., served as Major in the 165th Infantry, receiving several decorations. A deeply religious man, O'Brien was closely identified with the Layman's Retreat Movement in the Archdiocese of New York. Perhaps the outstanding characteristic of this honest, candid man was his exceptional ability to make friends and his deep sense of loyalty where friendship was involved.⁵⁶ It was this loyalty to party and friends that led him to make, several years later, the greatest mistake of his political career. Reluctantly, on October 6, 1932, in response to the call for help from his friends in the Tammany leadership he accepted the nomination of the Democratic County Committees of the Greater City to fill the unexpired term of Mayor Jimmy Walker, who had resigned under fire to prevent his removal by Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt.⁵⁷ Under such circumstances, and with scarcely a year to repair the ravages of his predecessor's administration he could expect little but damage to his reputation. Far from being the "bumbling" incompetent that his opponents portrayed, O'Brien's friends in the Society believed that he had saved the city from threatened bankruptcy and that he turned over a wholly solvent municipality to his successor.⁵⁸ But his

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⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1952.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 7, 1929.

⁵⁷ Moscow, *Politics in the Empire State*, pp. 54-55.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1952.

was a thankless task. Press and public clamored for a victim and O'Brien was defeated for reelection by the Republican-Fusion candidate, Fiorello H. LaGuardia. Admittedly he lacked those qualities of dynamic leadership that alone could have snatched victory from almost certain defeat. When his colleague in the Friendly Sons, Edward J. Flynn, Boss of the Bronx, backed Joseph V. McKee against him on an Independent third party ticket, O'Brien's defeat was assured. LaGuardia's election caused the overthrow as leader of Tammany Hall of John F. Curry, who had succeeded George W. Olvany in 1929. Both Curry and Olvany were members of the Friendly Sons. O'Brien himself returned to private practice, often thereafter serving as referee for the Surrogate's Court and the State Supreme Court. He never lost the respect and affection of those who knew him well.⁵⁹

The two Anniversary dinners held under the chairmanship of John P. O'Brien were preeminently successful. That of 1927 at which attendance was described as the "greatest in the history of the Society" was surpassed in the following year when 1400 members and guests sat down to dinner. The speakers at the 1927 dinner were especially eminent. United States Senator Henry F. Ashurst of Arizona responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate;" Thomas P. Gore, United States Senator from Oklahoma to "The Toast of 1784;" and Claude G. Bowers, editor of the New York *World*, a distinguished historian in his own right, spoke on "The Irish in America." "Circumstances over which I have no control," held Governor Alfred E. Smith in Albany but he sent his greetings to his "brother members."⁶⁰ Senator Ashurst, in a brief but eloquent speech traced the history of Ireland back to the Roman Empire and the Roman General Agricola, A.D. 37-93, who had advised the conquest of the Emerald Isle. Senator Gore was very warmly introduced by President O'Brien who stated that:

When the Irish cause needed friends, one man was more vigorous, more eloquent and more aggressive in support of Irish principles than all others in the United States Senate.

Senator Gore in responding to the "Toast of 1784" said that he had a choice of two, either "America and American Institutions" which he said was the first toast in 1784 or another that appealed to him personally "The Irish Claim No Alibi," since the Irish were there when it happened. He went on to say that

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⁵⁹ Shaw, *History of the New York City Legislature*, pp. 149, 153-154, 155; Moscow, *op. cit.*, pp. 24, 55; *Records of the Society*, Year Books, 1929, 1952, 1957. George W. Olvany had been elected a member of the Society in 1920; John F. Curry, in 1930; Edward J. Flynn in 1932.

⁶⁰ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1927.

I am one Irishman willing not only to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's, but to render unto England the things that are England's.

He did not, however, include the motherland of his hearers in that category.

Claude G. Bowers, author of *Jefferson and Hamilton* told the Friendly Sons that

. . . self determinism was practiced by Ireland 1300 years before it was proclaimed by the lips of Woodrow Wilson. When Liverpool was an obscure fishing village, the Port of Galway was crowded with vessels from every known quarter of the earth.⁶¹

His long but eloquent speech was heartily applauded by the members.

At the 1928 dinner, the largest gathering of the Friendly Sons up to this time, speakers included William E. Leahy of Washington, D. C., who spoke of the "Day We Celebrate;" John F. Malley of Boston, Massachusetts, Grand Exalted Ruler of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, whose subject was "Tolerance;" and former Mayor of Boston, John F. Fitzgerald, who discussed the Irish in New England. The Glee Club performed unusually well.⁶²

The year 1929, which brought to a disastrous end the post-war prosperity which the nation and the Society had enjoyed, saw the election as President of Francis Martin, Associate Justice of the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court. Judge Martin had served as 2nd Vice-President under John P. O'Brien, but when Lawrence McGuire, the 1st Vice-President had declined nomination as President of the Society, owing to illness in his family, the Judge was recommended for advancement to the highest position. Surrogate James A. Foley and Police Commissioner George V. McLoughlin were the new vice-presidents. The other officers retained their positions including Almoner Michael W. Rayens who had been elected to that office during the previous year to succeed Judge John G. McTigue, deceased. The new President, Judge Martin, had served for eight years as Assistant Corporation Counsel during which time he had been the principal trial lawyer of the city. Prior to his elevation to the State Supreme Court Martin had twice been elected District Attorney of Bronx County, and during his terms of office had never had a single conviction reversed.⁶³

When Judge Martin assumed office as President the affairs of the

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⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1928.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1928, Nov. 18, 1930.



FRANCIS MARTIN

Society were in exceedingly prosperous condition. The rolls of Regular and Life Memberships were completely filled, and there was a waiting list of 250 names. But soon the books of the Society were to reflect the depressed conditions that followed the stock market crash of October, 1929. Appropriations for Christmas Charity reached \$4,250 in 1928, \$4,000 in 1929, and \$4,350 in 1930; but in the last named year it was necessary to appropriate an additional sum of \$3,500 for relief of distressed families in the city. This sum was distributed as follows: Catholic Charities, \$1,500; Charity Organization Society, \$1,000; Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies, \$1,000.⁶⁴

The 145th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, held in the Hotel Astor on Saturday, March 16, 1929, was very well attended. The entire proceedings were broadcast over Radio Station WOR. Patrick Cardinal Hayes, an Honorary Member of the Society, delivered the invocation. Reverend James M. Gillis, C.S.P., Editor of the *Catholic World* and a well known pulpit orator spoke on "The Day We Celebrate." Doubtless the defeat of their beloved fellow member, Alfred E. Smith, in the presidential elections of the previous November cast somewhat of a damper on the hilarity of some of the members present. At a previous quarterly meeting Senator Royal S. Copeland of New York, a member of the Society, had addressed them on the subject of interjecting religion into political campaigns. Daniel H. Grady, Chairman of the Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin, spoke on the "Irish in America." The entire gathering gave a warm welcome to the popular Senator Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky who tickled their fancy by asserting that everybody of any consequence in the United States was either Irish or the descendant of Irishmen. They were further amused when he told them that Andrew W. Mellon, the new Secretary of the Treasury, was himself the descendant of Irish ancestors.⁶⁵

The Anniversary Dinner of 1930 surpassed all previous occasions in the number of members present. Once more Patrick Cardinal Hayes delivered the invocation. The speakers were: Reverend Peter Guilday, Professor of History at the Catholic University of America; Clyde R. Hoey, legislator and journalist of North Carolina; Joseph V. McKee, then President of the Board of Aldermen but soon to be Acting Mayor of New York; and Alfred E. Smith, four times Governor of the State and Democratic candidate for the Presidency in 1928. Governor Smith was in a jovial mood. He told his fellow members how the song "The Sidewalks of New York," written by Lawlor and

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⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1928; Nov. 18, 1929; Nov. 18, 1930. Treasurer's Report, Jan. 5, 1931.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1928; Year Book, 1929.

Blake and sung by the old vaudeville team of Lawlor and Thornton "came to be tied up to me." It seems that at the 1920 San Francisco National Convention, Smith's campaign managers had brought along some Harrigan and Hart melodies for use in the anticipated demonstration and the "Sidewalks" quite by accident had gotten mixed up with them. When Bourke Cockran placed Smith's name in nomination he told the Convention

We brought him here to you from the sidewalks of New York, and we offer him to you for the nomination of the Presidency of the United States, and if you reject him, we will take him back and elect him Governor again.

When the Smith demonstration began the Band Master looked through the Harrigan scores to see what song fitted what the Congressman had just said — found the "Sidewalks" and started to play it. "Since that time," said Governor Smith, "every second tune I hear is the old melody written by Lawlor and Blake."⁶⁶

At the November meeting in 1930 Surrogate James A. Foley, one of the most respected members of the Society, was elected President of the Friendly Sons whose destiny he was to guide for the next four years during the heights of the Great Depression. George V. McLoughlin was raised to the 1st Vice-Presidency with George Keegan leaving the office of Recording Secretary to become 2nd Vice-President. Richard C. Murphy was elected Recording Secretary, an office which he has held to the present day. The other officers were retained.⁶⁷

James A. Foley, the only president of the Society in the last thirty-seven years to serve more than two terms, was at the time of his election undoubtedly one of the most highly esteemed public servants in the city of New York. He already had behind him a distinguished legislative record. Son of a Cork immigrant, Foley was born in June 1882 on East 19th Street, and continued to reside in the city only a few blocks away on East 17th Street until his death in 1946. A product of the public schools, he graduated from City College in 1901 at the age of nineteen, and from New York Law School in 1903. Immediately entering politics he was elected to the State Assembly in 1907 where he spent four years. From 1912 to 1919 he was a member of the State Senate; in the last year Minority Leader. The famous triumvirate Al Smith, Bob Wagner, and Jim Foley are generally credited with the welfare laws passed in the State between 1907 and 1917. In 1914 Foley headed an inquiry into the affairs of the New York Tele-

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⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1930.

⁶⁷ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Nov. 17, 1930.



JAMES A. FOLEY

phone Company which resulted in reduced rates that saved millions of dollars for New York consumers. Respected and popular he could easily have become Mayor of the City, probably United States Senator, and perhaps even Governor; but after 1919 he consistently declined nomination to high office. In that year he was elected to the Surrogate Court at a time when almost all Democratic candidates were defeated. He was reelected in 1933 for a term to expire December 31, 1947. Subsequently he rejected an appointment to a coveted position on the State Court of Appeals.⁶⁸

President Foley's four years in office coincided with the very depths of the Great Depression when millions of New Yorkers found themselves in almost desperate circumstances. No doubt many members of the Society suffered severe financial setbacks; but there is no evidence of the devastating effects upon the membership experienced during and after the Panic of 1837. At that time many members had suspended business and large numbers had dropped out of the Society, many leaving the city and some even returning to Ireland. The membership rolls of the Society during the depression years remained full; the few vacancies occurring in Life and Active Memberships were promptly filled from the waiting lists. Income from dues and fees during the period was high, and the cash position of the Society remained strong. Interest and dividends from investments held up surprisingly well, averaging \$7,393.54 yearly for the period; but there was a gradual decline from \$8,496 in 1931 to \$6,389.84 in 1934. This decline was to continue for several years thereafter. The market value of securities held by the Society naturally took a sharp drop from \$161,389 in 1931 to \$100,682 in 1932, reaching a low of \$91,175 in 1933. From this point values began to climb attaining \$106,261 by November 1, 1934. During the four years in question the Treasurer invested only an additional net sum of \$2,400.22 for the Permanent Fund.⁶⁹

The Society's Annual Dinners continued to be well attended during the depression although there was some falling off in 1932 and 1933. Oddly enough all four of these banquets showed a surplus, which had not been very common in past years. The Dinner Committee's profit was: 1931, \$748.05; 1932, \$558.56; 1933, \$708.08; 1934, \$1,185.33.⁷⁰ Yearly appropriations for charity were necessarily increased as follows: 1931, \$8,850; 1932, \$9,250; 1933, \$9,250; 1934, \$5,950.⁷¹ Extraordinary appropriations of \$3,500, \$4,000, and \$4,000 were made for Emergency Relief in the first three years, but were omitted in 1934 when

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⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1946.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Reports, Nov. 1, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, Report of Dinner Committee, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Reports, Nov. 1, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934.

FERA and WPA had apparently taken hold in the city. Demands for personal aid on the Almoner rose sharply from 149 in 1931 to 860 in 1934. During the four years the Society cared for 2,221 individual applications for charity.⁷²

The Anniversary Dinner of March 17, 1931, the first at which Surrogate Foley presided, was graced by a coterie of eloquent speakers whose equal could seldom be assembled at one place in the twentieth century. The proceedings were broadcast over Radio Station WOR. About this time, possibly due to the influence of Radio, the Society inaugurated the practice of paying an honorarium to certain invited speakers not only at its Anniversary Dinners but sometimes at important quarterly meetings as well.⁷³ Thus was assured a high standard of entertainment not only for the members and their guests but for the numerous radio audience. The new custom is indicative of the changing times, but is a far cry from the day when the master after-dinner speakers of their time, such as Chauncey M. Depew, Richard O'Gorman, and Charles P. Daly could be counted upon to travel hundreds of miles for the sheer pleasure of addressing the Society.

The Reverend Fulton J. Sheen, of Catholic University, whose reputation as a pulpit and radio orator was to be enhanced in a later day by the invention of television, responded on this occasion to the toast "The Day We Celebrate." Father Sheen, in a very humorous address which was in itself a notable contribution to the subject of his discussion, entertained his hearers with "an inquiry into the source of Irish humor." Joe T. Robinson, United States Senator from Arkansas, spoke in response to "The United States." Governor Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking for "The State of New York," referred to two former Governors who were, he said, of "pure Irish Blood" — Thomas Dongan and over two centuries later "my old friend" Martin H. Glyn. The Governor went on to tell a story which has since become famous.

Today is not just your day. It is not just your party. In a very particular and a personal sense, it is my day too. Twenty-six years ago on the Seventeenth of March I entered into the blessed state of wedlock — and if any of you young gentlemen are considering the Seventeenth of March as a wedding day — let me give you a warning:

On that particular Seventeenth of March a Roosevelt family wedding broke up the St. Patrick's Day Parade on Fifth Avenue, and if you want a wedding in which you and the bride will be the hero and the heroine, do not invite the

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⁷² *Ibid.*, Report of Almoner, Oct. 31, 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Report of Dinner Committee, 1931; Treasurer's Report, March 2, 1931.

President of the United States to come on from Washington and to give the bride away. For at my wedding the results of the coming of the President of the United States to give the bride away resulted not only in completely throwing the parade into confusion, but resulted also in the total eclipse of the bride and groom.

Nevertheless, in spite of the hardships of being married on St. Patrick's Day, if I had to do it all over again, I would choose the Seventeenth of March, and I would choose the same girl.⁷⁴

Senator Joe T. Robinson in a long address recalled the political philosophy of Lord Harrington's *Oceana*, which had worked out so well in the early days of the Republic, and made a plea for "progressive limitation of armaments" to promote world peace. Former Governor Smith closed the proceedings with a speech in which he assured his hearers that the Irish part of Franklin Delano Roosevelt "comes from Delano, which was," so he claimed, "originally Delaney."⁷⁵

At the stated meeting of the Society, May 4, 1931, former President Morgan J. O'Brien was presented with a certificate of Honorary Membership and a gold badge of the Society in "recognition of his conspicuous service to the Irish race at home and abroad and in appreciation of the honor and credit reflected on the Irish name by his distinguished and laudable achievements." Mayor James J. Walker and Patrick Francis Murphy were present, both paying eloquent tribute to the veteran Judge O'Brien, who had become a member in 1879. At this time there were only two other living Honorary Members: Patrick Cardinal Hayes and Michael J. O'Brien, the historian of the American-Irish Historical Society, who had been raised to the dignity in 1920.⁷⁶

The Anniversary Dinner of March 17, 1932 saw Patrick Cardinal Hayes delivering the invocation with the Reverend Aloysius J. Hogan, S.J., President of Fordham University, as the feature speaker, responding to the toast "The Day We Celebrate." Other speakers included United States Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith. "Our own dear John McCormack" sang a "Hymn to St. Patrick," written by Father Frederick William Faber. Senator Pat Harrison claimed "no strain of Irish blood" but assured his hearers that "I have taken a part of St. Patrick's name and ascribed it as my own . . . a thing few politicians in the South

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⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1931.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 4, 1931.

have had the courage to do." Governor Smith, in a fine speech, informed the members that since last year he had been honored by the National University of Ireland with a degree of Doctor of Laws. He was now an "International Doctor," and if anyone doubted it he could find the certificate on the thirty-second floor of the Empire State Building.⁷⁷

In November of 1932 Franklin Delano Roosevelt was elected President of the United States and John P. O'Brien, former president of the Society, was elected Mayor of New York City. The depression was now at its depth and at their November meeting the Friendly Sons, as previously noted, voted \$4,000 for emergency relief, the sum being distributed among Catholic Charities, Charities Organization Society, and the Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies. During the past year the Almoner had cared for 553 applicants. The Society's Annual Dinner of March 17, 1933, less than two weeks following the inauguration of a new President of the United States, is marked by a departure from the usual that is of some historical significance. Grace before banquets has traditionally been very brief, especially when offered by Catholic priests. On this occasion Auxiliary Bishop John J. Dunn departed from tradition and in a long Grace thanked God for having spared President Franklin D. Roosevelt from an assassin's bullet and prayed that he be given

fine health, wisdom to discharge his duties, courage to enforce the right as he sees it for the good of our people, vision to see the dangers that may threaten our peace and happiness and with unflinching firmness meet every sacrifice and untoward condition that may arise. Out of the gloom that has enshrouded us during the past year has come the light and comfort and encouragement for which we have been agonizing and praying, and under his forceful direction and benign leadership we feel confident that a brighter day is already at hand.⁷⁸

The principal speakers on this occasion were: Dr. Oliver St. John Gogarty, Senator of the Irish Free State — "The Day We Celebrate;" Mayor Frank Murphy of Detroit, "The Irish and Government;" former Senator and now Congressman James W. Wadsworth, "The United States." The proceedings were broadcast over Station WOR. Postmaster General James A. Farley, a member of the Society, Mayor

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⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1932.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1933.

John P. O'Brien and former Governor Smith were among those present.⁷⁹

Congressman Wadsworth in his address referred to a "terrible error in government that was committed when the Eighteenth Amendment was inserted into the Constitution of the United States." He noted that a "beer bill" had just passed Congress, and no doubt many of the members present anticipated the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment in the near future. Governor Smith as usual wound up the proceedings with a humorous speech, and no doubt, as usual, was cut off the air before the completion of his address because of the expiration of allotted radio time.

At the stated meeting of May 1, 1933 it is interesting to note that according to Treasurer Barrett's report this "Depression" Dinner was a financial success and that "in spite of the bank holiday every check had been made good." At this same meeting after an eloquent and masterly resume of the life and accomplishments of Governor Smith delivered by his old friend Jim Hoey, the Society adopted the Resolution:

That Alfred Emanuel Smith, Statesman, Humanitarian, in recognition of the magnificent contribution he has made to the City, State, Nation, and the entire World, and the honor and credit thereby reflected on the Irish race by his patriotic, distinguished, and laudable achievements, be elected an Honorary Member of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York.⁸⁰

Former President Hoey's masterly resume of the achievements of Governor Smith and his qualifications for Honorary Membership is spread over six typewritten pages of the Society's Minutes which makes it too long to be quoted here. Governor Smith, acknowledging the honor that had been conferred upon him, expressed his deep appreciation and said he hoped that as long as he lived he would be worthy of the respect and confidence of the members of the Society.⁸¹

The Society's Annual Dinner of March 17, 1934, at which Surrogate Foley presided, marked the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Friendly Sons. In his presidential address James A. Foley referred to the past history of the Society but unfortunately did not exhibit the historical knowledge of its early members that

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⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 1, 1933.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

had been shown by some of his distinguished predecessors.⁸² He recalled, among other things, the one hundredth anniversary dinner of the Society at the Hotel Brunswick in 1884. At this dinner, he said, Chief Justice Joseph F. Daly presided and the principal speakers were Chauncey M. Depew and Dr. Henry Ward Beecher.⁸³ Remembering that Morgan J. O'Brien had attended this dinner, fifty years before, he now asked the oldest member of the Society and its oldest living ex-President to rise and offer the toast to the President of the United States.⁸⁴

Patrick Cardinal Hayes said Grace before this banquet and Dr. Fulton J. Sheen of the Catholic University was once again the principal speaker responding to "The Day We Celebrate." Other speakers included Burton K. Wheeler, United States Senator from Montana, Governor Herbert H. Lehman, and Alfred E. Smith. Dr. Sheen made his subject, "The Fighting Irish," asking himself the question, "Why do the Irish fight among themselves?" His answer was that the Irish fight among themselves for precisely the same reason that kings fight among themselves. "They have a certain birthright to defend." In Ireland every citizen believes that he is the descendant of a king — the result is a "battle royal."⁸⁵

Senator Wheeler said that his friends had inquired how come the Friendly Sons asked you "one of the wild jackasses of the West" to address them. He spoke at length on the state of the nation in which he said ten million were unemployed and forty million too poor to own a single plot of ground or to provide for their own funeral expenses. Governor Lehman also spoke on the state of the nation, but pointed out the achievements of Civil Works Relief during the present winter months. Governor Smith, in characteristic fashion, referred to

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⁸² President Foley spoke of William Constable, second President of the Society whom he erroneously called "founder of the great dry goods firm which is still in existence." He also thought that Alexander Macomb, third President, had been "an officer in Washington's Army and aide-de-camp of General Lafayette," evidently confusing him with William Constable. Foley went on to say that Macomb was the "father of John Macomb, victor at Plattsburg," whereas the hero of Plattsburg's name was Alexander.

⁸³ Foley evidently meant Charles P. Daly who presided on that occasion. The Judge Joseph F. Daly mentioned was indeed a member of the Society at that time, but was never its President. He later sacrificed himself on the altar of "judicial independence." In 1898 Boss Croker refused him a renomination because "the Judge had declined to comply with Croker's orders in the exercise of certain of his judicial functions." This refusal caused a revolt in Tammany Hall, led by Bourke Cockran a fellow member of Joseph F. Daly's in the Friendly Sons. Cockran publicly denounced Croker at a mass meeting in Carnegie Hall. The Daly affair lost for Croker his chance to dominate the State and cost him local prestige as well. It contributed to the election of Theodore Roosevelt as Governor, when his large upstate vote just topped Tammany's vote in the City. Matthew P. Breen, *Thirty Years of New York Politics up to Date*, New York, 1899, p. 759; Lathrop Stoddard, *Master of Manhattan: The Life of Richard Croker*, New York, 1931, pp. 203-4.

⁸⁴ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1934.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

the "Great Change" that had taken place — the end of Prohibition. Incidentally it may be noted that this was the first Anniversary Dinner in many years which showed wines on the Menu. During Prohibition all mention of liquors had disappeared from the menus, although it would be too much to expect that the same was true of the tables of the diners. Smith recalled the speech of Franklin D. Roosevelt at the dinner two years before and on his motion a telegram was sent to President and Mrs. Roosevelt, congratulating them on their wedding anniversary and wishing them many happy returns of the day. The former Governor also spoke of the Honorary Membership that had been conferred upon him and of the "sense of pride, joy, and satisfaction" that the adoption of the resolution by the Friendly Sons had brought to him.⁸⁶

At the November meeting in 1934, George Keegan was elected President of the Society for the ensuing year. Keegan had become 1st Vice-President in November 1933 when George W. McLoughlin had declined renomination to that office fearing that the part he played in the last political campaign might result in some friction in the Society were he to continue as an officer.⁸⁷ With President Keegan were also elected John F. Collins and Edward J. Glennon as Vice-Presidents. Other officers were retained. During 1934 the Depression had begun to catch up with the membership of the Society. Thirty-four members had been dropped for non-payment of dues in July of that year, and ten had been transferred to "veteran" status which involved no payment of dues.⁸⁸ Of the names advanced from the waiting lists to fill such vacancies and those arising from deaths, a considerable number failed to qualify, no doubt reflecting the financial condition of the times. All these vacancies were soon filled, however.

George Keegan, the new President, was a prominent railroad and transportation executive. Born in Cairo, Illinois, his father was a native of County Louth, Ireland. Keegan began his business career at the age of seventeen in Chicago, coming to New York in 1903 when he joined the Interborough Rapid Transit Company. Since that time he had helped run the elevated and subway systems of the city. For years assistant to Theodore P. Shonts, President of the I.R.T., at this time Keegan was managing the affairs of the company which employed 1700 men. He had been elected to membership in the Society in 1914 and for four years had served as its Recording Secretary.⁸⁹

The 151st Anniversary Dinner, March 16, 1935, with President

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⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Misc. Letter of George W. McLoughlin to President James A. Foley, Nov. 13, 1933.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1934.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1937.



GEORGE KEEGAN

Keegan presiding, saw a large gathering of members and distinguished guests. Among those on the dais were His Excellency, Most Reverend Stephen J. Donohue, George Gordon Battle, himself a member of the Friendly Sons, but on this occasion representing the New York Southern Society, Brigadier-General John J. Phelan, Major-General D. E. Nolan and former Presidents of the Society, including Francis Martin, upon whom Governor Lehman had recently conferred a "signal honor" by appointing him Presiding Justice of the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court. The feature speaker of the evening was Michael MacWhite, Minister of the Irish Free State, who spoke on "The Day We Celebrate." Other speakers included former Governor Joseph B. Ely of Massachusetts, "The United States;" Judge Frederick E. Crane, Presiding Justice of the State Court of Appeals, "The State of New York;" Alfred Byrne, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith.⁹⁰

By the time of the next Anniversary Dinner war clouds were once again gathering. The Italian-Ethiopian crisis of the previous May, which threatened to precipitate a world conflict, had focused the attention of New Yorkers on international affairs. However, business conditions throughout the country had improved considerably in the past four years and we find the change reflected in the books of the Society. The market value of securities held had risen to \$127,784.32, as compared with \$106,261.45 in the previous year. The Society had disbursed in charity \$5,950 to November 1, 1935, and although demands for personal aid had declined somewhat the Almoner had received 482 applications during his fiscal year. The Anniversary Dinner of 1935 had shown a profit of \$1,008.32.⁹¹

President Keegan presided over more than 1200 members and guests at the 152nd Annual Dinner, March 17, 1936, when the Glee Club performed splendidly under their new director, Dr. Henry Hadley. The Most Reverend Stephen J. Donohue, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of the Archdiocese, said Grace. The feature speaker was Cornelius F. Kelly, President of the Anaconda Copper Company. Others included Joseph C. O'Mahoney, United States Senator from Wyoming, New York State Senator William T. Byrne, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith. Mayor Fiorella H. La Guardia was on the dais. It remained for Governor Smith to discuss the threats to the peace of the world. Frankly he expressed the fear that the League of Nations could not cope with the situation. Human nature, he believed, was responsible for war and it is "only by raising the general level of human character throughout the world that the new society will be free from war,

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⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1935.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Reports, Nov. 1, 1935, 1936.

free from brutality, free from selfishness, free from waste, free from disease, and free from human misery."⁹²

During President George Keegan's second term of office the Society continued to prosper. Value of securities held advanced further, to \$145,482, reflecting improved business conditions. The Society appropriated \$6,150 for charity during the year, and applications for personal relief to the Almoner fell off somewhat to 315.⁹³ At the November stated meeting in 1936 John F. Collins, a capable and successful New York lawyer, who had been a member of the Society since 1922, was elected President with Edward J. Glennon 1st Vice-President, Joseph F. Higgins after twelve years of service as Corresponding Secretary became 2nd Vice-President, and was succeeded by William J. Deegan in the former office. Other officers were retained.⁹⁴

The new President, born in upstate New York at Green Island, Albany County, on February 2, 1879, had graduated from Albany Law School. Coming to New York City in 1903, he had practiced for several years in the office of Eugene V. Daly. Thereafter he entered the New York City Civil Service as Deputy Assistant Corporation Counsel in the Tenement House Division. Later, as head of the Contract Division, he opposed the best lawyers of the city. Returning to private practice in 1920, he was a member of the firm of Bandler, Haas and Collins, until his death in 1944. Governor Alfred E. Smith had appointed him a member of the Home Rule Commission in 1923, and Mayor John P. O'Brien made him Chairman of the Commission on Revision of the City Charter in 1932. As special Counsel for the Board of Transportation, Collins prepared the operations contract for the Independent Subway System.⁹⁵

During President Collins' first term of office the Society contributed \$250 to the American Red Cross for Flood Relief, and the total donations for Charity during his regime were \$5,800 in 1937 and \$6,050 in 1938.⁹⁶ At the request of the Charitable Irish Society of Boston the sum of \$150 was donated to a fund for the purpose of enabling a young Irish student to obtain a graduate degree in Celtic Philology at Harvard University.⁹⁷ In March 1937, the Board of Officers appropriated \$500 for research with the view of writing a history of the Society, and in November 1938, an additional sum of \$1,040 was made available.⁹⁸ From that time on various amounts were set aside at

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⁹² *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1936.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Report, Nov. 1, 1936; Almoner's Report, Oct. 30, 1936.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 16, 1936.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1945.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Reports, Nov. 1, 1937, 1938; Minutes, March 1, 1937.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1937.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, meeting of Board of Officers, March 10, 1937; Minutes, Nov. 14, 1938.



JOHN F. COLLINS

different times for this purpose and eventually a special reserve was created to take care of the history project. The Almoner's report for 1938 shows that applications for individual relief had been reduced to a minimum of 24 in that year, indicating that the New Deal laws were working effectively.⁹⁹ However, the so-called "Recession" of 1937 was immediately reflected in the Permanent Fund of the Society. The market value of securities held dropped sharply from \$145,482.81 in 1936 to \$128,607.57 in 1937 and \$128,286.44 in 1938, despite the fact that additional net investments for these years totaled \$10,050.03. Some of the bonds held by the Society were defaulted. Income from interest and dividends held up fairly well being \$6,069.90 in 1937 and \$5,513.76 in 1938.¹⁰⁰ The Anniversary Dinners for this period were financially as well as socially successful showing a profit of \$1,247.31 in 1937 and \$1,408.74 in 1938, which enabled the Society to increase its annual donation to Catholic Charities to \$1500 in the latter year.¹⁰¹ During the depression years the ticket charge had been \$12 per plate, but soon the return of wartime inflation was to bring an increase to \$20.

The 153rd Anniversary Dinner on March 17, 1937 saw President Collins presiding over more than 1500 members and guests. The Most Reverend Stephen J. Donohue, D.D., Auxiliary Bishop of New York said Grace. Speakers included the noted pulpit orator and after dinner speaker, Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., President of Fordham University; James A. Farley, Postmaster General, and former Governor Alfred E. Smith. All the speeches were broadcast over Radio Stations WOR, WJZ, and WMCA. Once again Al Smith referred to the international situation, "Hitler," he said, "threw the German Constitution out the window," and "everyone of the things that Hitler suppressed are what every Irishman has been ready to offer his life for."¹⁰²

At the November stated meeting of 1937, President Collins and the board of officers were reelected. Dr. Hadley, director of the Glee Club, had died and Professor George Meade, Jr., former organist and choir-master of Old Trinity, became conductor.¹⁰³ Under Dr. Meade's direction the Glee Club continued to prosper and its annual concerts were particularly well attended. Eventually the club outgrew the Hotel Astor's facilities, graduating to Town Hall.

During these years the waiting list for Active Membership continued to grow. Sons and grandsons of members held a preferred position and they joined the Society in considerable numbers. For example, Gren-

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⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, Almoner's Report, Oct. 1, 1938.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Report, Nov. 1, 1937, 1938.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, Report of Dinner Committee, May 2, 1938.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1937.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1937.

ville T. Emmet, Jr., and Richard S. Emmet, were elected to membership in 1938, as was John G. O'Brien, son of the former President of the Society.¹⁰⁴ The custom of preferring relations of members took some of the burden of selection off the Membership Committee.

The 154th Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1938, with President Collins in the chair was most successful, with about 1600 members and guests in attendance. There were thirty-six guests on the dais including Mayor Fiorella H. La Guardia, Senator Robert Wagner, Major-General Phelan and Bishop Stephen J. Donohue. His Eminence Patrick Cardinal Hayes said Grace. The proceedings were broadcast over Station WOR. Once again the popular Right Reverend Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, S.T.D., was the feature speaker with the other addresses made by Senator Francis T. Maloney of Connecticut, and Alfred E. Smith. Monsignor Sheen must have pleased Al Smith by asserting that what the world needs is a little more "blarney" and a little less "boloney." He went on to explain the significance of "blarney" and traced the history of Blarney Castle and its famous Blarney Stone. Governor Smith once again spoke out against communism, fascism, nazism and socialism that were threatening the peace of the world.¹⁰⁵

In November 1938, Edward J. Glennon was elected President of the Friendly Sons with Joseph F. Higgins and Edward A. Arnold as Vice-Presidents. Other officials retained their positions.¹⁰⁶ President Glennon was at this time Associate Justice of the Appellate Division of the State Supreme Court, 1st. Department. A graduate of Fordham University and New York Law School, he had been captain of Fordham's football team and one of its long line of great centers. After a brief career as Assistant District Attorney of Bronx County, Deputy City Chamberlain, and Deputy Public Service Commissioner, Glennon had been appointed Justice of the State Supreme Court when only thirty-five years of age. The quiet and permanency of the Bench apparently had little attraction for him at this time for he soon resigned to accept an appointment as District Attorney of Bronx County. In 1921 he was elected to that office for a four-year term. Thereafter he was elected Justice of the State Supreme Court, and apparently now found the bench more congenial. In 1933 Governor Lehman appointed him to the Appellate Division. An ardent son of Fordham, which granted him an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, it was to be Glennon's task to guide the Society during the early difficult years of World War II.¹⁰⁷

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¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 7, 1938.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1938.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 21, 1938.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1940.



EDWARD J. GLENNON

CHAPTER XIX

WORLD WAR II AND THE YEARS THEREAFTER



WORLD WAR II, which events of the past eight years had foreshadowed for all who cared to see, finally broke out in Europe on September 1, 1939. No doubt the great majority of the Friendly Sons, like Americans in general, were determined that this time the United States would not be "dragged into war." As one of the Society's spokesmen put it in January, 1940,

Today the overwhelming majority of the American people are resolutely determined that our country shall not be drawn, over again, into a stupid, senseless, wasteful, and bloody conflict in Europe.¹

The failure of World War I to achieve its objective "to end all wars" and to "make the world safe for Democracy" had destroyed for a time American faith in idealism. Many of us were convinced that we had been forced into the first war by certain selfish group interests for their own advantage, and quite apart from the broad general interest of the nation as a whole. Others were equally certain that although America may have entered the war from idealistic motives, the motives of other nations were purely selfish. Some hoped, perhaps unrealistically, that our new so-called Neutrality Acts would enable us to remain aloof in splendid isolation from the horrid catastrophe that had enveloped the other great nations of the world. Such hope enabled us to ignore the fact that these Neutrality Acts had abandoned the neutral rights that had been maintained by the United States since the American Revolution and had thrown overboard the principle of freedom of the seas for which our fathers had fought two wars. Most of us felt that the war was none of our making though some few of us realized that the United States had done little or nothing to prevent it. Undoubtedly the majority of Americans hoped that Hitler and Hitlerism would in the end be defeated but believed, and the wish

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¹ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Jan. 8, 1940, Address of James A. Foley.

was father to the thought, that the Allies could accomplish this by themselves, without the intervention of the United States.

Orators at the Anniversary Dinners and stated meetings of the Society during the early years of the war for the most part sought to avoid as far as possible all references to the world conflict as inconducive to the traditional nostalgic spirit of the occasions. It seemed far better to live in the past that, at least, had won for Ireland, the beloved mother country, that liberty for which she had struggled for centuries to obtain, rather than to contemplate the possibility of having to fight all over again for the same objective against other than the traditional enemy. Of course some speakers now felt it necessary to defend the present neutrality of Eire in a war in which all other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations were engaged. This necessity became more urgent after the belligerency of the United States was assured. Only Al Smith, with characteristic realism, consistently refused to ignore world affairs. Months before our entrance into the war he began to warn his fellow members that the United States itself could not hope to live for long in a world dominated by dictators and totalitarian states, and that, moreover, to make mere "security" the measure of our policies was to abandon all that our fathers had stood for in the past and particularly what Irishmen had always fought for.²

The 155th Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1939, before Europe was plunged into war, saw President Glennon in the chair with thirty-six distinguished guests on the dais.³ Among them were Leo T. McCauley, Consul General of Ireland; Major General Dennis E. Nolan, U.S.A., Retired; Daniel F. Cohalan; Claude G. Bowers, United States Ambassador to Spain, and the Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., President of Fordham University. One face was missing, that of the Honorary Member, Patrick Cardinal Hayes, who had died in the previous year. Governor Smith had read his Memorial at a solemn meeting attended by many distinguished clergymen.⁴

On this occasion Bishop Stephen J. Donohue said Grace, as he had so often in the past. President Glennon delivered the traditional president's address. A member of the Society, Thomas J. Brogan, Chief Justice of the New Jersey Supreme Court, responded in an equally traditional manner to "The Day We Celebrate." But James M. Mead, United States Senator from New York, insisted upon discussing international political affairs. The keynote of the situation he found in the word "immorality." World War treaties, agreements and pacts

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² *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1940; 1941.

³ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1939.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 21, 1935.

had been sabotaged; collective security had given way to intense nationalism; international trade and finance were thrown into hopeless chaos; violence, oppression, and persecution had been made a part and parcel of political programs; Democracy was scorned and derided by new totalitarian states and sometimes questioned by its friends. The mere hint that some in America had contributed to this "international immorality" probably did not escape many of his listeners. Governor Alfred E. Smith, who as usual closed the proceedings, in his pleasant manner recalled how just twenty years before during his first term as Governor he had sat at this very table. He remembered the pleasure with which he had heard himself called by the President of the Society, "His Excellency." As Al put it, "Out went the chest." After this introduction Smith launched into a discussion of the dangers to the body politic of believers in various totalitarian "isms," not as individuals but because they, unlike the forces of good, were "organized." He particularly referred to the "communist organization" which, it will be recalled, was at this time vigorously opposing the "capitalistic war" in Europe.⁵

At the November stated meeting on motion by James A. Foley the By-Laws were suspended to elect His Excellency, the Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman, newly created Archbishop of New York, an Honorary Member of the Society. At the January quarterly meeting that followed Archbishop Spellman in person was presented with a Certificate of Honorary Membership and an eighteen karat gold medal during an impressive ceremony. The Archbishop's father, William Spellman, and his two brothers, Dr. John W. Spellman and Dr. Martin H. Spellman, were present. Surrogate Foley and Father Gannon, President of the Archbishop's beloved Alma Mater, Fordham, spoke eloquently on this occasion as did Archbishop Spellman himself.⁶

At the 156th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, March 16, 1940, the new Honorary Member, Archbishop Spellman, said Grace. President Glennon presided for the second time over a gathering of more than 1500 members and guests. The Glee Club performed in a splendid manner under the direction of George Meade, Jr., with George A. Brown leading the orchestra. With a son of Fordham presiding and another son of Fordham saying Grace it was perhaps natural that the feature speaker of the evening should be the popular Father Gannon, President of the University.⁷ In a delightfully humorous

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⁵ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1939.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 8, 1940.

⁷ When Edward J. Glennon retired from the Presidency he broke tradition by requesting that the amount usually spent for a personal token be handed to him in the form of a check for \$1,000, which he then passed on to his Alma Mater, Fordham, at that time celebrating the centenary of its founding. *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 6, 1941.

speech Father Gannon made the subject of his discourse the "Women of Ireland" which he said would account for his emotion. The touch of the brogue, however, that was noticeable in his diction he ascribed to the fact that "all night, beside me, Senator Wagner has been talking to Bishop Donohue in a brogue that you could cut with a knife."⁸

The United States Attorney for the Southern District of New York, John T. Cahill, responded to the toast "The United States," and former Governor Smith who wound up the proceedings chose as his subject "Liberty and Security." After an attack on Hitlerism, Smith went on to say that he had been attending St. Patrick's Day dinners at various places since 1892 and

In all that time I never heard a single Irish orator, I never heard a man speaking for the Irish people, who was looking for security! Every Irishman that I know was looking for liberty and for freedom, and, given that he would provide his own security.⁹

The collapse of France in May and June of 1940 shocked the American people out of any complacency that they may have felt, and brought about a sharp change in public opinion regarding our interests in what hitherto had been considered by many "Europe's War." Preparations were made to give all aid to the Allies "short of war," and subsequently the United States began to prepare for the war that many thought inevitable should bomb-battered Britain succumb to the German "Blitzkrieg." Renewed interest in military affairs is reflected in the activities of the Society during this year. On April 20, 1940 the Old Sixty-ninth Regiment, now the 165th Infantry, N.Y.N.G., held a review in honor of the Officers of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick at their Armory.¹⁰ The Review Program stresses the intimate connection between the Regiment and the Society for a period of nearly one hundred years. On October 21 of the same year the officers and former Presidents of the Friendly Sons gave a dinner to the officers of the Sixty-ninth Regiment and then proceeded to the Armory where an assortment of athletic equipment was presented for the men to take to Camp Anniston with them.¹¹ Subsequently musical instruments, including bagpipes, were presented to the Regiment Band.

At the November stated meeting of 1940 Joseph F. Higgins, twenty-two years a member and fifteen years an officer, was elected President,

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⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1940.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Miscellaneous, Program of the Review, April 20, 1940.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Oct. 21, 1940. The Society expended \$742.05 for this equipment. Treasurer's Report, Nov. 1, 1941.



JOSEPH F. HIGGINS

with Edward A. Arnold and William J. Deegan, Vice Presidents. John F. Brosnan succeeded Deegan as Corresponding Secretary with Recording Secretary Murphy and Almoner Rayens retaining their positions.¹² President Higgins was at this time Secretary of the Committee on Character and Fitness of Applicants for Admission to the Bar. A native New Yorker, Higgins' parents both came from County Roscommon. After a brief training in real estate he entered the employ of the Continental Fire Insurance Company where he became secretary and assistant to James J. Hoey then its Vice-President. In 1922 Higgins entered the insurance brokerage business on his own account, but in January 1926 was elected Assistant Secretary of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City eventually becoming Secretary of the Board. He resigned in 1933 to become chief assistant to the Collector of Internal Revenue, 2nd District of New York. In February 1938 he was appointed by the Justices of the Appellate Division to the position which he held when elected President of the Society.¹³

On March 17, 1941 President Higgins presided over the 156th Anniversary Dinner when 1650 members and guests sat down to table. Archbishop Francis J. Spellman once more said Grace. The speakers were Right Reverend Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, of Catholic University, whose subject was "Ireland and the Irish;" Dr. Clarence Mannion of Notre Dame University who responded to the toast "The Day We Celebrate;" and former Governor Smith who contrasted the freedom of America under Democracy with the dominance of dictators in Europe and Asia. Dr. Mannion, lawyer, author, and professor of Constitutional Law, made his address a defense of Irish neutrality in the war, which was apparently getting considerable criticism now that the conflict was coming closer to the United States. Monsignor Sheen, in a long whimsical speech in which he quoted two rather lengthy poems discussed the subject of the "Rainbow of Irish Character." This phenomenon he ascribed to the fact that Ireland has more rainbows than any other country because, so he asserted, it never rains in Ireland but the sun is shining somewhere in the sky.¹⁴

Governor Smith introduced a serious speech by humorously taking issue with Monsignor Sheen — something that he scarcely dared do except on the subject of politics. But so Smith maintained:

When I was in Ireland it was raining and I didn't see any sun. I was looking for it. I will say that when it did shine, it was the most glorious sight I ever saw, but when it rained, it did rain.¹⁵

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¹² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 18, 1940.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1943.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1941.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

He went on to contrast life in a Democracy with that in a totalitarian state, illustrating his points in his own inimitable manner. "You can bet . . .," he said, "no dictator knows tonight that there are ten Chinamen in the 69th Regiment." But he warned his hearers —

We must not ourselves, however, be foolish enough to think that we can get along in a world dominated by European and Asiatic dictators. The forces behind the dictators are not only formidable, but they are ruthless and fanatical and they have a great advantage over the slow-moving, constitutional, scrupulous and high-minded forces of America.¹⁶

As he saw it our big problem was "can we get wartime production without declaring war?" He urged his hearers to do everything in their power to bring about "rapid preparation for the defense of our country." One man at least, among those present on that Seventeenth of March, seems to have known what was coming.

Three months after Pearl Harbor the Society by resolution created an extraordinary class of membership whereby the annual dues of all members actually engaged in the military, air, or naval service of the United States were suspended from March 17, 1941 during the period of such actual service.¹⁷ The numbers of members in this category rose rapidly to a peak of 138 in 1946 after which there was a gradual decline.¹⁸ This classification should not be confused with the regular Army and Navy members of the Society who were never very numerous. In its Year Book of 1944 a Roll of Honor was printed of the members actually in the armed forces who at that time numbered 132 in addition to His Excellency, Most Reverend Francis J. Spellman, an honorary member, who was Military Vicar for the Armed Forces of the United States.

At the first wartime Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1942, President Higgins presided over a large gathering of more than 1600 members and guests. The proceedings were broadcast over stations WHN and WJZ. Archbishop Spellman said Grace, and the toast "The Day We Celebrate" was responded to by the Most Reverend John F. O'Hara, military delegate, in active charge of the Catholic Chaplains of the United States Armed Forces. Robert F. Patterson, Under Secretary of War and a member of the Society since 1925, in response to "The United States" made his subject for the evening "Patriotism." Among the guests were Lieutenant General Hugh A. Drum, U.S.A., a member

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¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, March 3, 1941.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Report of the Membership Committee, Jan. 6, 1947.

of the Society, and Rear Admiral Ralph Whitman, U.S.N. Former Governor Smith closed the proceedings with a speech in which he tried to show what the war was all about as the "man in the street" saw it. Hitler tells the Germans that they are fighting for raw materials, foreign markets, essential foodstuffs, but really for German superiority, "whatever that is." The Japanese, "more on the level," are fighting for territory, Asiatic superiority. But the United States and its Allies are fighting for life, for liberty, and for freedom of the individual — "a great difference."¹⁹

In 1942 the Board of Officers engaged a firm of Certified Public Accountants to audit the books of the Society for the year ending October 31, 1941, and the custom was continued yearly thereafter. Subsequently the fiscal year of the Friendly Sons was changed to end March 17, so as to coincide with the dues paying period. This change had been recommended by the auditors. As of October 31, 1941, the total of the Permanent Fund including cash and securities at cost or market value, whichever was lower, was \$134,602.01.²⁰ During the first year of the war the Society had donated to charity at Christmas \$5,000; to Catholic Charities \$1,000; to St. Vincent's Hospital Fund \$500; and to United Service Organization \$500. Surplus funds belonging to the Permanent Fund had been invested in United States bonds which had a market value of \$36,312.50 at October 31, 1942.²¹

Edward A. Arnold was elected President at the November meeting in 1942, with William J. Deegan and John F. Brosnan as Vice-Presidents. Adrian P. Burke, now an associate Judge of the Court of Appeals, replaced Mr. Brosnan as Corresponding Secretary with the other officers retaining their positions.²² President Arnold had been for many years engaged in the real estate brokerage and management business and was considered a specialist in the field of Real Estate Appraisal. Born in New York, July 19, 1882, both his parents were natives of Cork, Ireland. A prominent member of the Knights of Columbus, Arnold had been chairman of its Annual Charity Ball in 1910. During World War I he had been Comptroller of the National Catholic War Council and over a three-year period had supervised the expenditure of thirty million dollars.²³

President Arnold presided over the 1943 Anniversary Dinner of the Society at which nearly 1800 members and guests were present. Many prominent naval and military personages were seated on the dais, including Vice-Admiral Adolphus Andrews, U.S.N., Lieutenant Gen-

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¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1942.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Report of Auditors, Jan. 19, 1942.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Report, Nov. 1, 1942.

²² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 16, 1942.

²³ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1952.



EDWARD A. ARNOLD

eral Hugh A. Drum, U.S.A., and Major General Thomas A. Terry, U.S.A. In the absence of Archbishop Spellman, who was overseas, Bishop Donohue said Grace. Reverend Brother C. Edward, F.S.C., Vice-President of Manhattan College, responded to the toast "The Day." Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy, spoke for "The United States," recalling that his predecessor Josephus Daniels had been a guest of the Society during World War I. He gave an interesting and inspiring account of the war in the Pacific. William M. Jeffers, President of the Union Pacific Railroad and now Rubber Director for the War Production Board, gave an informative portrayal of the war effort at home. The members missed the presence of their beloved Al Smith, absent owing to illness. It was the first annual dinner of the Friendly Sons since 1929 that he had failed to attend. Patriotism was the keynote of the occasion, and the Flags of twenty-nine United Nations were displayed in front of the balcony over the dais.²⁴

At its November stated meeting of 1943 the Society unanimously adopted a complete new set of By-Laws, proposed by the committee composed of John F. Collins, Richard C. Murphy and John F. Brosnan, the old, which had governed its affairs since just before the turn of the century, being repealed. Perhaps the most significant change in the new By-Laws is to be found in Article VII, Section 2, whereby interest accruing from the investment of the Society's permanent fund was henceforth to be credited to the general fund and was therefore available for charity in any given year. This change marked a return to the ancient practice of the Society, before the adoption of the By-Laws of 1832, and this accomplished an objective that had been sought by many leading members since the middle of the last century.²⁵

In the election of that year all the present board of officers were carried over. Since the new By-Laws called for an Historian, Richard C. Murphy was elected to that position in addition to the office of Recording Secretary, which he already held.

Mr. Murphy was born in Brooklyn, on June 27, 1889. He was valedictorian in his class in grammar school and in 1908 he was also valedictorian in his graduating class in high school. He entered New York Law School and graduated with a degree of LL.B. in June 1910. He served his clerkship in the office of Daniel F. Cohalan, later a Supreme Court Judge, and was admitted to the Bar in 1911. He practiced law at 51 Chambers Street until January 1916, when he was appointed an Assistant District Attorney in New York County, serving under Judge Edward Swann and Joab H. Banton until April 17, 1926, when he was retained by the Jewelers' National Crime Com-

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²⁴ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1943.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1943.



RICHARD C. MURPHY

mittee to assist in the prosecution of thieves committing crimes against jewelers. In 1941 he was elected the Executive Secretary of the Jewelers' Security Alliance of the United States and still occupies the positions of Counsel and Executive Secretary. In 1933 he was one of the leaders in the Recovery Party, then opposing Tammany Hall and later was elected the leader of the Recovery Party after Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected President. He was also the President of the Roosevelt Democratic League. He became the leader of the Democratic Party for the 23rd Assembly District, New York County. He was appointed Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms by James A. Farley at the Democratic Convention held in Philadelphia to nominate a President.

He is a member of the Bar Association of the City of New York and was admitted to practice in the District Court for the Southern District of New York. He was appointed by Governor Herbert H. Lehman as a delegate at the Crime Conference held in Albany, which he called on September 30, 1935.

He joined the Pomonok Country Club, the New York Athletic Club, the Lido Club, the Lake Placid Club, the Lawrence Beach Club, the 24-Karat Club, the National Geographic Society and the American Irish Historical Society.

He is an Honorary Member of the Detectives' Endowment Association of the City of New York, the Nassau Police Conference, New York State Association of Chiefs of Police, and is a member of the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the National Law Enforcement Associates.

His first draft of the history of the Society was finished in 1939.

The sum of \$1,000 was set aside as a reserve for the historian's account, to which was added \$5,000 recently received in the will of a former member, Martin J. Gillen through Mr. Murphy's friendship with him.²⁶

President Arnold appointed as chairman of the new Finance Committee Mr. Harry C. Hagerty, treasurer of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company with Mr. Arthur Morris, President of the Fulton Trust Company, and Matthew T. Murray, Jr., vice president of the Guarantee Trust Company as his colleagues. The President announced the intention of making the coming St. Patrick's Day Dinner an outstanding national function.²⁷

The 160th Anniversary Dinner, March 17, 1944, was a glorious occasion with President Arnold presiding over more than 1900 mem-

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²⁶ The Society continued to add to this Reserve for research and publication of its History so that the amount reserved reached \$22,419.62 in 1955, despite yearly disbursements from the account. *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Report, March 15, 1955.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1943.

bers and guests. The flags of twenty-nine United Nations once more were displayed from the balcony over the dais on which were seated six former Presidents of the Society, Senator Robert F. Wagner, Leo T. Crowley, three bishops, two vice-admirals, and two lieutenant generals. Since Archbishop Spellman was still overseas His Excellency Most Reverend John F. O'Hara, military delegate of the Armed Forces, said Grace, offering a prayer of thanksgiving and a prayer for an early and victorious peace.²⁸

Lieutenant General Alexander A. Vandergrift, U.S.M.C., commander of the United States Marine Corps, spoke on the "United States at War." Father Gannon, President of Fordham University, gave one of his humorous addresses in response to "The Day We Celebrate." Governor Alfred E. Smith, apparently restored to health, recalled that he had first addressed the Society at its 138th Annual Dinner, twenty-two years before. Little did he or his hearers realize that this was to be his last address to his fellow members. Smith rejoiced that we are "not on the air this night" so that he need not expect the customary deluge of letters from those who seemed to take it as a personal insult when he was "cut off the air" by the expiration of radio time. He went on to say that

Since this a family gathering let's resolve to stop growling and grumbling about taxes, stop quarreling about gasoline and about ration points . . . remember the great work of the Red Cross and purchase War Savings Stamps and Bonds. . . . Let's forget bigotry, intolerance and racial and religious hatred. A Catholic — an Irish Catholic anti-Semitic! Why that's a complete contradiction. There can't be any such thing — It reminds me of the Irish Protestant Republican saloon keeper in the Second Assembly District.²⁹

Less than seven months later the great Al Smith was dead, passing away on October 4, 1944. At its stated meeting of November 20th the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick held a solemn memorial ceremony for its beloved fellow-member. Smith had been elected an active member in 1921 and an Honorary Member in 1933. Since 1922 he had addressed no less than sixteen Anniversary Dinners of the Friendly Sons — only urgent official duties at Albany could prevent his presence. During this time he had attended many stated meetings as well. Surrogate James A. Foley, in his memorial address, paid an eloquent tribute to his old friend who had, so he said, trained Bob

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²⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1944.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

Wagner, Jim Hoey and himself — a man who had compiled “a record which had not been equalled in a century since the days of De Witt Clinton.”³⁰ Archbishop Spellman, who had intended to be present to pay his respects to the memory of Governor Smith, was absent at the beginning of this meeting as he had been called upon to be present at the opening of the Sixth War Bond Drive, to broadcast over a nationwide hookup. The Archbishop arrived before the meeting adjourned and in a brief address paid a touching tribute to the former Governor whose example, he said, had been an inspiration and whom all who knew him admired and loved.³¹

By resolution of the Society the memorial addresses by James A. Foley and Archbishop, together with an address by John S. Burke at the Anniversary Dinner of 1945 were published in a memorial book which contained all the addresses of Governor Smith at the annual dinners from 1922 to 1944.

William J. Deegan was elected President at the November meeting of 1944, with John F. Brosnan and John A. Coleman as Vice-Presidents. The other officers were retained.³² The new President had been a member for twenty years during which he served for eight years on the Board of Stewards, four years as Corresponding Secretary, and four years as Vice-President. Born in Greenwich Village, of old Irish stock, after graduation from public school he went to work at the age of thirteen as a messenger with the Commercial Cable Company, but continued to study at New York Evening High School and later at New York University. Ambitious, industrious, and able Deegan carved out a fine career for himself in the communications field. In 1918 he was appointed Secretary of the Mackay Company, the holding company of the Postal Telegraph—Commercial Cables. Four years later he became Director and Vice-President in charge of Finance of the Mackay Companies, as well as of the Commercial Cable Company, the Postal Telegraph—Cable Company and the Commercial Pacific Cable Company. Deegan was largely responsible for bringing the Mackay System into the radio telegraph field and was elected a Director and Vice-President of the Mackay Radio and Telegraph Company upon its formation in 1927. When the Postal Telegraph and Cable Corporation was organized in 1928 he was elected a Director and Vice-President. In 1931 he went to China for the Commercial Pacific Cable Company negotiating with the Chinese Government for an extension of the company's landing concession in Shanghai. In 1940 Deegan became Director, Vice-President and Treasurer of the

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³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 20, 1944.

³² *Ibid.*



WILLIAM J. DEEGAN

reorganized Postal Telegraph organization, later becoming President until the merger of the Postal and Western Union Companies in the fall of 1943. Unquestionably a great communications executive, Deegan at the time of his election as President of the Society was an executor of the estate of the late Clarence Mackay, his friend for nearly a quarter of a century. Deegan's son, Commander Frank Deegan, also a member of the Society was serving with the armed forces of the United States.³³ At this time eighty-eight members of the Friendly Sons were in active service.

The 161st Anniversary Dinner of the Society, March 17, 1945, at which President Deegan presided, was a very large gathering. Guests and members to the number of 1,967 filled the grand ballroom of the Astor, the adjoining ballroom and all the balconies. The net profit from the dinner was \$1,291.02.³⁴ Archbishop Spellman said Grace, and Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, who had been our Ambassador to Japan from February, 1932 to December 7, 1941, responded to the toast "The United States." Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., spoke on "Tolerance," and a member of the Society, John S. Burke, President of B. Altman and Company, gave the traditional speech on "The Day We Celebrate." During his address Mr. Burke paid a beautiful tribute to the late Governor Alfred E. Smith.³⁵

World War II came to an end in August, 1945 but unfortunately without bringing any real peace to a distressed world. During nearly four years of war the Friendly Sons had disbursed in charity \$27,000, including \$2500 to various war funds. Surplus funds had been invested in war bonds of which the Society held \$30,000 as of March 17, 1946. The total market value of securities owned at that date was \$197,340 which brought a return in interest and dividends of \$6,544, an amount which compared very well with the income of twenty years before when the average interest return from good bonds was twice that of the present time.³⁶ Since March, 1942, under the guidance of the new Finance Committee changes in the list of investments of the Permanent Fund had been made to the extent of about 90% of the total fund. It is of historical interest that during this period the Society sold its shares in the Bank of the Manhattan Company which it had held since the end of its first fifty years of existence.³⁷

After a single term in office President William J. Deegan was succeeded in November, 1945 by Mr. John F. Brosnan, a prominent New York lawyer, with John A. Coleman and Thomas J. Brogan advanc-

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³³ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1947. Memorial to William J. Deegan.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Report of Dinner Committee, March 17, 1945.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1945.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Report, March 17, 1946.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Meeting of Board of Officers, Feb. 28, 1944.



JOHN F. BROSNAN

ing to 1st and 2nd Vice-President respectively.³⁸ The other officers were retained. President Brosnan, born in New York May 23, 1890, had graduated from De La Salle Institute and Manhattan College from which he received the degree of A.B. in 1911. He began his legal career as secretary to Judge John P. Cohalan, also a member of the Society and then Surrogate of New York County. Mr. Brosnan held this position for eight years with time out for service as a private in the 89th Infantry during World War I. Since 1928 he had been a member of the firm of Mudge, Stern, Baldwin and Todd and its predecessor firms. An outstanding Catholic layman, in 1943 he had been decorated with the Military Order of the Knights of Malta. In 1944 Governor Dewey had appointed him to the New York State Temporary Commission against Discrimination. Always deeply interested in education, while President of the Society, Brosnan was elected a trustee of the State University. Subsequently he became a member of the State Board of Regents, which later still he came to head.³⁹

The 146th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, March 17, 1946, saw the largest gathering ever assembled at a St. Patrick's Day Dinner to that date with 2,233 members and guests enjoying the repast. The banquet hall displayed the flag of the Secretary of State, an Admiral's flag, and a General's flag. His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman was not present when the proceedings began as he had been attending Cardinal Glennon's funeral in St. Louis. But, rushing back by fast plane to New York, he entered the Grand Ball Room during the course of the dinner, to the rising applause of the entire audience. President Brosnan, in the name of the Society, congratulated the Cardinal on his recent elevation to the Sacred College. Grace was said by His Excellency Most Reverend Stephen J. Donohue, D.D. Secretary of State James F. Byrne responded to the toast "The United States." He assured his hearers that victory over the Axis was not an American victory alone. Although we Americans love peace, we must give an example of willingness to work for it. We must stand with the United Nations. He also made a plea for Universal Military Service, which was meeting with considerable opposition at the time. John T. Loughran, Chief Judge of the New York State Court of Appeals, in response to the toast "The State of New York" made his subject "Education." Once again the Right Reverend Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen delivered one of his typical addresses in response to the traditional "The Day We Celebrate."⁴⁰

The Anniversary Dinner of 1947 was even better attended than the previous occasion. Members and guests to the number of 2,293 sat

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³⁸ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1945.

³⁹ *Who's Who in America*, Vol. 30, p. 351; *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1948.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1946.

down to dinner. An old friend of the Society, Senator Robert F. Wagner, was present on the dais. The addresses were brilliant, the music inspiring, the decorations superb, and the enthusiasm displayed was exceeding. His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman said Grace. Attorney-General Tom C. Clark responded to the toast "The United States," telling his hearers of the work of his great Department of Justice, which at that time employed 25,000 persons. Right Reverend Monsignor James H. Griffiths, Chancellor of the Military Ordinariate, spoke on "The Day We Celebrate," reminding the members that one hundred years ago tonight no St. Patrick's Dinner was held, because "famine was stalking in Ireland." The proceedings were concluded by a few appropriate remarks from the Honorable Sean Nunan, Minister of Ireland.⁴¹

During the forties the Society had lost by death an unusually large number of prominent members in addition to Alfred E. Smith. Former President James J. Hoey died in 1941; ex-Senator and former President James A. O'Gorman and Major General Alexander E. Anderson in 1943. Martin Conboy passed away in 1944 and former President John F. Collins in 1945. The great Irish tenor John McCormack died in 1946, as did former President James A. Foley, "probably the most effective, learned and nationally respected jurist ever to spend his legal career on a purely local bench."⁴² Two former Presidents with distinguished records on the bench, Daniel F. Cohalan and Francis Martin died in 1947, and as the year 1948 got under way the Friendly Sons mourned the loss of Michael W. Rayens, who had been Almoner since 1929. The Society passed appropriate resolutions in memory of its departed members.

The regular stated meetings of this period continued to be very well attended and the members assembled were fortunate to enjoy the addresses of many able invited guests. Among these were the Reverend Charles F. Connor; Professor Collins Healy; Frank J. Sheed of Sheed and Ward; Hanson W. Baldwin, military and naval expert; Chaplain Lieutenant Thomas M. Reardon, who served with the marines that made the first beachhead at Guadalcanal; Reverend Henry J. Gebhard; Leo T. McCauley, Consul-General of Eire, and other speakers of note. In 1941 Consul-General Leo Thomas McCauley had been unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Friendly Sons, and was presented with the usual gold badge of the Society.⁴³ Mr. McCauley later became the Irish Ambassador to Spain. At a special meeting in April 1948, Honorary Membership had been conferred upon the Honorable Eamon de Valera, Prime Minister of Eire

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⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1947.

⁴² Moscow, *Politics in the Empire State*, p. 160.

⁴³ *Records of the Society*, Minutes, March 5, 1941.

from 1937 to March 1948, who was leaving for Ireland at eleven o'clock that same night.⁴⁴ Born in New York City, October 14, 1882, but educated in Ireland, Mr. de Valera's name had been synonymous with Ireland's political fortunes since the outbreak of World War I.

The President of the Friendly Sons in 1948 and 1949 was John A. Coleman, with Thomas J. Brogan and Harry M. Durning, Vice-Presidents. Martin F. Shea, President of Burns Brothers Coal Company, succeeded Michael W. Rayens as Almoner in November 1948, with other officials retaining their positions.⁴⁵ President Coleman was born on December 24, 1901, in the City of New York, where he resides. He was graduated from Holy Trinity Grammar School and attended Regis High School. He was then employed by the New York Stock Exchange as a floor page in 1916. At the age of 21, he became a Member of the New York Curb Exchange, retiring in 1924 upon his election to membership in the New York Stock Exchange. He married Ann Marie Meehan on June 7, 1930, at St. Aloysius Church, Jersey City, N. J. They have three children, John A. Jr., Thomas A. and Mary Ann.

Mr. Coleman is a senior partner of the New York Stock Exchange firm of Adler, Coleman & Company, has been a member of the Exchange since 1924. He was a Governor of the Exchange from 1938 to 1943. He was Vice-Chairman of the Board from May 1941 to May 1943, after which he served as Chairman for four years until May 1947.⁴⁶ He was reelected as a Governor in May 1948, to serve for a term of three years. In 1951 he was reelected for another term of three years and reelected again as a Governor in 1958.

He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Altman Foundation and the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation, former Chairman of the Board of the Greater New York Fund, a member of the Board of Directors of the New York Telephone Company, American Broadcasting-Paramount Theatres, Chrysler Corporation, the Herald Tribune Fresh Air Fund, the New York Heart Association, the Institute for Crippled and Disabled. He also serves as Chairman of the New York Foundling Hospital, Treasurer of the Catholic Relief Services-National Catholic Welfare Conference. He is Trustee of Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company and the East River Savings Bank. He is Executive Chairman of the Cardinal's Committee of the Laity and a member of the Board of Trustees of Catholic Charities.

The late Pope Pius XI appointed Mr. Coleman as a Knight of St. Gregory the Great in 1937 and in 1940 he was made a Knight of the Order of Malta. In 1952 he received the Grand Cross in the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre. In 1945 Cardinal Spellman awarded to

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⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, April 5, 1948.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 17, 1947.

⁴⁶ *New York Herald*, Feb. 14, 1957.



JOHN A. COLEMAN

Mr. Coleman the Catholic Action Medal of St. Bonaventure's College, which is presented annually to the "Catholic layman who has been outstanding in the field of Catholic Action." In 1949 Mr. Coleman was awarded the St. Vincent de Paul Medal by St. John's University of Brooklyn and in 1956 the Catholic Youth Organization's Medal. In 1957 Mr. Coleman was appointed a Papal Chamberlain by the late Pope Pius XII, and he also received the Gold Medal Award of the American Irish Historical Society. In 1958 he received the Americanism Award from the American Legion Schoolmen's Post. In 1962 Mr. Coleman was selected President-Master of the American Association of the Knights of Malta.

Mr. Coleman has received the Honorary Degrees of Doctor of Laws from Manhattan College, Doctor of Commercial Science from Holy Cross, Doctor of Business Administration from Providence College, Doctor of Laws from Niagara University, Doctor of Laws from St. Anselm's College, Doctor of Laws from Notre Dame University, Doctor of Laws from Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart and Doctor of Laws from Syracuse University.

Elected to the Friendly Sons in 1934, he had served for years as a member and later Chairman of the Board of Stewards. Since 1945 he had been Vice-President. During Mr. Coleman's two terms of office he was to give the Society a very active administration. Through his efforts it would be addressed by the President of the United States, the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, and the former Prime Minister of Ireland. Noted for the sincerity of his friendships, President Coleman was held in high regard by his colleagues, who described him as a man who had "spent a large part of his adult life lighting lamps to brighten the lives of others and fueling those lamps with the spirit of his courage and helpfulness."⁴⁷

At the 164th Anniversary Dinner in 1948, with 2,599 members and guests in attendance, the Friendly Sons had as their Guest of Honor, Harry S. Truman, President of the United States. This was only the second time in the history of the Society that the President of the United States had addressed the members while actually occupying his high office. The first, of course, was Theodore Roosevelt, at that time an Honorary Member and always an enthusiastic friend of the Society. Grover Cleveland, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt had all been guests of the Society, but either after or before they were President. His Eminence Cardinal Spellman said Grace on this occasion and in addition delivered the feature address in response to the toast "The Day We Celebrate."⁴⁸

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⁴⁷ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1950.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1948.

Cardinal Spellman spoke on "the war that never actually ended with V-J Day . . . the war that daily threatens to overcome America." When invited to address the Society he had rejoiced at the opportunity; but when he actually sat down to write his speech he found that events were moving so fast that his speech was outdated before it was completed. He had always pleaded for the protection of small, weak nations and he now renewed that plea. In order that the United States might be able to help its friends and neighbors he took this occasion to appeal for "universal military training," at that time a highly controversial project which had been vigorously opposed in certain sections of the Catholic Press. Now speaking "as a private citizen" Cardinal Spellman cast his vote for universal military training on the recommendation of the President of the United States.⁴⁹

President Truman, in response to the toast "The United States," assured his hearers that he knew "something about how the Irish fight." His battery in World War I had been made up in large part of Irishmen, so that a "roll call of the battery sounded as if the Ancient Order of Hibernians was having a meeting at the battlefield." The President, too, made an earnest appeal for universal military training and also attacked the Communist conspiracy in the United States. In the coming election campaign he proclaimed, "I do not want and will not accept the support of Henry Wallace and his Communists."⁵⁰

The 165th Annual Dinner saw 2,400 members and guests present, somewhat less than the previous year when the President of the United States was the guest of honor. President Coleman presided on the dais where were seated forty-four distinguished guests. His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman once more said Grace. James Forrestal, Secretary of Defense, who was about to retire from office, spoke in answer to the toast "The United States." He told the members that its 165th Anniversary reminded him of the 165th Infantry—the famous old Fighting Sixty-ninth—with whose career the Society had been so closely identified over nearly one hundred years. He passed along the roll of its famous commanders, particularly noting Colonel Gardner Conroy, killed at the landing on Makin Island in World War II. The Secretary spoke of the accomplishments of the Marshall Plan in Europe, and asked the members to support his successor, Colonel Louis A. Johnson.⁵¹

Right Reverend Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen again spoke on "The Day We Celebrate." He informed the audience that Ireland had always been a peace-loving nation, but pointed out that peace had been a very scarce commodity in the world. From 1496 B.C. to 1866

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⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1949.

A.D. the world had enjoyed only 226 years of peace and 3,130 years of war. Monsignor Sheen's highly admired wit and humor could not obscure the seriousness of his theme.

During President Coleman's two terms in office the Society was fortunate to be addressed by exceptionally distinguished speakers at its stated meetings. Among them were the Hon. John L. Sullivan, Secretary of the Navy, who spoke of the disillusionment after World War II, the need for strength to meet communist aggression. He called for an immediate increase in the size of our Army, Navy, and Air Force.⁵² The January 1949 stated meeting was addressed by the Reverend John J. Cavanaugh, President of Notre Dame University, who told of educational methods at the famous Indiana institution.⁵³ At the May 1949 meeting, Mr. Frank M. Folsom, a fellow member and President of RCA-Victor Division of the Radio Corporation of America, spoke on the new and fascinating science of television.⁵⁴ At the January 1948 stated meeting, Mr. John F. Brosnan, in lieu of the personal gift usually bestowed upon retiring presidents of the Society, accepted a check for \$1,000, which he passed on to the War Relief Service of the National Catholic Welfare Conference.⁵⁵ In November 1948, Mr. Nicholas J. Barrett, Treasurer of the Society for the past twenty-five years, was compelled to resign because of his doctor's orders. Mr. Arthur J. Morris, President of the Fulton Trust Company, was elected to succeed him and Mr. Barrett was unanimously elected Treasurer Emeritus.⁵⁶

Mr. Arthur J. Morris was born in New York City and was educated in the public schools and later studied at the American Institute of Banking and at Columbia University Extension School and became a specialist on the Income Tax law, in 1900 obtained a position as messenger in Real Estate Company of New York, afterwards the Fulton Trust Company. He rose in the ranks to become Assistant Secretary, Secretary, Director, Vice-President and President in 1934. The Fulton Trust Company had among its directors and its depositors many of the old New York families, such as, de Peysters, Goelets, Gerrys, Cruikshanks, Roosevelts, Schermerhorns, Fultons, Morrisises, Ver Plancks and Whites. The latter was originally a Baltimore family. Campbell White, a President of the Society before 1835, was the son of Dr. John White of Baltimore. The Fulton Trust Company took the name Fulton in 1906 as at that time the company had an Honorary Vice-President, Herrman H. Cammann, whose wife was a granddaughter of Robert Fulton. A great-grandson of Robert Fulton, Robert Fulton Crary, was an employee of the Fulton

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⁵² *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 3, 1948.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 3, 1949.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 2, 1949.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 5, 1948.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 15, 1948.

Trust Company. The Roosevelt family was represented on the Board of Directors by J. Roosevelt, a half-brother of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and whose first wife was one of the Astor family.

In 1915, as a clerk, Mr. Morris was sent to the home of Sara Delano Roosevelt on East 65th Street for the purpose of preparing Mrs. Roosevelt's Federal income tax return and continued through the years as Mrs. Roosevelt's financial adviser and investment counsellor. Under her Will, Mr. Morris was named as one of the Executors, together with her son, Franklin, and her lawyer, Henry Hachett.

Mr. Morris was elected a trustee of the New York Society library and later became the Treasurer and has served in that capacity for twenty-eight years. Two of the founders of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, Daniel McCormick and Hugh Gaine, served as trustees. Mr. Morris became a member of the Board of Trustees of the Catholic Youth Organization and served as Chairman during 1954-55. In 1952 he received the Club of Champions Award of the C. Y. O. For many years he was a member of the Holy Name Society and an officer in the Paulist Fathers Church on West 59th Street, and when he moved to New Jersey he became the President of the St. Vincent de Paul Society at Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, in Ridgewood.

Mr. Morris is a Trustee of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank and as such is a member of the Irish Emigrant Society, both of which are offshoots from the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick. He is a Director of the Hanover Insurance Company. His son, Arthur J., Jr. is a member of the Society.

At the election of November 1949, Mr. Thomas J. Brogan, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, became President of the Friendly Sons with Harry M. Durning and John S. Burke, Vice-Presidents.⁵⁷ Judge Brogan was the first native of Ireland to become President of the Society since the days of Victor Herbert, thirty-four years before. Born in the town of Kells, County Meath, Brogan's family had settled in Jersey City. He was educated by the Jesuits at old St. Francis Xavier in 16th Street, where he obtained the degree of B.A. in 1909, later graduating from Fordham Law School. He began to practice law in New Jersey in 1913, and for a time was a member of the faculty of Fordham Law School, lecturing on New Jersey practice and equity pleading. In 1917 he was appointed Corporation Attorney of Jersey City, and in 1921 became Corporation Counsel. On April 25, 1932, he was appointed Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey, and in the following February was elected Chief Justice, at the age of 44 years, the youngest ever to hold that position. Judge Brogan was involved in a number of famous cases including the Dorrance Tax Case and the Hauptman Case. He retired from the

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⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 21, 1949.



THOMAS J. BROGAN

Bench in March 1946, and was engaged in successful private practice when elected President of the Society.⁵⁸

The Anniversary Dinner of 1950 at the Hotel Astor was another very large gathering although the 2,100 members and guests assembled fell somewhat below the peak year of 1948. In the absence of Cardinal Spellman, who was abroad, His Excellency Bishop Stephen J. Donohue said Grace. The Cardinal did not forget to send greetings to his fellow members, expressing the hope that "next year I shall have the happiness to be with them." The Honorable J. Howard McGrath, Attorney-General of the United States, spoke in reply to the toast "The United States," and the Reverend John J. Dougherty, S.S.D., Professor of Sacred Scripture at Darlington Seminary, New Jersey, gave the response to the traditional toast "The Day We Celebrate." Seven former Presidents of the Society were seated on the dais with thirty other distinguished guests.⁵⁹

At the stated meeting on March 6, 1950, Mr. Joseph A. Panuch, Confidential Adviser to General Lucius Clay, the Military Governor of Germany, gave a very informative talk on the Cold War and in particular described the famous "Berlin Air-lift." At the May meeting in the same year the Reverend Jerome D'Souza, S.J., a representative to the United Nations from India, gave an account of the struggle that was taking place in Asia against the forces of Communism and atheism.⁶⁰

The 167th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, March 17, 1951, saw 2,200 members and guests seated in the Grand Ball Room, the adjoining ball rooms and balconies of the old hotel. Forty-one guests occupied the dais, including the Honorable Vincent R. Impelliteri, Mayor of New York. His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman once more said Grace. Secretary of the Navy, Francis P. Matthews spoke on "a new America" in response to the toast "The United States." The ever popular Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., gave the traditional reply to the toast "The Day We Celebrate." He reminded the members that it was now fourteen years since his first speech, as President of Fordham University, before the Society. Now he had been "sent to the foreign missions, Staten Island." In his customarily humorous address Father Gannon did not neglect the serious side of the Communist menace to this country.⁶¹

At the election meeting of November 1951, Harry M. Durning was advanced to the Presidency with John S. Burke and Martin F. Shea as Vice-Presidents. Adrian P. Burke resigned as Corresponding Secretary with Philip J. Curry succeeding him, and Dr. Raymond P.

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⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1952.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1950.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Minutes, May 1, 1950.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1951.



HARRY M. DURNING

Sullivan replaced Mr. Shea as Almoner. Raymond P. Sullivan, M.D., F.A.C.S., D.S., graduated from Manhattan College in 1903 with a degree of A.B., and in 1904 with a degree of A.M. He then attended the College of Physicians & Surgeons and graduated in 1907 with a degree of M.D. From 1909 to 1910, he had residency in Mayo Clinic. and from 1910 to 1911 he was the Assistant in Surgery in Mayo Clinic. He served his internship in St. Mary's Hospital in Brooklyn from 1907 to 1909. From 1909 to 1910 he interned at St. Mary's Hospital, Rochester, Minn., and for six months in 1907 he was at Sloane Maternity Hospital. From 1911 to 1919 he was the Attending Surgeon in Holy Family Hospital, Brooklyn, St. Mary's Hospital in Brooklyn and Greenpoint Hospital in Brooklyn. From 1919 to 1947 he was Director of Surgery at St. Vincent's Hospital, New York, and in that year became Senior Surgeon in Surgery. He is Consultant Surgeon at St. Vincent's Hospital, Staten Island, and Consultant in Surgery at St. Joseph's Hospital in Yonkers and House of Calvary, New York City. He is a member of the American Medical Association, Kings County Medical Association, New York County Medical Association, New York State Medical Association, New York Academy of Medicine. In 1937 he was founder of Diplomate in Surgery and is a member of American College of Surgeons, Southern Surgical Society, American Cancer Society and the former Secretary and President of the Brooklyn Surgical Society, and Past-President of Alumni Mayo Clinic, New York Celtic Medical Society, Gorgas Memorial Association, and Association of Military Surgeons. He was Chief of Division of Surgery U.S.A. in World War I with the rank of Colonel, affiliated member of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. He received honorary degrees of LL.D. from Manhattan College, Fordham University, Georgetown University and Holy Cross College. He was honored by King Victor Emmanuel for his services in World War I and was granted the Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Italy. He is a Knight of Malta and a member of the Board of Trustees of St. Patrick's Cathedral, the Catholic Club of New York, the Irish Historical Society, American Legion-Caduceus Post, New York Athletic Club, Military Order of World Wars Society of American Wars, Board of Trustees of Manhattan College, Phi Rho Sigma Fraternity Chapter International. The other officers were retained. At this meeting the death of John P. O'Brien, former president of the Society and former Mayor of New York, was announced. Recording Secretary, Richard C. Murphy, proposed an amendment to the By-Laws, raising Active Memberships to 900 from the present 700 limit. At a subsequent meeting, January 7, 1952, this amendment was adopted.⁶²

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⁶² *Ibid.*, Minutes, Nov. 19, 1951; Jan. 7, 1952.

The reason behind this increase of the limit of Active Memberships was undoubtedly the desire to make larger sums available for Charity in future years. When the new By-Laws were adopted in 1943, interest and dividends from investments of the Permanent Fund had been made available for Charity in the hope that this would permit substantially increased appropriations for that purpose. The results, however, had been disappointing to many of the members. For the ten-year period prior to the change of the By-Laws the Society had averaged \$5,930 per year in donations for Charity.⁶³ In the seven years that followed disbursements for this purpose were indeed increased but only to an average of \$6,480 per year.⁶⁴ Now, as on many occasions of the past, some of the leading members began to think that the Friendly Sons were not doing all that they could for Charity in view of the fact that this was the principal objective of the Association.

At the December 31, 1950 meeting of the Charity Committee, its Chairman, John S. Burke, proposed that the Society contribute \$25,000 to charity.⁶⁵ Secretary Murphy pointed out that the income of the Society was insufficient to meet any such extraordinary expenditure and that although the market value of securities held for the Permanent Fund was approximately \$231,855, this money was according to the By-Laws, not available for charity. The normal expenses of the Society had increased greatly in recent years. During 1950 the sum of \$3500 had been appropriated for the Glee Club, the Year Book had cost \$3,911.29, and the stated special meetings of the Society for which the members were not charged had reached \$6,009.29.⁶⁶ Since the Society was entirely dependent for its income on dues paying members, the Quarterly Meetings of the Friendly Sons must be pleasant and entertaining so as to attract members. He did not feel that any substantial cut could be made in normal expenses without sacrificing members and ultimately the charitable objectives of the association. Mr. Murphy, however, suggested that a cash reserve be set aside each year where possible from the surplus income of the Society, which would otherwise be credited to the Permanent Fund. Thus could be accumulated a fund available for Charity when extraordinary demands had to be met. This practice was subsequently adopted⁶⁷ and together with increased income from Active Membership made it possible for donations to be raised to \$8,000 yearly in 1953, 1954, and 1955. In addition a cash reserve of \$8,190.65 was accumulated by March 17, 1955, which was available for charitable purposes.⁶⁸

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⁶³ *Ibid.*, Figures are taken from Treasurer's Reports, Nov. 1, 1934 to March 17, 1943.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Reports, for seven-year period, March 17, 1944 to March 17, 1950.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Meeting of Charity Committee, Dec. 31, 1950.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Report, March 17, 1951.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Meeting of Board of Officers, Nov. 27, 1951.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, Treasurer's Reports, March 17, 1953, 1954, 1955.

Harry M. Durning, President of the Friendly Sons in 1952 and 1953, was at the time of his election Collector of the Customs for the Port of New York. A native New Yorker, educated in its parochial and public schools, Mr. Durning was until 1929 office manager of the law firm of Simpson, Thatcher, and Bartlett. Thereafter he became a partner in the firm of Moore and Schley, bankers and brokers, members of the New York Stock Exchange and the then New York Curb Exchange. Mr. Durning had been Collector of the Port of New York since 1933.⁶⁹ Director of many corporations and a member of several clubs, Mr. Durning tendered a dinner to the newly elected officers of the Society at the Manhattan Club on November 27, 1951.

The Society's Annual Dinner of 1952 was somewhat smaller than the huge affairs to which the members had become accustomed in recent years. For the first time since 1944 attendance fell below 2,000 and lacked 644 of attaining the members present at the great St. Patrick's Day celebration in 1948. His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman and Mayor Vincent R. Impelliteri were seated on the dais. Past-president John F. Brosnan, who had recently been elected a member of the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York, made one of the main addresses. The other was delivered by the Most Reverend James H. Griffiths, St.D., Chancellor of the Military Ordinariate.⁷⁰

The 169th Anniversary Dinner of the Society in the following year, which was also the 300th Anniversary of the founding of New York City, saw attendance by members and guests greatly expanded. Some 2,200 enjoyed the repast at the old Hotel Astor. President Durning in his address recalled the part that Irishmen had played in the early days of the city, remembering George Clinton, Thomas Dongan, Christopher Colles and other famous names from the past. His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman again said Grace. Among the distinguished guests on the dais were Mayor Impelliteri and former Postmaster-General James A. Farley, who three years later would be elected 2nd Vice-President of the Society. Attorney-General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, responded to the toast "The United States," and the Very Reverend Laurence J. McGinley, S.J., President of Fordham University, gave the traditional address on "The Day We Celebrate." The Attorney General had to confess that he was not really Irish at all, and any claims that he might have made because his "wife was born in Dublin" were nullified by the fact that it was Dublin, Texas, and not Dublin, Ireland. In his address Mr. Brownell paid a tribute to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its Chief, J. Edgar Hoover. Father McGinley made his subject for the evening "Ireland, Island

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⁶⁹ *Who's Who in America*, Vol. 30, p. 796.

⁷⁰ *Records of the Society*, Year Book, 1952.

of Song," a theme on which no Irishman could fail in eloquence.⁷¹

At its stated meeting of November 1953, the Society elected as its President, John S. Burke, of B. Altman and Company, with Martin F. Shea and Edmond M. Hanrahan as Vice-Presidents. The other officers were retained. Mr. Burke was the first merchant to head the Friendly Sons since Michael J. Drummond was elected in 1907. For more than 100 years the offices of the Society had been dominated by the legal profession and during this period the great majority of its Presidents had been members of the New York Bench. The new President delighted to recall that this had not always been the case with the Society, and that during the first fifty years of its existence all of its Presidents had been merchants. Unlike most recent heads of the Friendly Sons, Mr. Burke was not a native New Yorker, having been born in Norwich, Connecticut, November 6, 1889. After graduating from Yale University in 1912, he entered B. Altman and Company, rising rapidly in the business to become a member of the Board of Directors in 1919 and Vice-President in 1924. Thereafter he was associated with Colonel Michael Friedsam in the management of the business. In 1931 Burke was elected President of Altman's becoming Chairman of the Board in 1954. In 1924 he had originated the idea of suburban shopping centers, his great New York store opening shops in East Orange and White Plains.⁷²

The new President of the Society had already had a long career of civic and social service. President of the Altman Foundation, he was a Director of the New York Life Insurance Company, Vice-President of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, and also a Director of the Fifth Avenue Association. In 1933 Governor Lehman had appointed him a member and treasurer of his Commission on the Cost of Public Education. A year later he became a member of the Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief. Vice-Chairman of the St. Isaac Jogues Memorial, he was a trustee for Catholic Charities in the Archdiocese of New York. From 1939 to 1943 he was a member of the New York State Board of Social Welfare and in 1942-3 a member of the city Board of Higher Education. Fordham University had conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, Manhattan College that of Humane Letters, and Notre Dame University, the Doctor of Laws. In 1938 Pope Pius XI had bestowed upon him the honorary title of Papal Chamberlain of the Cape and Sword. He was also a Knight of Malta. His fellows in the Society remembered the great talk he had given at their 1945 dinner in memory of Alfred E. Smith. While President of the Society, President Dwight D. Eisen-

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⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1953.

⁷² *Who's Who in America*, Vol. 27, p. 347; *Records of the Society*, Minutes, Jan. 5, 1956.



JOHN S. BURKE

hower was to appoint him a member of the White House Conference on Education.⁷³

At the January stated meeting of 1954, the Society conferred Honorary Membership upon James Francis Cardinal McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles, in an impressive ceremony at which were present five bishops, four monsignors, and the Cardinal Archbishop of New York. The new Honorary Member told the audience that he had started life as a clerk in the employ of the H. L. Horton Company of which John G. O'Keefe, then Treasurer of the Society, was the senior partner. One of the present Cardinal's first duties was to keep the accounts of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick.⁷⁴

The 170th Anniversary Dinner of the Society, March 17, 1954, saw 2,100 members and guests enjoying the festivities. Hung from the balconies were the flags of the United States, The State of New York, the Mayor's Flag, the Irish and Papal flags, and those of the Coast Guard, Air Force, Army and Navy, in honor of the distinguished guests who represented the various governments and services. Among those present on the dais were Mayor Robert F. Wagner, whose distinguished father had been for so many years a dear friend of the Society, Bernard Butler, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman. The Cardinal Archbishop as usual said Grace. United States Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, a recipient of the Navy and Marine Medal and the Purple Heart, responded to the toast "The United States," with the Right Reverend Thomas J. McCarthy, Vice-Chancellor of the Military Ordinariate, delivering the traditional reply to "The Day We Celebrate."⁷⁵

In 1955 the 171st Anniversary Dinner of the Friendly Sons, still held in the same Hotel Astor, that was now known as the Sheraton-Astor, saw another tremendous gathering of 2,370 members and guests. The Cardinal Archbishop of New York once more said Grace. The Honorable William F. Knowland, United States Senator from California replied to the toast "The United States," and the ever popular Reverend Robert I. Gannon, S.J., now Rector of St. Ignatius Loyola Church in the city, made one of his typical addresses on "The Day We Celebrate." Seated on the dais were many distinguished guests including the Most Reverend James H. Griffiths, Chancellor of the Military Ordinariate, the Very Reverend Laurence J. McGinley, President of Fordham University, and Mayor Robert F. Wagner of New York City. Senator Knowland attacked the record of the Soviet Union, recounting its many violations of the United Nations Charter.⁷⁶

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⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Minutes, Jan. 12, 1954.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1954.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, Year Book, 1955.

During President John S. Burke's two terms in office the Friendly Sons continued their custom of inviting distinguished speakers to address them at their stated meetings. Among them were the Reverend James J. McLarney, O.P., who discussed the Irish patriot Wolf Tone; the Hon. Dennis J. Roberts, Governor of Rhode Island and a graduate of New York's Fordham University, who spoke on the "Irish in America"; the Reverend William A. Donahy, S.J., President of Holy Cross College, whose subject was "Irish Character and Its Contributions to America"; and the Hon. John M. Conway, Consul-General of Ireland, whose subject was "Ireland Today."

In over one hundred and seventy years of its history the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York had expanded from a relatively small group of less than 100 Irishmen in an overgrown village to a large association of more than 1200 members in the great metropolis of the world.⁷⁷ During all these years the members had been bound together by one principle which can hardly be better expressed than in the words of the favorite toast of the Reverend Thomas Levins, first chaplain of the Society:

The heart-pulse of Religion — the golden link in the chain
binding the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick — Charity.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the members in years to come will never forget the main objective of the Society which has been the life-giving soul of the Association since its inception in 1784.

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⁷⁷ At the close of the fiscal year March 17, 1955, during Mr. Burke's second term in office, the Permanent Fund of the Society, in cash and securities at market prices, totaled \$342,814.86. *Records of the Society*, Treasurer's Report, March 17, 1955.

LIST OF ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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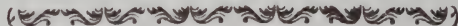
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Facsimile of cover, "Rules of the Society"

APPENDIX A

ORIGINAL RULES OF THE SOCIETY

(as printed by Hugh Gaine in 1786)

Rules to be Observed By The
Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick
In the State of New York

1. That the Society shall meet four times a year, to witness the 17th of March, 17th of June, 17th of September and 17th of December. That public notice shall be given by the Secretary a week before the day of each meeting and that the annual meeting shall be on the 17th of March.

2. That the meeting of the 17th of June shall be always considered as a meeting for business and that no strangers can be admitted on that day; that the President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary and a council regulates all matters belonging to the Society for the better government of the same, as they shall think necessary to be laid before any of the quarterly meetings for their approbation; and in case of an equal division in this council, the President always has a casting vote.

3. That each member shall furnish himself with a gold medal of value of three guineas agreeable to the following description; on the right Hibernia, on the left America, in the center Liberty joining the hands of Hibernia; and America, to be represented by a harp for Hibernia; an Indian with a quiver on his back and his bow flung for America; underneath "Unite." On the reverse side, St. Patrick trampling on a snake, a cross in his hand dressed in his Pontifical robes. The motto

ε
'HIA R.'

4. That any member residing in the state neglecting to appear at the meeting on the 17th of March without his medal, after the same can be procured, shall forfeit the sum of eight shillings and for such neglect at any other meetings, the sum of five shillings; unless out of the state; and that such fines as well as all other fines shall be paid into the hands of the Treasurer.

5. That the descendants of Irish parents by either side in the first degree, and the descendants of every member ad infinitum shall have a natural right of application to be admitted members of this Society.

6. That any person desirous of becoming a member shall signify his desire to the Secretary, who is to give notice to each member ten

days before the next quarterly meeting, mentioning the name of the person proposed, and that the said person to be proposed shall be balloted for at the said meeting, and that at all such Elections five black balls shall exclude any candidate, and that there can be no Election unless at a meeting of Twenty or more members.

7. That all fines shall be disposed of at the meeting the 17th of June.

8. That at the Annual Meeting, the President with the advice of the council shall have the privilege of asking any number of strangers he may think proper, in the name of the Society, at the expense of the members then met; but the strangers introduced by him at any other meeting (the Governor for the time being excepted) shall be at his own expense.

9. That any member refusing to pay his fine on or before the first meeting after such fine shall be imposed, shall be no longer considered a member, unless being again balloted for in the usual form.

10. That a book shall be kept by the Secretary containing fair Minutes of the proceedings, subject to the inspection of every member.

Lastly: That each member be furnished with a fair copy of these Rules, and that no person shall be considered a member until he has subscribed the same.

CHARTER OF INCORPORATION (1827)

An Act to Incorporate the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick, in the City of New York, Passed February 13, 1827.

WHEREAS, the members of a Society instituted for the relief of indigent natives of Ireland, and their descendants, have petitioned the Legislature for an act of incorporation, the better to enable them to obtain the objects of their association; therefore

1. Be it enacted by the People of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, That John Chambers, James McBride, James Magee, Alexander Charters, John Montgomery, John Caldwell and Daniel McCormick, and such other persons as now are or hereafter shall become members of the Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York, are hereby constituted and declared a body politic and corporate, in fact and in name, by the name of 'The Society of the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in the City of New York,' and by that name they and their successors, during the existence of the said corporation, shall and may have perpetual succession; and shall in law be capable of suing and being sued, pleading and being impleaded, answering and being answered unto, defending and being defended, in all courts and places whatsoever; and that they and their successors may have and use a common seal, and may change and alter the same from time to time at their pleasure; and also that, by their corporate name, and in their corporate capacity, they and their successors may purchase, take, hold, use and enjoy, sell, lease and convey any estate, real or personal, for the use and benefit of said corporation: Provided, that the annual income of such real and personal estate shall not at any time exceed the sum of five thousand dollars.

2. And be it further enacted, That the said corporation shall have power to make such constitution, by-laws and regulations, as they shall judge proper, for the appointment of officers, for the admission of new members, for the government of the officers and members thereof, for collecting annual contributions from the members towards the funds thereof, for regulating the times and places of meeting of the said Society, for suspending or expelling such members as shall neglect or refuse to comply with the by-laws or regulations, and for the managing and directing the property, affairs and concerns of said Society: Provided, That such constitution, by-laws and regulations be not inconsistent with the Laws or Constitution of this State, or of the United States: Provided further, That the said corporation shall not engage in any banking business, or dispose of any of its funds for

any other purpose than the relief of such members of the said Society, natives of Ireland, and children and grandchildren of natives of Ireland, or of a member of said Society, as may become indigent and poor.

3. And be it further enacted, That the present officers of said Society shall hold their respective offices until others shall be chosen in their places.

4. And be it further enacted, That this Act be, and hereby is declared to be, a public act, and that the same shall be construed in all courts and places, benignly and favourably for every beneficial purpose therein intended, and that no misnomer of the said corporation in any deed, gift, grant, devise or other instrument of contract or conveyance, shall vitiate or defeat the same: Provided, The Corporation shall be sufficiently described to ascertain the intention of the parties.

5. And be it further enacted, That the Legislature may at any time hereafter amend, alter, modify or repeal this act.

APPENDIX C

Preamble of the

BY-LAWS OF THE SOCIETY, 1832

It is so natural for persons in reduced circumstances, or who may have fallen into misfortune or distress, in a part of the world remote from the place of their nativity, to apply for aid to those who are originally from the same country; that the expedient of national associations, or societies, readily suggested itself, as a prompt and effectual means of affording the desired relief.

It was for the purpose of assisting the poor and distressed natives of Ireland, that "THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDLY SONS OF ST. PATRICK," was organized. It was instituted in the year 1784; the venerable and respected DANIEL M'CORMICK, Esq. being its praise-worthy Founder, and for many years its President.

Various rules and regulations were adopted for the government of the Society, which were enlarged and altered from time to time, as circumstances and expediency required, always having in view the laudable and important object of relieving the deserving and distressed Irish.

In order to secure and perpetuate the advantages of this Society to the natives, and descendants of natives, of Ireland, and, as connected with this, to promote good disposition and friendly feeling with each other; thus uniting the charitable and humane, with the friendly and social feelings, a further revision of the By-Laws was lately thought necessary, and at a meeting of the Society, on the first day of December, 1831, it was

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to examine the By-Laws of this Society, with a view to their amendment, and to draft such additional laws as may be thought expedient and necessary.

This Committee consisted of the following gentlemen:—

SAMUEL OSBORNE
JACOB HARVEY
JOSEPH ALEXANDER
JOHN T. DOLAN
JAMES McBRIDE

The duty assigned to these gentlemen has been promptly and satisfactorily performed.

At a meeting of the Society, held at the Bank Coffee House, on the 5th January, 1832, they presented the By-Laws, for the future regulation and government of the Society, which were unanimously adopted.

APPENDIX D

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF OFFICERS 1784-1962

1784-1788

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
HUGH GAINÉ, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1789-1790

WILLIAM CONSTABLE, *President*
HUGH GAINÉ, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1791

ALEXANDER MACOMB, *President*
HUGH GAINÉ, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1792

THOMAS ROACH, *President*
HUGH GAINÉ, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1793-1794

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
HUGH GAINÉ, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1795

WILLIAM CONSTABLE, *President*
HUGH GAINÉ, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1796

GEORGE POLLOCK, *President*
HUGH GAINÉ, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1797-1804

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
WILLIAM HILL, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1805

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
JOHN CALDWELL, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1806

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
JOHN CALDWELL, *Treasurer*
CHRISTOPHER PRINCE, *Secretary*

1807-1808

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
JOHN CALDWELL, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1809-1810

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
WILLIAM BRYAR, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1811

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
JOHN CHAMBERS, *Treasurer*
R. R. WADDELL, *Secretary*

1812-1814

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
JOHN CHAMBERS, *Treasurer*
NATHAN McVICKAR, *Secretary*

1815-1816

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
JOHN WOODWARD, *Treasurer*
NATHAN McVICKAR, *Secretary*

1817-1820

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
JAMES MAGEE, *Treasurer*
J. MONTGOMERY, *Secretary*

1821-1824

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
MICHAEL MULDON, *Treasurer*
HARRIS BLOOD, *Secretary*

1825

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
MICHAEL MULDON, *Treasurer*
A. CHARTERS, *Secretary*

1826

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
J. B. MONTGOMERY, *Treasurer*
A. CHARTERS, *Secretary*

1827

DANIEL McCORMICK, *President*
J. B. MONTGOMERY, *Treasurer*
JOSEPH ALEXANDER, *Secretary*

1828

JOHN CHAMBERS, *President*
J. B. MONTGOMERY, *Treasurer*
JOSEPH ALEXANDER, *Secretary*

1829

JOHN CHAMBERS, *President*
J. B. MONTGOMERY, *Treasurer*
THOMAS CLEARY, *Secretary*

1830

JOHN CHAMBERS, *President*
JOHN WILSON, *Treasurer*
R. A. FITZGERALD, *Secretary*

1831

JOHN CHAMBERS, *President*
JOHN WILSON, *Treasurer*
DUDLEY PERSE, *Secretary*

1832

JOHN CHAMBERS, *President*
JOHN MOOREHEAD, *Treasurer*
DUDLEY PERSE, *Secretary*

1833

JOHN CHAMBERS, *President*
GEORGE S. CORBITT, *Treasurer*
DUDLEY PERSE, *Secretary*

1834

JAMES MCBRIDE, *President*
GEORGE S. CORBITT, *Treasurer*
DUDLEY PERSE, *Secretary*

1835-1836

CAMPBELL P. WHITE, *President*
SAMUEL OSBORNE, *Treasurer*
DUDLEY PERSE, *Secretary*

1837

CAMPBELL P. WHITE, *President*
SAMUEL OSBORNE, *Treasurer*
ROBERT J. DILLON, *Secretary*

1838

CAMPBELL P. WHITE, *President*
ARTHUR STEWART, *Treasurer*
DUDLEY PERSE, *Secretary*

1839-1840

DR. ROBERT HOGAN, *President*
ARTHUR STEWART, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM ARNOLD, *Secretary*

1841

DR. ROBERT HOGAN, *President*
ARTHUR STEWART, *Treasurer*
M. O. BARRY, *Secretary*

1842

DR. ROBERT HOGAN, *President*
CHARLES M. NANRY, *Treasurer*
M. O. BARRY, *Secretary*

1843-1844

JAMES REYBURN, *President*
CHARLES M. NANRY, *Treasurer*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Secretary*

1845-1848

JAMES REYBURN, *President*
CHARLES M. NANRY, *Treasurer*
WM. G. FITZGERALD, *Secretary*

1849-1850

JAMES REYBURN, *President*
CHARLES M. NANRY, *Treasurer*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Secretary*

1851-1852

RICHARD BELL, *President*
CHARLES M. NANRY, *Treasurer*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Secretary*

1853

JOSEPH STUART, *President*
CHARLES M. NANRY, *Treasurer*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Secretary*

1854-1856

JOSEPH STUART, *President*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Treasurer*
RICHARD O'GORMAN, *Secretary*

1857-1858

SAMUEL SLOAN, *President*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Treasurer*
WALTER MAGEE, *Secretary*

1859

RICHARD O'GORMAN, *President*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Treasurer*
WALTER MAGEE, *Secretary*

1860-1862

CHARLES P. DALY, *President*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Treasurer*
THOMAS BARBOUR, *Secretary*

1863

JAMES T. BRADY, *President*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Treasurer*
THOMAS BARBOUR, *Secretary*

1864

JAMES T. BRADY, *President*
CHARLES H. BIRNEY, *Treasurer*
A. O'DONNELL, *Secretary*

1865

RICHARD BELL, *President*
HENRY L. HOGUET, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Secretary*

1866

JOSEPH STUART, *President*
HENRY L. HOGUET, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Secretary*

1867

HENRY L. HOGUET, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
JAMES REID, *Secretary*

1868

JOHN R. BRADY, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
JAMES REID, *Secretary*

1869

EUGENE KELLY, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
EDWARD BOYLE, *Secretary*

1870

CHARLES P. DALY, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
EDWARD BOYLE, *Secretary*

1871

JOHN R. BRADY, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
ROBERT J. HOGUET, *Secretary*

1872-1874

JOHN R. BRADY, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
S. O. A. MURPHY, *Secretary*

1875

THOMAS BARBOUR, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
S. O. A. MURPHY, *Secretary*

1876

THOMAS BARBOUR, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
EUGENE B. MURTHA, *Secretary*

1877

HUGH J. HASTINGS, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
EUGENE B. MURTHA, *Secretary*

1878-1880

CHARLES P. DALY, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
EUGENE B. MURTHA, *Secretary*

1881-1882

CHARLES P. DALY, *President*
WILLIAM WHITESIDE, *Treasurer*
JOHN MCK. MCCARTHY, *Secretary*

1883

CHARLES P. DALY, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
JOHN MCK. MCCARTHY, *Secretary*

1884

CHARLES P. DALY, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
JOHN SAVAGE, *Secretary*

1885-1886

JOSEPH J. O'DONOHUE, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
FRANCIS HIGGINS, *Secretary*

1887

JAMES R. CUMING, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
HENRY MCCLOSKEY, *Secretary*

1888-1889

JOSEPH J. O'DONOHUE, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
HENRY MCCLOSKEY, *Secretary*

1890-1891

DAVID MCCLURE, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
HENRY MCCLOSKEY, *Secretary*

1892

JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
EUGENE DURNIN, *Secretary*

1893-1894

JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *President*
EUGENE KELLY, *Treasurer*
BARTHOLOMEW MOYNAHAN, *Secretary*

1895-1896

JAMES S. COLEMAN, *President*
EDWARD W. SCOTT, *1st Vice-Pres.*
JOHN MCANERNY, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
BARTHOLOMEW MOYNAHAN, *Rec. Sec.*
EDWARD J. MCGUIRE, *Cor. Sec.*

1897

MORGAN J. O'BRIEN, *President*
FREDERICK SMYTHE, *1st Vice-Pres.*
WILLIAM R. GRACE, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
BARTHOLOMEW MOYNAHAN, *Rec. Sec.*
EDWARD J. MCGUIRE, *Cor. Sec.*

1898-1899

MORGAN J. O'BRIEN, *President*
FREDERICK SMYTHE, *1st Vice-Pres.*
HUGH J. GRANT, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
BARTHOLOMEW MOYNAHAN, *Rec. Sec.*
EDWARD J. MCGUIRE, *Cor. Sec.*

1900-1902

JAMES A. O'GORMAN, *President*
EDWARD PATTERSON, *1st Vice-Pres.*
CONSTANTINE J. MACGUIRE, M.D.,
2nd Vice-Pres.
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
BARTHOLOMEW MOYNAHAN, *Rec. Sec.*
JOHN J. ROONEY, *Cor. Secretary*

1903-1905

JAMES FITZGERALD, *President*
JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE, *1st Vice-Pres.*
MICHAEL DRUMMOND, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
JOHN J. LENEHAN, *Rec. Secretary*
WM. TEMPLE EMMETT,
Cor. Secretary

1906

JOSEPH I. C. CLARKE, *President*
MICHAEL J. DRUMMOND,
1st Vice-Pres.
WM. BOURKE COCKRAN,
2nd Vice-Pres.
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
THOMAS F. CONWAY, *Rec. Sec.*
JOSEPH T. RYAN, *Cor. Secretary*

1907

MICHAEL J. DRUMMOND, *President*
STEPHEN FARRELLY, *1st Vice-Pres.*
WM. TEMPLE EMMETT,
2nd Vice-Pres.
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
WARREN LESLIE, *Rec. Secretary*
THOMAS F. CONWAY, *Cor. Sec.*

1908

STEPHEN FARRELLY, *President*
WM. TEMPLE EMMETT, *1st Vice-Pres.*
JOHN J. DELANY, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
WARREN LESLIE, *Rec. Secretary*
ALFRED J. TALLY, *Cor. Secretary*

1909-1910

WM. TEMPLE EMMETT, *President*
JOHN J. DELANY, *1st Vice-Pres.*
EDWARD E. MCCALL, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN D. CRIMMINS, *Treasurer*
WARREN LESLIE, *Rec. Secretary*
JOSEPH T. RYAN, *Cor. Secretary*

1911-1912

JOHN J. DELANY, *President*
EDWARD E. MCCALL, *1st Vice-Pres.*
VICTOR HERBERT, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN G. O'KEEFE, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM J. CLARKE, *Rec. Sec.*
WALTER J. DRUMMOND, *Cor. Sec.*
TIMOTHY MURRAY, *Almoner*

1913-1914

EDWARD E. MCCALL, *President*
VICTOR HERBERT, *1st Vice-Pres.*
THOMAS M. MULRY, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN G. O'KEEFE, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM J. CLARKE, *Rec. Sec.*
JOHN F. JOYCE, *Cor. Secretary*
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Almoner*

1915-1916

VICTOR HERBERT, *President*
THOMAS M. MULRY, *1st Vice-Pres.*
VICTOR J. DOWLING, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN G. O'KEEFE, *Treasurer*
WILLIAM J. CLARKE, *Rec. Sec.*
JOHN F. JOYCE, *Cor. Secretary*
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Almoner*

1917-1919

VICTOR J. DOWLING, *President*
DANIEL F. COHALAN, *1st Vice-Pres.*
HENRY L. JOYCE, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN G. O'KEEFE, *Treasurer*
JAMES J. HOEY, *Rec. Secretary*
JOSEPH ROWAN, *Cor. Secretary*
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Almoner*

1920-1922

DANIEL F. COHALAN, *President*
HENRY L. JOYCE, *1st Vice-Pres.*
JAMES J. HOEY, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
JOHN G. O'KEEFE, *Treasurer*
MORGAN J. O'BRIEN, JR., *Rec. Sec.*
WILLIAM J. COLIHAN, *Cor. Sec.*
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Almoner*

1923-1924

HENRY L. JOYCE, *President*
JAMES J. HOEY, *1st Vice-Pres.*
JOSEPH FERRIS SIMMONS,
2nd Vice-Pres.
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
JOSEPH T. RYAN, *Rec. Secretary*
WILLIAM J. COLIHAN, *Cor. Sec.*
JOHN G. MCTIGUE, *Almoner*

1925-1926

JAMES J. HOEY, *President*
JOSEPH FERRIS SIMMONS,
1st Vice-Pres.
JOHN P. O'BRIEN, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
JOSEPH T. RYAN, *Rec. Secretary*
JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *Cor. Secretary*
JOHN G. MCTIGUE, *Almoner*

1927-1928

JOHN P. O'BRIEN, *President*
LAURENCE MCGUIRE, *1st Vice-Pres.*
FRANCIS MARTIN, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
GEORGE KEEGAN, *Rec. Secretary*
JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *Cor. Secretary*
JOHN G. MCTIGUE, *Almoner*

1929-1930

FRANCIS MARTIN, *President*
JAMES A. FOLEY, *1st Vice-Pres.*
GEORGE V. McLAUGHLIN,
2nd Vice-Pres.
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
GEORGE KEEGAN, *Rec. Secretary*
JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *Cor. Secretary*
M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1931-1933

JAMES A. FOLEY, *President*
GEORGE V. McLAUGHLIN,
1st Vice-Pres.
GEORGE KEEGAN, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
RICHARD C. MURPHY, *Rec. Secretary*
JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *Cor. Secretary*
M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1934

JAMES A. FOLEY, *President*
 GEORGE KEEGAN, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 JOHN F. COLLINS, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY, *Rec. Secretary*
 JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1935-1936

GEORGE KEEGAN, *President*
 JOHN F. COLLINS, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 EDWARD J. GLENNON, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY, *Rec. Secretary*
 JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1937-1938

JOHN F. COLLINS, *President*
 EDWARD J. GLENNON, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY, *Rec. Secretary*
 WILLIAM J. DEEGAN, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1939-1940

EDWARD J. GLENNON, *President*
 JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 EDWARD A. ARNOLD, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY, *Rec. Secretary*
 WILLIAM J. DEEGAN, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1941-1942

JOSEPH F. HIGGINS, *President*
 EDWARD A. ARNOLD, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 WILLIAM J. DEEGAN, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY, *Rec. Secretary*
 JOHN F. BROSNAN, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1943-1944

EDWARD A. ARNOLD, *President*
 WILLIAM J. DEEGAN, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 JOHN F. BROSNAN, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY,
Rec. Secretary and Historian
 ADRIAN P. BURKE, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1945

WILLIAM J. DEEGAN, *President*
 JOHN F. BROSNAN, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 JOHN A. COLEMAN, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY,
Rec. Secretary and Historian
 ADRIAN P. BURKE, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1946-1947

JOHN F. BROSNAN, *President*
 JOHN A. COLEMAN, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 THOMAS J. BROGAN, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY,
Rec. Secretary and Historian
 ADRIAN P. BURKE, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*

1948

JOHN A. COLEMAN, *President*
 THOMAS J. BROGAN, *1st Vice-Pres.*
 HARRY M. DURNING, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
 ARTHUR J. MORRIS, *Treasurer*
 RICHARD C. MURPHY,
Rec. Secretary and Historian
 ADRIAN P. BURKE, *Cor. Secretary*
 M. W. RAYENS, *Almoner*
 NICHOLAS J. BARRETT,
Treasurer Emeritus

1949

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1952-1953

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JOHN S. BURKE, *President*
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ARTHUR J. MORRIS, *Treasurer*
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PHILIP J. CURRY, *Cor. Secretary*
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EDMOND M. HANRAHAN, *1st Vice-Pres.*
JAMES A. FARLEY, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
ARTHUR J. MORRIS, *Treasurer*
RICHARD C. MURPHY, *Rec. Secretary and Historian*
PHILIP J. CURRY, *Cor. Secretary*
RAYMOND P. SULLIVAN, M.D., *Almoner*
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EDMOND M. HANRAHAN, *President*
JAMES A. FARLEY, *1st Vice-Pres.*
HARRY C. HAGERTY, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
ARTHUR J. MORRIS, *Treasurer*
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Rec. Secretary and Historian
PHILIP J. CURRY, *Cor. Secretary*
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Almoner

JAMES A. FARLEY, *President*
HARRY C. HAGERTY, *1st Vice-Pres.*
MARK F. HUGHES, *2nd Vice-Pres.*
ARTHUR J. MORRIS, *Treasurer*
RICHARD C. MURPHY,
Rec. Secretary and Historian
PHILIP J. CURRY, *Cor. Secretary*
RAYMOND P. SULLIVAN, M.D.,
Almoner

MARK F. HUGHES, *President*
EUGENE F. MORAN, JR., *1st Vice-Pres.*
FRANCIS B. DELEHANTY, JR.,
2nd Vice-Pres.
ARTHUR J. MORRIS, *Treasurer*
RICHARD C. MURPHY,
Rec. Secretary and Historian
PHILIP J. CURRY, *Cor. Secretary*
RAYMOND P. SULLIVAN, M.D.,
Almoner

APPENDIX E

COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY, 1785-1835

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| William Constable Alexander Macomb John Shaw | 1785 | John Cochran George Pollock Charles Thomson |
| William Constable John McVickar John Shaw | 1786 | John Cochran George Pollock Charles Thomson |
| William Constable Thomas Randall Oliver Templeton | 1787 | Patrick Dennis John Woodward Charles Thomson |
| Charles Thomson Michael Boyle William Edgar | 1788 | Cornelius Heeney James Constable John Charleton |
| John Shaw Carlile Pollock William Edgar Thomas Bibby | 1789 | Sampson Fleming Thomas Roach Oliver Templeton General Mansell |
| John Shaw William Edgar John McVickar Daniel McCormick | 1790 | Carlile Pollock Sampson Fleming Thomas Roach Thomas Bibby |
| John Shaw John McVickar William Edgar Daniel McCormick | 1791 | Carlile Pollock Thomas Bibby Michael Price Henry Saidler |
| John Shaw John McVickar Daniel McCormick Carlile Pollock | 1792 | Henry Saidler John Charlton James Constable William Hill |
| William Hill John Charlton Alexander Stewart William Wade | 1793 | George Barnwell John Glover Carlile Pollock Dominick Lynch |

| | | |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Michael Price Alexander Stewart John Charlton John McVickar | 1794 | Henry Saidler John Shaw Carlile Pollock Dominick Lynch |
| John Shaw John McVickar John Charlton Carlile Pollock | 1795 | Dominick Lynch John Kelly Alexander Stewart William Hill |
| John Charleton Carlile Pollock Alexander Stewart Dominick Lynch | 1796 | John McVickar John Shaw John Kelly William Hill |
| Christopher Colles Michael Price John Kelly | 1797 | John Mannsell Alexander Stewart John Glover |
| Christopher Colles Michael Price John Kelly | 1798 | John Mannsell Alexander Stewart John Glover |
| Christopher Colles Michael Price John Kelly | 1799 | John Mannsell Alexander Stewart John Glover |
| Michael Hogan James Gibson, M.D. Nathan McVickar | 1800 | William Hill Thomas Roach Dominick Lynch |
| James McConnell James Chambers Gulian McEvers | 1805 | Christopher Colles John N. Macomb John Keith |
| James McConnell James Chambers Gulian McEvers | 1806 | Christopher Colles John N. Macomb John Keith |
| William Bailey Thomas Carberry | 1810 | William Sterling Thomas Suffern |
| William Bailey Thomas Carberry | 1811 | William Sterling Thomas Suffern |
| William Bailey Thomas Carberry | 1812 | William Sterling Thomas Suffern |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------|---------------------------------------|
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1813 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1814 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1815 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1816 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1817 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1818 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1819 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| Thomas Addis Emmet Christopher Colles | 1820 | William James Macneven James Magee |
| John Gilmore James Hayes | 1821 | Andrew Gray Nicholas Meade |
| John Gilmore James Hayes | 1822 | Andrew Gray Nicholas Meade |
| John Gilmore James Hayes | 1823 | Andrew Gray Nicholas Meade |
| John Gilmore James Hayes | 1824 | Andrew Gray Nicholas Meade |
| John Gilmore James Hayes | 1825 | Andrew Gray Nicholas Meade |
| Dr. Robert Hogan John W. Wright Wheaton Bradish | 1826 | Dr. Cumming Thomas Clery |
| Dr. Robert Hogan John W. Wright Wheaton Bradish | 1827 | Dr. Cumming Thomas Clery |

| | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------|
| Dr. Robert Hogan John W. Wright Wheaton Bradish | 1828 | Dr. Cumming Thomas Clery |
| Dr. Robert Hogan John W. Wright Wheaton Bradish | 1829 | Dr. Cumming Thomas Clery |
| Dr. Robert Hogan John W. Wright Wheaton Bradish | 1830 | Dr. Cumming Thomas Clery |
| George S. Corbitt Dr. Burke John Doyle | 1831 | John Fleming James McBride |
| George S. Corbitt Dr. Burke John Doyle | 1832 | John Fleming James McBride |
| George S. Corbitt Dr. Burke John Doyle | 1833 | John Fleming James McBride |
| Dr. Rice William Kane John Haggerty | 1834 | Dr. Wright Saul Alley Thomas Murphy |
| Dr. Rice William Kane John Haggerty | 1835 | Dr. Wright Saul Alley Thomas Murphy |

APPENDIX F

CHARITABLE COMMITTEES 1785-1835

| | | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1785 | William Mooney Cornelius Heeney | 1804 | Cornelius Heeney John Parks |
| 1786 | William Mooney Cornelius Heeney | 1805 | Cornelius Heeney John Parks |
| 1787 | Andrew Morris Cornelius Heeney | 1806 | Patrick Fortune James Hayes |
| 1788 | James Fairly Hugh Walsh | 1807 | Patrick Fortune James Hayes |
| 1789 | James Fairly Hugh Walsh | 1808 | Patrick Fortune James Hayes |
| 1790 | H. L. Edgar John Haggerty | 1809 | Patrick Fortune James Hayes |
| 1791 | H. L. Edgar John Haggerty | 1810 | James Burns Andrew McCready |
| 1792 | Joseph Reardon Andrew McCormick | 1811 | James Burns Andrew McCready |
| 1793 | Joseph Reardon Andrew McCormick | 1812 | John Craig William Sterling |
| 1794 | Joseph French William Waddell | 1828 | John Wilson David Andrews William James McMichael Muldon Thomas Suffern John W. Wright |
| 1795 | Joseph French William Waddell | 1833 | Cornelius Heeney Edward Eccleston Christopher Cassidy John T. Dolan Robert Donaldson |
| 1796 | Blase Moore Lambert Moore | 1834 | J. C. Buchanan John Moorehead Robert Donaldson Cornelius Heeney Christopher Cassidy |
| 1797 | Blase Moore Lambert Moore | 1835 | Cornelius Heeney John Moorehead Christopher Cassidy John C. Buchanan John T. Dolan |
| 1798 | Cornelius Ryan Dominick Lynch | | |
| 1799 | Cornelius Ryan Dominick Lynch | | |
| 1800 | John Gilmore Stewart Dean | | |
| 1801 | John Gilmore Stewart Dean | | |
| 1802 | Samuel Craig Francis Lynch | | |
| 1803 | Samuel Craig Francis Lynch | | |

APPENDIX G

MEMBERS, 1784-1835

| NAME | ELECTED | NAME | ELECTED |
|------------------------|---------|-----------------------|---------|
| Adair, William | 1786 | Chambers, John | 1784 |
| Adams, John | 1811 | Charlton, Dr. John | 1784 |
| Alexander, Joseph | 1825 | Charters, Alex | 1824 |
| Alley, Saul | 1784 | Charters, John | 1821 |
| Andrews, David | 1821 | Charters, Samuel | 1832 |
| Arnold, Dr. Wm. | 1835 | Charters, S. M. | 1825 |
| Bailey, William | 1810 | Christian, Charles | 1815 |
| Bailie, William | 1805 | Clare, Joseph | 1832 |
| Barnwell, George | 1784 | Clark, William | 1784 |
| Bell, Thomas | 1832 | Cleary, Thomas | 1828 |
| Bell, Richard | 1790 | Clinton, De Witt | 1790 |
| Bibby, Thomas | 1784 | Clinton, George | 1784 |
| Blake, Richard | 1785 | Cluff, John | 1835 |
| Blake, Valentine | 1784 | Cochran, John | 1832 |
| Blood, Patrick | 1784 | Cochran, John, Dr. | 1784 |
| Blood, Patrick, Harris | 1784 | Cochran, Marcus | 1832 |
| Boyd, Capt. Wm. | 1832 | Cochrane, Chas. P. | 1815 |
| Boyle, Michael | 1784 | Cochrane, John W. | 1815 |
| Bradford, Michael | 1784 | Coleman, Edw. W. | 1815 |
| Bradish, Wheaton | 1831 | Colles, Christopher | 1784 |
| Brady, Thomas S. | 1832 | Collins, George | 1826 |
| Brown, Andrew | 1832 | Connelly, E. | 1835 |
| Brown, James | 1832 | Constable, James | 1784 |
| Brown, James C. | 1832 | Constable, William | 1784 |
| Brown, Stewart | 1784 | Corbitt, George | 1832 |
| Bryan, James | 1826 | Corbitt, George S. | 1833 |
| Bryar, James | 1832 | Corre, Joseph | 1789 |
| Bryar, William | 1805 | Cowan, Wm. W. | 1832 |
| Buchanan, James C. | 1832 | Craig, John | 1812 |
| Buchanan, James, Jr. | 1828 | Craig, Samuel | 1784 |
| Buckley, Howard W. | 1814 | Craig, William | 1784 |
| Burk, Gerald | 1816 | Cranston, Alex. | 1805 |
| Burk, James | 1816 | Cruise, Patrick R. | 1832 |
| Burke, Dr. | 1833 | Cullen, Edward F. | 1832 |
| Burke, Michael | 1835 | Cuming, Dr. George | 1828 |
| Burke, Myles | 1835 | Cummin, Thomas A. | 1835 |
| Burns, James | 1810 | Cummins, John | 1794 |
| Bush, Dr. George | 1833 | Cummins, Thomas A. | 1832 |
| Bushe, George | 1835 | Daily, Patrick | 1835 |
| Byrnes, James | 1810 | Davan, John | 1787 |
| Byrnes, Thomas | 1820 | Dean, Stewart | 1806 |
| Cahill, B. | 1832 | Dennis, Patrick | 1784 |
| Caldwell, John | 1804 | Denniston, James | 1832 |
| Callaghan, Charles | 1814 | Dickey, Robt. | 1784 |
| Campbell, James | 1832 | Dillon, Joseph | 1789 |
| Carberry, Thomas | 1810 | Dolan, John T. | 1832 |
| Carbis, John | 1784 | Donaldson, Robert | 1832 |
| Cassidy, Christopher | 1828 | Dongan, John Charlton | 1789 |
| Castree, John | 1820 | Donohoe, Thomas | 1784 |
| Chambers, J. | 1835 | Doran, James | 1832 |
| Chambers, James | 1805 | Dore, John | 1832 |

| NAME | ELECTED | NAME | ELECTED |
|---------------------|---------|-------------------------|---------|
| Doyle, Dennis H. | 1832 | Kelly, John | 1784 |
| Doyle, John | 1833 | Kemp, Dr. John | 1805 |
| Duane, James | 1784 | Kernochan, Joseph P. | 1784 |
| Dunlap, John | 1785 | Kyle, Jeremiah | 1832 |
| Dunn, Bernard | 1832 | Kyle, Joseph | 1832 |
| Eccleston, Edward | 1832 | Kyle, William | 1825 |
| Eddy, Thomas | 1791 | Lambert, Charles | 1833 |
| Edgar, H. L. | 1789 | Laverty, Henry | 1811 |
| Edgar, William | 1784 | Leary, James | 1786 |
| Emmet, Robert | 1832 | Lynch, Dominick | 1793 |
| Emmet, Thomas Addis | 1815 | Lynch, Dominick, Jr. | 1832 |
| Ennis, Thomas | 1835 | Lynch, Francis | 1806 |
| Fairly, James | 1788 | Lynch, General | 1825 |
| Farrell, Patrick | 1785 | Lynch, James | 1832 |
| Farrell, Patrick | 1810 | Macneven, William James | 1815 |
| Ferguson, Robert | 1832 | Macomb, Alexander | 1784 |
| Ferris, Benjamin | 1820 | Macomb, John N. | 1805 |
| Fitzgerald, R. A. | 1828 | Magee, James | 1817 |
| Flack, John | 1832 | Matthews, James | 1835 |
| Fleming, John | 1832 | Matthews, James, Jr. | 1832 |
| Flemming, Sampson | 1784 | Maunsell, Gen. John | 1789 |
| Foote, John | 1835 | Maxwell, Matthew | 1835 |
| Fortune, Patrick | 1789 | Meade, Nicholas | 1808 |
| Fox, John | 1832 | Millar, Jesse | 1835 |
| French, Joseph | 1794 | Miller, James | 1835 |
| Gaine, Hugh | 1784 | Mollan, Stuart | 1811 |
| Gallagher, Geo. | 1832 | Montgomery, J. | 1817 |
| Gerald, Thomas J. | 1815 | Montgomery, James | 1832 |
| Gibson, Dr. James | 1784 | Montgomery, J. B., Jr. | 1835 |
| Gibson, John | 1835 | Montgomery, John Burnet | 1784 |
| Gibson, Robt. | 1832 | Mooney, William | 1785 |
| Gihon, John | 1832 | Mooney, Thomas | 1832 |
| Gillelan, E. H. | 1832 | Moore, Blase | 1786 |
| Gilmore, John | 1806 | Moore, James | 1810 |
| Glover, John | | Moore, Lambert | 1794 |
| Glover, John J. | 1784 | Moore, Thomas, Wm. | 1784 |
| Graham, David, Jr. | 1835 | Moorehead, John | 1825 |
| Grattan, E. | 1835 | Morris, Andrew | 1787 |
| Gray, Andrew | 1825 | Morris, Andrew | 1805 |
| Gray, Andrew | 1835 | Morrison, John | 1832 |
| Haggerty, John | 1789 | Muldon, Michael | 1825 |
| Haggerty, John | 1832 | Mullen, Joh | 1835 |
| Haggerty, Ogden | 1835 | Mulligan, Hercules | 1784 |
| Harden, George | 1832 | Munn, Francis | 1832 |
| Hart, Peter | 1814 | Murphy, Thomas | 1835 |
| Harvey, Jacob | 1830 | Murray, Hamilton | 1832 |
| Haskett, Joseph | 1832 | Murray, John | 1784 |
| Hayes, James | 1808 | Murray, Robert | 1784 |
| Heeney, Cornelius | 1784 | McAllister, Samuel | 1835 |
| Henry, Michael | 1832 | McBride, James | 1819 |
| Hill, John | 1835 | McBride, Walter | 1810 |
| Hill, William | 1784 | McCall, John | 1832 |
| Hogan, Michael | 1800 | McCarthy, Dennis | 1815 |
| Hogan, Dr. Robert | 1826 | McCarthy, Peter | 1808 |
| Ingham, Charles | 1828 | McCarty, Charles | 1805 |
| Ingoldsby, Felix | 1832 | McClusky, William | 1832 |
| Irwin, William | 1789 | McCollister, Samuel | 1832 |
| Jackson, Daniel | 1832 | McComb, John | 1784 |
| Jackson, Thomas | 1833 | McComb, J. W. | 1805 |
| James, William | 1828 | McConnell, James | 1805 |
| Jephson, William H. | 1805 | McCormick, Andrew | 1789 |
| Johnson, Jeremiah | 1815 | McCormick, Daniel | 1784 |
| Kane, William | 1835 | McCready, Andrew | 1810 |
| Keith, Joh | 1805 | McCready, Dennis | 1810 |
| Kelly, Harry | 1789 | McDevitt, Patrick | 1784 |

| NAME | ELECTED | NAME | ELECTED |
|----------------------|---------|----------------------|---------|
| McEvers, Charles | 1784 | Ryan, Cornelius | 1794 |
| McEvers, Gulian | 1805 | Saidlier, Henry | 1784 |
| McGee, James | 1784 | Saidlier, James | 1784 |
| McGloin, Edward | 1835 | Sampson, William | 1831 |
| McGrath, Daniel | 1835 | Searight, John | 1784 |
| McKibben, Dr. | 1835 | Shaw, James | 1832 |
| McLaughlin, Peter | 1815 | Shaw, John | 1784 |
| McVickar, John | 1790 | Shaw, William | 1784 |
| McVickar, Nathan | 1790 | Shaw, William | 1835 |
| Neilson, Hall | 1832 | Smith, H. | 1787 |
| Neylon, Charles | 1808 | Smith, James H. | 1784 |
| Niblo, John | 1835 | Smith, Peter | 1811 |
| Niblo, William | 1832 | Sterling, William | 1812 |
| Nicholas, Samuel | 1832 | Stewart, Alexander | 1793 |
| Nicholson, John | 1821 | Stinson, Edey | 1832 |
| Nicholson, John | 1835 | Suffern, Thomas | 1805 |
| Noble, S. | 1832 | Sullivan, Benjamin | 1808 |
| O'Brien, Francis | 1816 | Sullivan, James | 1784 |
| O'Brien, Francis | 1835 | Sullivan, John | 1789 |
| O'Brien, William | 1832 | Tait, John, Jr. | 1833 |
| O'Connor, Captain | 1805 | Templeton, Oliver | 1784 |
| O'Connor, John | 1787 | Thompson, Alex. | 1835 |
| O'Donnell, Jeremiah | 1816 | Thompson, Alex., Jr. | 1835 |
| O'Hare, Peter | 1816 | Thompson, Charles | 1784 |
| O'Neill, Capt. Felix | 1832 | Todd, Richard J. | 1832 |
| O'Neill, Thomas | 1789 | Toole, Thos., Jr. | 1832 |
| Osborne, Samuel | 1831 | Trenor, Dr. John | 1830 |
| Park, David | 1832 | Trim, Edw. | 1832 |
| Parke, John | 1784 | Usher, Luke | 1835 |
| Parks, John | 1804 | Usher, Robert | 1832 |
| Patterson, Robt. | 1832 | Usher, William | 1835 |
| Patterson, Robt. S. | 1835 | Waddell, Robt. Ross | 1784 |
| Persse, Dudley | 1831 | Waddell, William | 1794 |
| Phelan, John | 1805 | Wade, William | 1784 |
| Phister, Alexander | 1805 | Wallace, William | 1784 |
| Pollock, Carlisle | 1784 | Walsh, Hugh | 1785 |
| Pollock, George | 1784 | Walsh, John | 1788 |
| Pollock, Hugh | 1784 | Warren, J. | 1835 |
| Power, Rev. John | 1835 | Watson, James | 1805 |
| Price, Michael | 1784 | White, Campbell, P. | 1832 |
| Prince, Christopher | 1806 | White, Matthew | 1794 |
| Quinn, John | 1832 | White, Michael | 1808 |
| Randall, Thomas | 1784 | White, Robert | 1832 |
| Reardon, Joseph | 1789 | Wilson, John | 1828 |
| Redmond, William | 1835 | Wilson, Joseph | 1832 |
| Reid, David | 1784 | Woodward, Charles | 1826 |
| Reilly, Robert | 1789 | Woodward, John | 1784 |
| Rice, Dr. G. C. | 1833 | Woodward, Thos. | 1826 |
| Roach, Thomas | 1784 | Wright, Dr. James | 1832 |
| Roth, N. | 1805 | Wright, John W. | 1828 |
| Rutherford, Robt. | 1835 | Wright, Richard | 1832 |
| Rutledge, William | 1784 | | |

APPENDIX H

Places Where the Anniversary Dinners of the Society Have Been Held Since Its Organization to the Present Time

Anniversary Dinners

- 1784 Cape's Tavern. [Now No. 115 Broadway.]
1785 The Coffee House [Mr. Bradford's in Water Street, near Wall Street.]
1786 The Coffee House.
1787 The Coffee House.
1788 Merchant's Coffee House. [S. W. Cor. Wall and Water Streets.]
1789
to The City Tavern. [115 Broadway.]
1794
1795
to The Tontine Coffee House. [N. W. Cor. Wall and Water Streets.]
1803
1804 The Old Coffee House.
1805 The Tontine Coffee House.
1806 The Tontine Coffee House.
1807 Phoenix Coffee House. [Wall Street.]
1808 Mechanic's Hall. [N. W. Cor. Broadway and Park Place.]
1809
to The Tontine Coffee House.
1811
1812 Washington Hotel. [Broad Street.]
1813
to The Tontine Coffee House.
1815
1816 Washington Hall. [Now No. 280 Broadway.]
1817 The Tontine Coffee House.
1818
to The Bank Coffee House. [S. W. Cor. Pine and William Street.]
1831
1832 Niblo's Saloon. [Broadway.]
1833
to The City Hotel. [115 Broadway.]
1835
1836 Washington Hotel. [No. 1 Broadway.]
1837 Washington Hotel.
1838 Carlton House. [N. E. Cor. Broadway and Leonard Street.]
1839 City Hotel.
1840 Niblo's Tavern. [Broadway and Prince Street.]

*Anniversary
Dinners*

- 1841
TO City Hotel.
1846
- 1847
AND No dinners—Irish famine years.
1848
- 1849 City Hotel.
- 1850 Delmonico's Hotel. [William Street.]
- 1851
TO Astor House.
1856
- 1857
TO Metropolitan Hotel.
1862
- 1863 Delmonico's. [Broadway and Chambers Street.]
- 1864
TO Delmonico's. [14th Street and Fifth Avenue.]
1868
- 1869
AND St. James Hotel.
1870
- 1871 Hoffman House.
- 1872 Hotel Brunswick.
- 1873 Delmonico's. [14th Street and Fifth Avenue.]
- 1874 Delmonico's.
- 1875 Hoffman House.
- 1876 Delmonico's. [14th Street and Fifth Avenue.]
- 1877 Delmonico's.
- 1878 Metropolitan Hotel.
- 1879 Delmonico's. [14th Street and Fifth Avenue.]
- 1880 No Dinners—Irish famine year.
- 1881 Delmonico's. [Madison Square.]
- 1882 Niblo's Saloon.
- 1883 Delmonico's.
- 1884 Hotel Brunswick.
- 1885
TO Delmonico's. [Madison Square.]
1895
- 1896 Hotel Savoy.
- 1897 Waldorf.
- 1898 Waldorf-Astoria.
- 1899
TO Delmonico's. [Fifth Avenue and 44th Street.]
1910
- 1911
TO Hotel Astor. [Broadway and 45th Street.]
1918
- 1919 Hotel Commodore.
- 1929
TO Hotel Astor. [Broadway and 45th Street.]
1962

APPENDIX I

BY-LAWS of The Society of the Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick in the City of New York 1943-1962

ARTICLE I

NAME AND SEAL OF THE SOCIETY

SEC. 1. The name of the Society is "THE SOCIETY OF THE FRIENDLY SONS OF SAINT PATRICK IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK."

SEC. 2. The seal of this Society shall be an Irish Harp, with the motto: "Erin Go Bragh."

ARTICLE II

MEMBERSHIP

SEC. 1. There shall be five classes of membership: (1) Active, (2) Life, (3) Veteran, (4) Honorary and (5) Army and Navy. The number of active members shall be limited to nine hundred (exclusive of the members referred to in Section 7 of this Article II) and the number of life members to three hundred.

SEC. 2. Gentlemen of the age of twenty-one years and over, citizens of the United States of America, being natives or descendants of natives of Ireland, and of good moral character, shall hereafter be eligible for admission to active or life membership.

ACTIVE MEMBERS

SEC. 3. The initiation fee shall be twenty-five dollars. The annual dues shall be twenty dollars and payable on Saint Patrick's Day in each year for the year then ensuing.

SEC. 4. An application for active membership shall be in writing, setting forth the name, age and business, profession or occupation of the applicant, the facts showing him to be a native or a descendant of

a native of Ireland, his places of residence and of business, profession or occupation and such other facts as the Committee on Admissions shall prescribe as indicative of his eligibility for membership and shall be signed by the applicant. Such application shall bear the signatures of two members, one as proposer and the other as seconder, and shall be filed with the Recording Secretary who shall refer it to the Committee on Admissions. The Recording Secretary shall send to the members, with the notice of the next stated meeting, a list of all applications since the notice of the last stated meeting.

SEC. 5. The Committee on Admissions shall consider each application and may require from the applicant such additional written or oral statements as the Committee deems desirable. The Committee, in its judgment, shall have the right to reject any applicant.

The Committee, in recommending applicants for election, may give preference to sons and grandsons of those who are or were active or life members.

If the Committee acts favorably upon an application, it shall so report to the Society at a stated meeting at which there shall be a vacancy to be filled in the roster of active members and the Society shall proceed to vote on the election of such applicant.

SEC. 6. Each new active member shall qualify by paying the initiation fee of twenty-five dollars and dues of twenty dollars within thirty days following notification of his election. Failure to so qualify shall invalidate his election. If such new member be elected at the January or March stated meetings, such dues shall be in payment of the dues for the year commencing the following Saint Patrick's Day.

SEC. 7. Active members serving in the military or naval forces of the United States of America shall, during the time of war or until their discharge during the time of war from such service, be exempt from the payment of annual dues until Saint Patrick's Day following the termination of such war or discharge; but the suspension of dues may be further extended by the Committee on Admissions.

These members shall not be included, either before or after the termination of the war or their discharge, in the limit of seven hundred active members mentioned in Section 1 of this Article II. Vacancies in the ranks of these members shall not, at any time, be filled.

SEC. 8. An active member who shall be in arrears for dues for the period of one year or a member who shall be indebted to the Society for a sum exceeding the amount of dues for one year, unless the Committee on Admissions determines otherwise, shall forfeit his membership and his name shall be erased from the roster of the Society. A member whose name has been so removed shall be obligated to

pay all dues and other indebtedness incurred to the date of such removal.

LIFE MEMBERS

SEC. 9. Only an active member who has paid annual dues for at least three years may become a life member. Application for life membership shall be signed by the applicant. If the Committee on Admissions acts favorably on an application for admission to life membership it shall so report to the Society at a stated meeting at which there shall be a vacancy to be filled in the roster of life members and the Society may elect such applicant to life membership, conditioned upon the payment of one hundred twenty-five dollars which shall be in lieu of the payment thereafter of annual dues. There shall be no refund of any annual dues paid prior to the date of such election.

VETERAN MEMBERS

SEC. 10. An active member who has paid dues for twenty-five years may, upon his application, be transferred, with the approval of the Committee on Admissions, to the veteran class, with all the rights and privileges of an active member and shall thereafter be exempt from the further payment of dues.

HONORARY MEMBERS

SEC. 11. Honorary membership may hereafter be conferred by the Society if the following requirements and conditions be fulfilled:

(a) The person proposed shall be of Irish birth or descended in a direct line from an Irish ancestor.

(b) The person proposed shall have rendered some conspicuous service to the United States of America, to Ireland or to the Irish race, or shall have achieved distinction by laudable effort that reflects credit and honor upon the Irish name or race.

(c) The proposal shall be in writing, signed by at least three members, and set forth the qualifications of the person proposed. It shall be filed with the Recording Secretary who shall refer it to the Committee on Admissions.

(d) The Committee on Admissions shall inquire into the merits of the proposal and if the Committee acts favorably upon the proposal, it shall so report in writing to the Society at the next stated meeting. Notice of the proposal and of the Committee's report shall be mailed to the members prior to the meeting at which the Committee presents its report. Upon the vote of three-fourths of the members present and entitled to vote at a stated meeting, the gentleman proposed shall be enrolled as an honorary member and shall be exempt from initiation fees and annual dues. He shall not be entitled to vote or hold office.

ARMY AND NAVY MEMBERS

SEC. 12. Army and Navy memberships shall include the present members in that class and persons who are or have been in the military or naval forces of the United States of America who may be elected as such members as hereinafter provided.

SEC. 13. A person may be proposed for Army or Navy membership if he fulfills the requirements set forth in Section 2 of this Article II and has rendered some conspicuous or outstanding service in the military or naval forces of the United States of America. The proposal shall be in the same form and subject to the same action as set forth in Section 11 (c) and (d) of this Article II for the election of honorary members. An Army and Navy member shall be exempt from initiation fee and annual dues. He shall not be entitled to vote or hold office.

ARTICLE III

OFFICERS AND THEIR ELECTION

SEC. 1. The officers of the Society shall be: President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Treasurer, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Almoner and Historian. The Historian may also hold another office.

SEC. 2. The officers shall be elected annually at the stated meeting in November from the members entitled to vote.

SEC. 3. The Society, at the stated meeting in May in each year, shall elect a Nominating Committee of seven members.

This Committee shall nominate:

(a) members for the offices to be voted for at the stated meeting in November, and

(b) in the event of the death, resignation or removal of an officer, other than the President or First Vice-President, a member for the vacant office to be voted for at a meeting of the Society to serve for the unexpired term.

The Nominating Committee, at least fifteen days prior to the stated meeting in November or the meeting at which a vacancy is to be filled, shall mail to each member the names of the candidates to be voted for at the meeting.

SEC. 4. Nominations of candidates, other than nominated by the Nominating Committee, shall be signed by not less than thirty members and delivered to the Corresponding Secretary in time for him to mail to each member the names of such candidates not less than ten days before the stated meeting in November or before the meeting at which the vacancy is to be filled.

SEC. 5. Election of officers shall be by ballot or viva voce at the

meeting at which the election is held. No nominee may be voted for at any such meeting unless proposed as provided in Sections 3 and 4 of this Article III.

SEC. 6. In the event of the death, resignation or removal of any officer, other than the President and First Vice-President, the President may, pending the election to fill the vacancy thus caused, designate a member to perform the duties of the vacant office.

SEC. 7. In the event of the temporary absence of an officer, other than the President and First Vice-President, the President may designate a member to perform the duties of such officer temporarily.

ARTICLE IV

DUTIES OF OFFICERS

President

SEC. 1. The President shall preside at all meetings and functions of the Society and shall perform all other duties specifically devolved upon him by these by-laws.

Vice-Presidents

SEC. 2. In the event of the death, resignation or removal of the President, the First Vice-President shall succeed to that office and the Second Vice-President shall succeed to the office of First Vice-President.

The duties of the President shall, in his temporary absence, devolve on the First Vice-President and, in the event of his inability to act, on the Second Vice-President.

Treasurer

SEC. 3. The Treasurer shall keep the moneys and securities of the Society, withdraw such securities from their place or places of deposit and purchase and sell securities, all as provided in Sections 3 and 4 of Article VII. He shall pay all obligations of the Society as provided in these by-laws and make payments of moneys appropriated and of contributions directed by the Society or Committee on Charity.

The Treasurer shall keep suitable books of account and record therein all receipts and disbursements. Such recording of receipts and disbursements shall be segregated, as they may be applicable to the permanent fund or income fund referred to in Sections 1 and 2 of Article VII.

The Treasurer shall render at each stated meeting a report of the finances of the Society, setting forth all receipts and disbursements applicable to the permanent and income funds since the preceding stated meeting and the credit balance of each fund as it then appears. After the accounts of the Treasurer have been audited by the Com-

mittee on Accounts, as provided in Section 8 of Article VI, at the end of the fiscal year, the Treasurer shall prepare and have printed and mailed to the members an annual financial report in advance of the stated meeting in May. This report shall set forth the cash balance and the market value of all securities in the permanent fund and the amount of the balance, if any, in the income fund; also, a statement of receipts and disbursements applicable to said funds during the preceding fiscal year.

The above provisions do not apply to the moneys dispensed by the Almoner or his report.

The Treasurer shall be required to indemnify the Society by a surety bond in the amount of ten thousand dollars (\$10,000), the cost of which shall be borne by the Society.

Recording Secretary

SEC. 4. The Recording Secretary shall have the custody of all membership and statistical records and journals of the Society; attend and act as Secretary at all meetings of the Society, the Board of Officers, the Committee on Admissions and the Committee on Charity, and keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings.

All payments on account of initiation and life membership fees and dues shall be made to the Recording Secretary.

The Recording Secretary shall at all times maintain a list of the membership and an accurate account of all moneys of the Society received by him and shall at least once in each month and on the last day of each fiscal year transmit to the Treasurer all initiation fees, dues and other moneys paid to him for the account of the Society.

The Recording Secretary shall promptly forward to each new member notice of his election and to all members who are in good standing annual membership cards. He shall cause to be fabricated and delivered to each member a badge of the Society upon payment of the requisite fee therefor.

The Recording Secretary shall be required to indemnify the Society by a surety bond in the amount of five thousand dollars (\$5,000), the cost of which shall be borne by the Society.

Corresponding Secretary

SEC. 5. The Corresponding Secretary shall receive and answer all written communications and mail to the members notices of stated or special meetings and other notices required by these by-laws.

The Corresponding Secretary shall act as Secretary to the Board of Stewards, issue all tickets for the anniversary dinner (checks for which shall be made to the order of the Treasurer), guest tickets for the stated meetings and other functions of the Society. He shall keep accurate records of any moneys received by him and transmit same

to the Treasurer from time to time and the balance of such money, if any, on the last day of each fiscal year.

The Corresponding Secretary shall, at the conclusion of the anniversary dinner or other functions of the Society, submit to the Board of Officers a complete account of all moneys received by him and transmitted to the Treasurer.

The Corresponding Secretary shall be required to indemnify the Society by surety bond in the amount of five thousand dollars (\$5,000), the cost of which shall be borne by the Society.

Almoner

SEC. 6. The Almoner shall dispense the moneys appropriated by the Society to his use for the relief of indigent persons. He shall report to the Society at each stated meeting the amounts received and disbursed by him since the last stated meeting.

Historian

SEC. 7. The Historian shall assemble records, data or documents and endeavor to ascertain facts relating in any way to the activities or accomplishments of the Society or its members in order that a history of the Society may be prepared and a record of the activities or accomplishments of the Society or its members may be preserved. The Historian shall have charge of the preparation of such history. Upon the completion of a history, or a part thereof, he shall submit it to the Board of Officers for review. After the approval of a history, or a part thereof, by the Board of Officers, that Board, when authorized by the Society, shall have the same printed and published.

The Board of Officers may direct the Treasurer to set aside each year from the income of the Society, such amount as that Board determines to be applied to the expenses in connection with the preparation, printing and publication of a history or a part thereof.

The Historian shall have charge of, and cause to be printed, the annual year book which shall be sent to the members without charge.

ARTICLE V

BOARD OF OFFICERS

SEC. 1. The Board of Officers shall consist of the President, the First and Second Vice-Presidents, the Treasurer, Recording Secretary, Corresponding Secretary, Almoner and Historian. The President shall be Chairman of this Board.

SEC. 2. Except as provided in these by-laws, the Board of Officers shall manage and control the property, affairs and concerns of the Society and may incur any necessary or proper expenses in connection therewith.

The Board shall approve the payment of all obligations of the Society, except as provided in these by-laws.

SEC. 3. The bonds of indemnity required of the Treasurer, Recording Secretary and Corresponding Secretary shall be executed by a surety company or companies. Such bonds and any insurance policies issued to or held by the Society shall be approved by the Board of Officers and delivered to and kept in the possession of the President. The premiums for such bonds and insurance policies shall be borne by the Society.

SEC. 4. The past Presidents of the Society shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Board of Officers in an advisory capacity but shall have no vote.

ARTICLE VI

BOARD OF STEWARDS AND COMMITTEES

SEC. 1. There shall be constituted in the manner hereinafter provided, a Board of Stewards and the following standing Committees: Committee on Admissions, Committee on Charity, Committee on Accounts and Committee on Finance.

Board of Stewards

SEC. 2. The Board of Stewards shall consist of seven members to be appointed by the President, one of whom he shall designate as Chairman. The officers shall be members of the Board of Stewards.

SEC. 3. The Society shall, unless the Board of Stewards determines otherwise, hold an anniversary meeting, and dine together on Saint Patrick's Day, except when Saint Patrick's Day falls on Sunday, in which event the day preceding or the day following shall be observed as the festival.

The Board of Stewards shall fix the price of tickets, arrange the toasts and select guests of the Society for the anniversary dinner and otherwise supervise the dinner.

SEC. 4. The Board of Stewards shall arrange for and supervise all other social functions or gatherings of the Society.

SEC. 5. The Board of Stewards shall regulate the admittance of guests to the meetings of the Society.

Committee on Admissions

SEC. 6. The Committee on Admissions shall consist of nine members to be appointed by the President, one of whom he shall designate as Chairman. The President and Recording Secretary shall be members of this Committee.

The Committee shall have the powers and perform the duties devolved upon it under and set forth in these by-laws.

Committee on Charity

SEC. 7. The Committee on Charity shall consist of seven members to be appointed by the President, one of whom he shall designate as Chairman. The officers shall also be members of this Committee.

The Society may, at a stated meeting, appropriate moneys from the income fund to be disbursed for charitable purposes. The moneys so appropriated shall be allocated to such institutions or organizations as this Committee may determine and shall be disbursed by the Treasurer. The Treasurer shall report to the Society at a stated meeting the amounts disbursed to each institution or organization.

Committee on Accounts

SEC. 8. The Committee on Accounts shall consist of seven members to be appointed by the President, one of whom he shall designate as Chairman.

This Committee shall audit the accounts of the Treasurer and Secretaries and it may examine the proceedings of the Board of Officers, Board of Stewards and the Committees with respect to finances. In connection with such audit, the Committee may retain a certified public accountant who shall receive reasonable compensation as approved by such Committee and shall be paid by the Society. The accountant may be a member of the Committee.

The reports of the Committee shall be submitted to the Board of Officers.

Committee on Finance

SEC. 9. The Committee on Finance shall consist of three members, other than officers, to be appointed by the President, one of whom he shall designate as Chairman.

This Committee shall keep informed as to the securities held in the permanent fund. The Committee shall, on or before the first days of May and November in each year, and at such other times as such Committee deems advisable, report to the Board of Officers its recommendations as to retaining, selling and purchasing securities in or for the permanent fund.

ARTICLE VII

FUNDS OF THE SOCIETY

SEC. 1. The funds of the Society shall be kept in accounts designated as (a) permanent fund and (b) income fund, (c) reserve fund, (d) History fund. The permanent fund shall consist of the securities and

moneys now in the permanent fund and the moneys referred to in Section 2 of this Article VII, to become a part of the permanent fund. The income fund shall consist of all moneys received by or for the Society not required to be placed in the permanent fund.

SEC. 2. The amounts received for life and honorary membership and the surplus income of the Society shall become a permanent fund, the principal of which shall remain inviolate, and the income only shall be applied to the objects of the Society; except that if the Society shall resolve to purchase a permanent abode, the said principal may be applied to that purpose with the consent of three-fourths of the members. The income of the Society shall consist of initiation fees, dues, and the interest accruing from the investment of its permanent fund.

SEC. 3. Securities in the permanent fund shall be placed in a custodian or similar account in such bank or trust company in the City of New York as the Board of Officers shall designate; they shall not be withdrawn from such bank or trust company by the Treasurer other than with the written approval of the President or a Vice-President and two other officers. The purchase and sale of securities must be approved in writing by the Treasurer, President or a Vice-President and two other officers.

SEC. 4. The moneys in the permanent and income funds shall be deposited in such bank or trust company in the City of New York as the Board of Officers shall designate.

SEC. 5. No indebtedness shall be incurred for the account of the Society other than under the authority of specific appropriation made by the Society or as approved by the Board of Officers or as provided in these by-laws.

SEC. 6. The fiscal year of the Society shall be from Saint Patrick's Day in one year to Saint Patrick's Day next ensuing.

ARTICLE VIII

STATED MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

SEC. 1. The Society shall hold four stated meetings in each year, viz: on the first Monday following the second day of January; on the first Monday of March; on the first Monday of May and on the third Monday of November.

SEC. 2. All meetings of the Society shall be held at such hour and place as the Board of Officers shall designate.

SEC. 3. One hundred fifty members shall be necessary to constitute

a quorum at any stated meeting of the Society, except as provided in these by-laws.

SEC. 4. At each meeting the order of business shall be as follows:

- 1 — Roll call
- 2 — Reading minutes of the last meeting
- 3 — Reports of officers and committees
- 4 — Election of officers
- 5 — Unfinished business
- 6 — New business

ARTICLE IX

SPECIAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

SEC. 1. The President shall call special meetings of the Society when, in his judgment, they are necessary. It shall be the duty of the President to call special meetings at the request of the Board of Officers or the Committee on Charity, or upon a request signed by fifty members of the Society. Requests for special meetings shall be in writing, fully setting forth the purpose thereof. At least five days' notice must be given to the members of a special meeting and the purpose thereof shall be stated in the notice of the meeting.

SEC. 2. At special meetings one hundred fifty members shall be necessary to constitute a quorum.

SEC. 3. Special meetings shall be confined to the transaction of such business as is indicated in the notice of the meeting.

ARTICLE X

AMENDMENTS TO BY-LAWS

SEC. 1. Suspension, repeal or amendment of any of the by-laws of this Society shall be considered only when the proposal for such suspension, repeal or amendment shall have been submitted in writing at a previous stated meeting and a copy of such proposal shall have been incorporated in the notice of such meeting at which action upon the proposal is to be taken.

SEC. 2. Any resolution proposing the suspension, repeal or amendment of Section 2 of Article VII shall require the consent of three-fourths of the members of the Society.

SEC. 3. At any meeting where consideration is given to the adoption of any proposal for the suspension, repeal or amendment of any provision of these by-laws, other than Section 2 of Article VII, a resolution or motion for the adoption of any such proposal shall require a vote of the majority of the members present and entitled to vote.

Miscellaneous

SEC. 1. A member may resign from the Society by tendering his resignation in writing. Such resignation, however, shall be accepted only upon the payment in full of his indebtedness to the Society.

SEC. 2. Any member who commits or performs any act prejudicial to the best interest of the Society may, after a hearing before the Board of Officers, and on the recommendation of such Board, be expelled by the Society at a stated meeting at which the report of that Board is considered.

SEC. 3. At a stated or special meeting of the Society, the election of the Nominating Committee or of an officer or the adoption of a resolution or carrying of a motion shall require the following vote of the members present and entitled to vote, viz.:

(a) a majority for the election of the Nominating Committee or of an officer;

(b) three-fourths of any question involving finances or relating to the funds of the Society, except as provided in Section 2 of Article VII, and

(c) a majority for the adoption or carrying of any other resolution or motion, except as provided in these by-laws.

SEC. 4. The adoption of a resolution or carrying of a motion at a meeting of any Board or Committee shall require a majority vote of the members of the respective Board or Committee.

APPENDIX J

PHOTOGRAPHS OF PRESIDENTS, 1956-1962



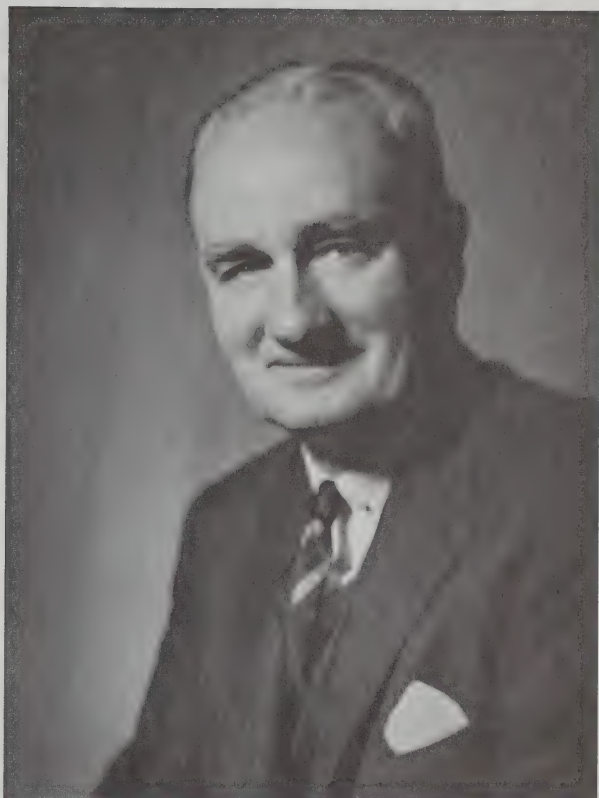
MARTIN F. SHEA, *Elected President 1956*



EDMOND M. HANRAHAN, *Elected President 1958*



JAMES A. FARLEY, *Elected President 1960*



MARK F. HUGHES, *Elected President 1962*

APPENDIX K



Officers — 1962

The origin of the Harp.

It is believ'd that this Harp, which I make now
for thee.

Was a Siren of old, who sung
And who often, at eve, thro' the bright waters rovd,
To meet, on the green shore, a youth whom she lov'd.

But she lov'd him in vain, for he left her to weep.
And in tears, all the night her gold tresses to steep:
Till heav'n look'd with pity on true love so woe,
And chang'd to this soft Harp the sea maiden's form.



by Daniel Maclise, R.A.

APPENDIX L



MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY SERVING IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES

*MAJ. GEN. ALEXANDER E. ANDERSON, U.S.A.
MAJOR JOHN FRANCIS ARNOLD, U.S.A.
CAPT. RICHARD VINCENT ARNOLD, U.S.A.
ROBERT A. ARNOLD, U.S.C.G.
LIEUT. WILLIAM PATRICK ARNOLD, U.S.N.R.
JOHN J. BENNETT, U.S.A.
COL. SIDNEY H. BINGHAM, U.S.A.
RICHARD K. BIRD, U.S.A.
CAPT. WILLIAM J. BOWE, JR., U.S.A.
COL. HENRY W. BOYCE, F.A., U.S.A.
LIEUT. ROBERT J. BOYLE, U.S.N.
CPL. PATRICK P. T. BRADY, U.S.A.
WILLIAM R. BRENNAN, JR., U.S.A.
LIEUT. JOSEPH L. BRODERICK, U.S.N.
CAPT. HAROLD R. BROPHY, U.S.A.
JOHN P. BROSNAN, U.S.A.
REV. VINCENT J. BROSNAN, MAJOR,
CHAPLAIN CORPS, U.S.A.
LIEUT. ANTHONY WILLIAM BROWN, U.S.A.
LT. COMM. ROBERT GRANVILLE BURKE, U.S.N.R.
MAJOR JAMES H. BURNS, U.S.A.
CPL. JOSEPH M. BYRNE, III, U.S.M.C.R.
CAPT. J. PHILIP CAHILL, U.S.A.
LT. COMM. EDWARD P. CALLAHAN, U.S.N.
LT. COMM. J. PAUL CAREY, II, U.S.N.R.
J. PAUL CAREY, JR., U.S.N.R.
LT. COMM. J. RUSSELL CARNEY, U.S.N.R.
*CAPT. WILLIAM J. CARR, U.S.A.
THOMAS F. CARTY, JR., U.S.A.
WALTER B. CAUGHLAN, JR., U.S.A.
LIEUT. CONWAY COHALAN, U.S. AIR FORCE
DENIS O'L. COHALAN, JR., U.S.A.
HUGH ASHLEY COLE, U.S.N.
CAPT. JOHN CONLEY, II, U.S.A.
RICHARD CONLEY
LT. COMM. RAYMOND J. CONNORS, M.C., U.S.N.R.
LT. ROBERT F. COOGAN, U.S.A.A.F.
CHARLES EDWIN COONEY, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE
GEORGE A. CORROON, U.S.A.
LIEUT. RICHARD A. CORROON, JR., U.S.A.
LIEUT. W. BINGHAM COX, U.S.A.
COL. JEROME B. CROWLEY, U.S.A.
JOHN M. CUNNEEN, U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. EDWARD F. CUNNINGHAM, JR., U.S.N.
LIEUT. THOMAS P. CUNNINGHAM, U.S.A.
FRANCIS P. CUNNION, A.U.S.
JOHN D. CUNNION, A.U.S.
CAPT. BERNARD F. CURRY, U.S.A.
LIEUT. FRANCIS R. CURRY, U.S.N.R.
LT. COL. ROBERT E. CURRY
LIEUT. GEORGE E. CUTLEY, JR., U.S.N.R.
SGT. HENRY L. DAVIS, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE
LT. COL. THOMAS R. DAVIS, U.S.A.
LIEUT. COMM. FRANK V. DEEGAN, U.S.N.R.
CAPT. WILLIAM F. DEEGAN, U.S.M.C.R.
EDMUND J. DELANY, U.S.A.
MAJOR ROBERT E. DELANY, U.S.A.
LT. COL. FRANCIS B. DELEHANTY, JR., A.U.S.
LIEUT. JOHN FRANCIS DEVINE, U.S.N.R.
CAPT. FRANCIS M. DONEHUE, M.C., U.S.N.R.
MAJOR JOSEPH M. DONOVAN, C.W.S.
LIEUT. THOMAS G. DOUGHERTY, M.C., U.S.N.R.
LT. GEN. HUGH A. DRUM, U.S.A.
LIEUT. BEAUVAIS DUFFY, U.S.A.
MAJOR EUGENE M. DWYER, U.S.A.
S/SGT. JAMES E. DWYER, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE
JAMES R. DYER, U.S.A.
LIEUT. GRENVILLE T. EMMET, JR., U.S.A.
CAPT. WILLIAM T. EMMET, U.S. AIR FORCE
LT. COMM. JOSEPH P. FARLEY, U.S.N.R.
CAPT. THOMAS F. FARRELL, III, U.S.A.
LT. COMM. WILLIAM A. FARRELL, U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. AUSTIN L. FINAN, JR., U.S.N.R.
LT. COL. JAMES E. FITZ-GIBBON, U.S.A.
LIEUT. JOHN FRANCIS FITZSIMONS, U.S.N.R.
COMM. JOSEPH J. FLYNN, U.S.C.G.
LT. COL. WILLIAM J. FLYNN, J.A.G.D., U.S.A.
LIEUT. JOHN J. GARTLAND, JR., U.S.A.
JOHN E. GAVIGAN, U.S.M.C.
LIEUT. RICHARD N. GAVIGAN, U.S. AIR FORCE
LIEUT. WILLIAM M. GAVIGAN, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE

*DECEASED



MEMBERS OF OUR SOCIETY SERVING IN THE ARMED FORCES OF THE UNITED STATES

SGT. WILSON J. GIBNEY, U.S.A.
SGT. FRANCIS J. GORMAN, JR., U.S.M.C.
LIEUT. ANDREW J. HAIRE, JR., U.S.C.G.
MAJOR THOMAS B. HAIRE, U.S. AIR FORCE
SGT. THOMAS F. HANLEY, JR., U.S.A.A.F.
COMM. LOUIS V. HAYES, (D.C.), U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. NICHOLAS J. HEALY, III, U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. FRANCIS X. HENNESSY, II, U.S.A.
MAJOR JOHN F. HENNESSY, U.S.A.
JOSEPH FRANCIS HIGGINS, JR., U.S.A.A.F.
*LIEUT. MATTHEW J. HORAN, U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. FRANCIS I. HOWLEY, U.S.N.
DANIEL M. KELLY, U.S.A.
CAPT. JOSEPH A. KELLY, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE
LIEUT. JOSEPH R. KELLY, U.S.A.
LT. MORTIMER M. KELLY JR., U.S.N.R.
LT. COMM. J. GERALD KENLON, U.S.N.R.
COL. ROBERT HAROLD KILROE, U.S.A.
LT. COMM. WILLIAM F. LALLY, U.S.N.
LIEUT. ARTHUR P. LAWLER, U.S.N.
ROBERT T. LAWRENCE, Q.M. 2nd Class, U.S.N.
LIEUT. GEORGE LEARY, JR., U.S.C.G.R.
LT. COMM. JAMES J. LIDDY, U.S.C.G.R.
LIEUT. JAY EHRET MAHONEY, U.S.N.
LT. COL. ROBERT W. MALONEY, U.S.A.
JOHN JEROME MANNING, U.S.N.
LIEUT. JAMES A. MARTIN, JR., U.S. AIR FORCE
SGT. WARREN J. MARTIN
LIEUT. DANIEL J. MOONEY, JR., U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. ARTHUR J. MORRIS, JR.
PAUL J. MORRISSEY, U.S.N.
*CAPT. JOSEPH T. MULLIGAN, U.S.A.
LT. COL. LUKE A. MULLIGAN, M.C., U.S.A.
CAPT. EUSEBIUS J. MURPHY, M.C.U.S. AIR FORCE
LT. COMM. PETER J. MURPHY, JR., U.S.N.R.
RICHARD C. MURPHY, M.I.U.S.A.
ENSIGN EUGENE JOSEPH McCABE, JR., U.S.N.R.
ENSIGN JUSTIN C. McCANN, U.S.N.R.
LT. COMM. WALTER JOSEPH McCANN, M.C., U.S.N.
COL. PHILIP J. MCCOOK, J.A.G.D., U.S.A.
WILLIAM J. MCCORMACK, JR., U.S.C.G.

*DECEASED

LIEUT. JOHN J. McCORMICK, U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. JOHN F. McDONOUGH, U.S.N.R.
LIEUT. OWEN McGIVERN, U.S.N.R.
CHARLES H. McHUGH, U.S. AIR FORCE
EDWARD C. McLAUGHLIN
LT. COL. EMMETT McLOUGHLIN, JR., U.S.A.
JOHN J. McMAHON, JR., U.S.A.
LIEUT. WILLIAM C. McMAHON
EDWARD P. McTIERNAN, U.S.N.
LT. COL. CHARLES E. J. NEWMAN, U.S.A.
CAPT. LAWRENCE J. O'BRIEN, U.S.A.
CAPT. RAYMOND D. O'BRIEN, U.S.A.
WALTER P. O'MALLEY, U.S.C.G.
ROBERT S. PASLEY, JR., U.S.A.
LT. COL. FRANCIS J. QUIGLEY, U.S.A.
LT. COMM. WILLIAM B. QUINN, M.C., U.S.N.
WILLIAM F. QUINN, A.U.S.
COL. CHARLES E. RAYENS, U.S.A.
CAPT. DANIEL F. REEVES, U.S. AIR FORCE
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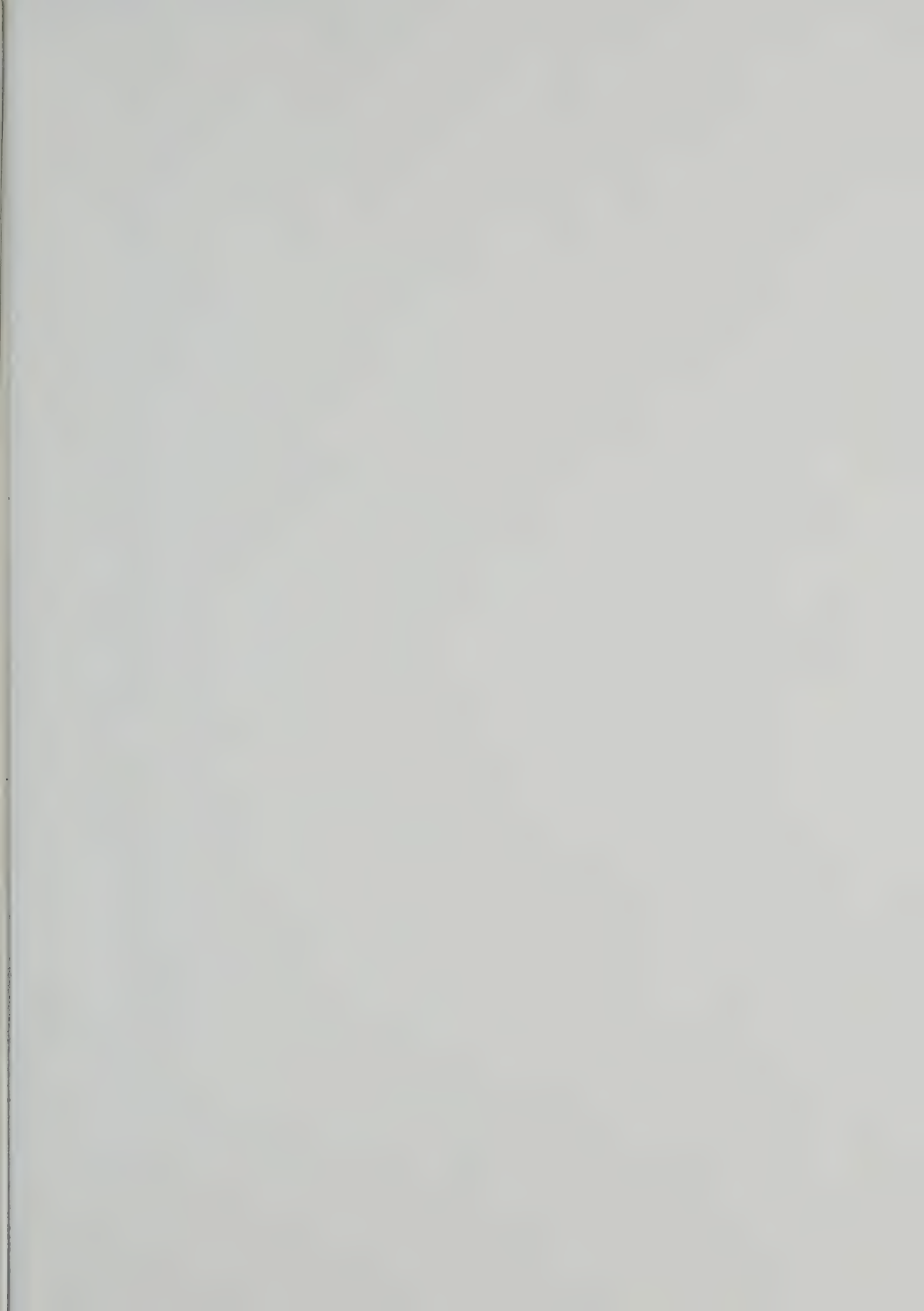
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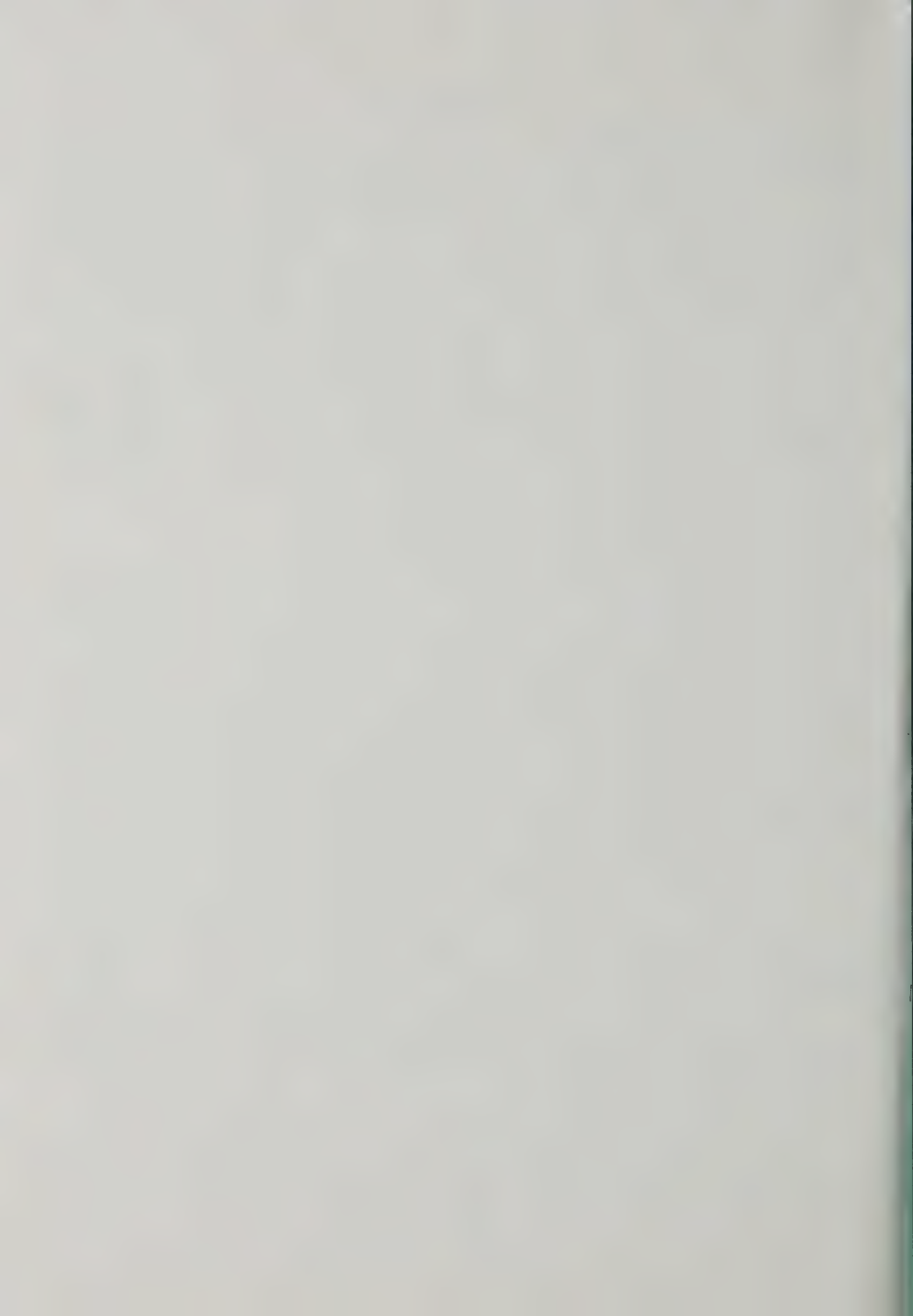
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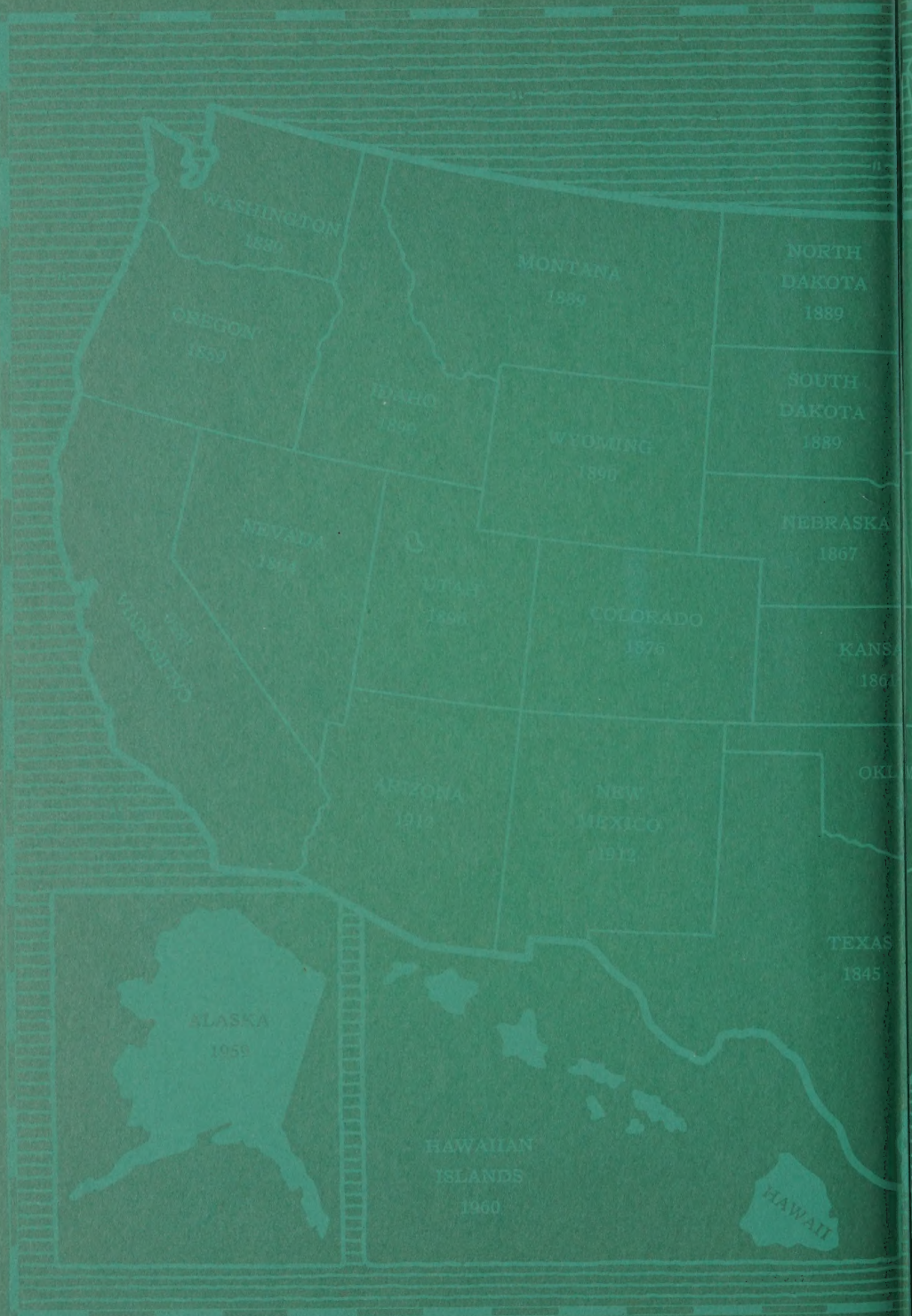
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